

*W. Kelly  
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OF  
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Published by the Authority of the

ASSOCIATION OF MEDICAL OFFICERS  
OF ASYLUMS AND HOSPITALS  
FOR THE INSANE:

EDITED BY  
JOHN CHARLES BUCKNILL, M.D.

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VOLUME VI.

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# THE JOURNAL OF MENTAL SCIENCE.

VOL. VI.

OCTOBER, 1859.

No. 31.

## OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION OF MEDICAL OFFICERS OF ASYLUMS AND HOSPITALS FOR THE INSANE.

The Annual Meeting of this Association was held in the Liverpool Medical Institution on Tuesday, the 26th of July, under the Presidency of SIR CHARLES HASTINGS, D.C.L.,

### MEMBERS PRESENT.

Brushfield, T. N., Esq., M.S. County Asylum, Chester.  
Bucknill, Dr., M.S. County Asylum, Devon.  
Davey, Dr., Northwoods, Bristol.  
Fayrer, Dr., Henley-in-Arden.  
Hitchman, Dr., M.S., County Asylum, Derby.  
Hastings, Sir Charles, Worcester.  
Ley, Wm., Esq., M.S. County Asylum, Oxfordshire.  
M'Cullough, Dr. D. M., County Asylum, Abergavenny.  
Palmer, Dr., M.S. County Asylum, Lincolnshire.  
Paul, Dr. J. H., Camberwell House, London.  
Rogers, M. L., Esq., M.S. Rainhill.  
Sherlock, Dr., M.S. County Asylum, Worcester.  
Sheppard, Dr. E., 10, Hanover Terrace, Regent's Park.  
Tuke, Dr. Harrington, Chiswick.

The Chairman said, that before commencing the business of the day, he thought it right to say a few words with regard to their meeting at Liverpool, Dublin having been fixed upon when the Association assembled in Edinburgh as the city in which the annual meeting should

be held during the present year. That arrangement was so generally considered satisfactory, that some persons might possibly feel disappointed at the change. In March last, however, the President received an intimation from Dr. Stewart, that for various cogent reasons it would be much better that the Association should not hold its annual meeting during the present year in Dublin. It was therefore thought better to appoint the meeting to be held in Liverpool in order to suit the convenience of members of the Medical Association attending their meeting there. Worcester was thought of as being one of the places voted for in Edinburgh; but, on consultation with Dr. Sherlock, it was thought inexpedient to make Worcester the place of meeting.

The Association, unfortunately, had not, at present, the attendance of their Secretary, Dr. Robertson, and it became necessary that they should appoint a Secretary, *pro tem*. He therefore moved that Dr. Tuke be requested to undertake the duty.

The motion was unanimously agreed to, and Dr. Tuke acted as Secretary accordingly.

Dr. TUKE read the following letter from Dr. Conolly :

“ The Lawn House, Hanwell, Middlesex, W.,  
July 23rd, 1859.

My dear Dr. Tuke,—I believe you have undertaken the duties of Secretary, in the absence of Dr. Lockhart Robertson, and I have therefore to request you to express my very sincere regret to the Members of the Association of Medical Officers of Asylums, that my engagements do not permit me to have the gratification of attending the meeting at Liverpool, on the 26th instant.

As the retiring President, I should have rejoiced in that opportunity of thanking the members for the honour done to me.

It is, however, most satisfactory to me to reflect that the office of President will now be taken by my esteemed friend Sir Charles Hastings, whose long continued labours to maintain the true interests of the profession at large, furnish the strongest assurance that he will neglect nothing that is important to that branch of it, of which the Association consists.

All the members of the medical profession engaged in the especial treatment and management of the insane, are at this time placed in a situation of much difficulty and some danger. However high their character, and however great

their experience, they are subject to injustice and to insult. The institutions connected with lunacy afford them no protection, and they are menaced with further Legislative enactments of a character unfavorable to them, and, as I apprehend, equally disadvantageous to the public.

At such a time, union among the members of our Association is most desirable, and the Presidency of an accomplished and independent physician, such as we all know Sir Charles Hastings to be, is of peculiar importance.

Pray assure the members of my sincere and grateful respect, and of my continued interest in their proceedings, and in their honour and welfare.

Yours, my dear Dr. Tuke,

Very faithfully,

J. CONOLLY, M.D."

The CHAIRMAN said he was sure they must all regret the absence of Dr. Conolly.

The minutes of the last meeting were taken as read, and confirmed accordingly.

### PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

The CHAIRMAN then delivered the annual address :

GENTLEMEN,

It is highly gratifying to me to be called upon to preside over this Association, for it is a position which has been occupied in succession by those whose friendship I have for many years enjoyed, and whose labours have been earnestly devoted to the prosecution of the highly important department of medical science, whose advancement it is the object of this Society to promote. Yet I cannot disguise from myself the fact, that in succeeding my revered friend, Dr. Conolly, I have a very difficult position to maintain, for his name is great, and worthy of all honour, and his labours have been highly instrumental in producing those improvements, which, within our own day, have taken place in the management of the insane. I can lay claim to no such distinction. I must, therefore, hope for your indulgence whilst animated by an earnest desire to do my best to assist in the deliberations which will be directed to relieve the sufferings, and to benefit by every available solace a very afflicted portion of the human family, I rest securely in the conviction that I shall receive from you every possible assistance in my endeavours to make the present meeting in-

strumental in carrying forward the noble and benign objects for which this Association was instituted.

Our first and great object is to be united as brethren, and to allow no selfish interests to sever the bond of fellowship which cements our union. In the present humour of the public mind, as respects our science, you are all well aware that sordid motives are too often attributed to those who devote themselves to the management of the insane; and it has been even stated, that, owing to the distinction which undoubtedly exists between public and private Asylums, there is not that cordial co-operation amongst us which is the very essence of the success of such an Association.

Now, it appears to me, that as far as this Association is concerned, we have all one object in view, which is to collect facts, from whatever source they may arise, and so to arrange and classify them as to arrive at safe conclusions. We all admit the imperfections of the present curative arrangements for the insane. We all lament the shortcomings of our art. We all desire to see improvements, but we at the same time believe that those deserve encouragement who labour in this field; and, therefore, as long as the need exists as it undoubtedly does exist, for the reception of patients in private asylums, we feel confident that those engaged in conducting them will be assisted in their efforts by their brethren, the Superintendents of public asylums, who will, on all occasions, hold out a friendly hand to them, and thus they will mutually vie with each other in alleviating the afflictions of the insane.

There is, indeed, much for grave consideration as to the treatment of the insane, and as to the way in which the public law should interfere to assist in the amelioration of their condition. There can be no doubt, that within our own day, the physiology of the brain and nervous system has been advanced, and these investigations have, in some degree, illustrated those obscure pathological conditions in which the nervous system plays a conspicuous part; but when we come to regard those phenomena which are so continually displayed in the various phases of insanity, we are compelled to admit that hitherto we have failed to derive all the advantages from physiological discovery which we trust advancing knowledge may at no distant time insure to us.

But in looking back to the past, it must be admitted that the efforts made by philanthropists and physicians have been more successful in the amelioration of the insane, by procuring better arrangements for their safe custody, and a



kinder and more benevolent mode of management, than they have been fruitful in results, in diminishing the prevalence of this sad disease, or in successfully treating its more severe forms. There is, however, no doubt that the forcible manner in which, in modern times, the necessity of watching the earliest departure from soundness of mind has been instilled into the public, is likely to lead to more successful treatment, and has already saved many from destruction.

It is also clear that the more accurate views that prevail, relative to the mode in which disturbance of the bodily functions interfere with mental phenomena, is likely to lead to more successful treatment. The brain being the instrument by which all mental manifestations are displayed, we are led to the anticipation, that ultimately, by aid of the microscope, we may be able to trace changes in its minute structure, which may lead to further advances in the pathology of this disease. Hitherto, we must admit, that morbid anatomy has not shed much light on the morbid manifestations of mind, but the labourers in this department are now more numerous, and better prepared for the investigation. The careful investigations of the reflex function of the nervous system, also give us hope that some of the more severe forms of insanity may, at no distant time, be better understood.

On all these obscure points, the members of this Association have a wide field for observation, and I trust that this meeting may be fruitful in eliciting facts that may guide our future progress. At the meeting in Edinburgh, the subject of the paralysis of the insane was discussed with great advantage, and the facts there brought forward by several members were valuable, and afford matter for careful speculation. The benefit that results from these periodical gatherings is, that obscure points in pathology, and in treatment, may be brought forward and submitted to the candid criticism of those whose daily intercourse with the insane gives them an insight into the malady, which no general practitioner, whatever may be his endowments, can possibly attain.

The relation of crime to insanity is very intricate to unravel. Every day we are presented with instances, which shew how difficult it is to say whether a person is a criminal or insane. No one can doubt this, who has been in the habit of intercourse in his medical capacity with criminals, and has been called upon to pronounce his opinion whether a criminal shall remain in prison to receive the punishment due to his crime, or whether he shall be transferred to a lunatic asylum, there

to receive all those ameliorations of his state, which this country now happily affords to those suffering from insanity.

The imperfection of our knowledge on this subject is in nothing more apparent than in the fact, that among persons having had great experience, there is often a difference of judgment on this point; and this leads the public to place less reliance on medical evidence in these cases, than it deserves. Now it appears to me, that this Association may be the means of rendering less frequent those unhappy exposures in courts of justice, where men of high standing, and of enlarged experience have been, so to speak, pitted against each other, to the scandal of the profession, and to the detriment of all parties concerned. Surely some means should be devised, by which medical testimony in cases of insanity may proceed on more secure principles.

There is no question that one principal source of the difficulty of giving evidence in cases of criminal insanity is the fact, that the judges, in their celebrated exposition of the law, have given a legal interpretation of insanity, which does not harmonize with the views entertained by enlightened medical investigators, who have devoted their lives to the study of the obscure forms of mental disease. Every effort, therefore, should be made by this Association to induce the judges of the land to re-consider those questions as to the responsibility or irresponsibility of persons charged with crime, and who have committed it under circumstances which induce experienced medical authorities to regard them as the victims of disordered cerebral organization. It should no longer continue to be said of our laws, that they lean to the side of cruelty, and that by the strict interpretation of them, as given by the judges of the land, it is quite possible, nay even probable, that a lunatic may, at this period of merciful administration of our penal code, be legally murdered.

No one indeed, can deny that the state of the lunacy law is anything but creditable to the boasted enlightenment of the nineteenth century; this fact is so self-evident that many efforts have been made to improve it, and the question has been frequently agitated by the public at large, and by the House of Commons.

Indeed, it must be admitted that the present state of the law is injurious to those who are concerned in the care and treatment of the insane. Those who are engaged in this practice should never for one moment lose sight of the consideration of the imperfection of our law. Nor, should they forget that in seeking to cure persons afflicted with insanity,

they are so to speak, brought face to face with the law, in a manner perfectly contrary to that of the ordinary medical practitioner, who usually, by the free will and desire of the patient, treats his disease; whereas in the treatment of the insane we deprive the patient of that liberty, which to an Englishman is ever so dear.

This view of the matter should make us cease to wonder, that the exercise of this branch of the profession is viewed with jealousy by the public, who are ignorant of the need of those restrictive and coercive measures, which a state of insanity demands. In dealing therefore with any Bill proposed in Parliament, we should bear this in mind, and calmly endeavour to assist the Legislature.

The course which was adopted by the Association at the special meeting, called by your late President, Dr. Conolly, was to appoint a Committee, who have reported to a special meeting of the Association.

In considering what occurred at that special meeting, and more especially regarding the sentiments there expressed by several enlightened members of this Association, it must be admitted that much remains to be done, and that the subject requires grave and careful management.

We must not lose sight of the fact to which I have before alluded, that in receiving a patient into an asylum, we usually, or frequently do so against his will, and thus deprive him of that liberty which by Englishmen is prized so highly. It is, therefore, of unspeakable importance that the utmost care should be taken that no person is so brought unnecessarily or unjustly. I am not disposed to think that the present mode of attesting insanity by two legally qualified practitioners, has worked otherwise than well. I have never, in a long experience, known any patient not insane placed under confinement. Yet the public are jealous on this point, and if any further security can be given against improper detention of patients, I should be willing to see it adopted; but anything in the nature of a public investigation previous to confinement is clearly impracticable. The legislature can never, I think, be induced thus to violate the sanctity of private life, or be a party to doing irreparable injury to many an afflicted member of the human family, by converting a curable into an incurable malady, which, doubtless, the excitement of a public investigation, might, in certain cases, readily effect. Moreover, it may be asked, is it for the public welfare, that undue impediment should be thrown in the way of instituting early treatment in certain obscure cases of

insanity? Is it not notorious, that even under the present system, there are persons in almost every great community, who are dangerous from being under no control? Is it not a lamentable fact, that the newspapers almost daily inform us of tragical events occurring from persons of unsound mind not being duly cared for?

Is it, or is it not, a benevolent act, when a fellow creature is losing self-control from cerebral disease, to take the earliest opportunity of placing him under circumstances favourable to his restoration? The answer to such a question, by all those who study the insidious nature of insanity, and who are aware of the importance of the adoption of early curative measures, will be unhesitatingly given in the affirmative; but I fear our Legislators are not sufficiently educated in this matter to arrive at a safe conclusion, and they have not hitherto shown a disposition to learn of those most capable of giving them reliable information. I fear I am justified but too decidedly in this remark, if we examine the Lunatic Treatment Bill, as introduced last session by Mr. Walpole. There is no internal evidence in that Bill, of his having sought information from those most practically acquainted with this subject. It may be fairly characterised as an onslaught against a body of men, who have given their time and their energies, and in some instances, their fortune, in order to be useful in their generation, and to have the gratification of ministering successfully to the mind diseased.

It appears to me, I am justified in using this strong language, when we reflect that one of the clauses of the Bill disqualifies all those who are engaged in the special private treatment of the insane, from giving legal certificates, authorizing the adoption of curative measures. This clause is really so offensive, and so obviously inconsistent with common sense, that it is not probable it can become law.

There is another clause of this Bill, which is equally mischievous and quite as impracticable, as the one to which I have alluded. It is that which provides for the appointment of Medical Examiners, and for the system of secret reports to the Commissioners to be carried on by those Examiners. To those who have fairly and impartially considered this provision, it appears little less than an absurdity, which can never work advantageously, and would be fraught with much evil to many unfortunate patients, who might be seriously injured by it; besides which, it is a kind of star-chamber proceeding, by which the proprietor of an asylum is, as it were, to be tried unheard, or on an *ex-parte* statement of the case. If I know

anything of the mind of my country, I cannot for a moment consider it at all probable, that the Imperial Legislature will ever stultify itself by such an enactment. There can be no doubt that every member of this Association will say, it is quite right there should be a supervision of asylums, but let it be an enlightened supervision, not a system of secret inquiry, to which unjust suspicion is the incitement. Let it be carried on by men thoroughly versed in the intricacies of the abstruse subject to be inquired into ; not by men who have no special experience to guide them in the difficult questions they will have to solve.

The Commissioners in Lunacy are the parties to whom all matters relating to the legality of detaining an insane person ought to be referred. If they are not sufficiently numerous, their number should be increased ; and in any additions that are made, special care should be taken, that those practically acquainted with the phases of insanity are placed in office. It is clear that among the managers of public and private asylums can men alone be found equal to this work. Hitherto the law has excluded the latter from the commission. Why is this? Is it that among those who are engaged in the treatment of insane private patients, there is a deficiency of qualification for the task? I reply that the most stern exclusionist would not venture on such an assertion. Is it not notorious, that there are at this time men engaged in this practice, to whose humanity, intelligence, unwearied zeal, and indomitable perseverance, we are indebted for valuable improvements in the treatment of the insane? Is it not notorious that several of them have been singularly successful in their efforts, and have thereby insured for themselves an imperishable renown? And yet these highly qualified practitioners are by the law declared unqualified for office, and for no other reason than that they have devoted their lives to the study of insanity, and to the amelioration of the condition of the insane. Such exclusion may be explained by the supposition, that the laws proceed from the narrow views of the special pleader, not from the enlightened consideration of the statesman ; or from the fact, that suspicion so blinds the mental vision of some parties, that they are unable to distinguish the special qualifications, which fit a man successfully to perform most important duties.

The time would fail me, if I attempted to enter upon a consideration of all the questions on the Lunacy Laws that are now pressing for a settlement. It is most earnestly to be hoped, that the Legislature may take an enlightened view, and not be blinded by prejudice, or by partiality. The con-

dition of the insane will not be benefitted by bringing in a Bill of Pains and Penalties against those educated, high-minded, and philanthropic men who are engaged in the management of private asylums. It is required that a broader scope should be taken, if the real grievances are to be met and remedied. One of the evils, in its effect most serious, is, that the law actually stands in the way of the early treatment of the insane, by not permitting an unfortunate sufferer, who feels that his disease is coming upon him, voluntarily to place himself in charge of those who, he knows, can snatch him from the misery which threatens him. It is illegal for any man to place himself under treatment. Instances are not wanting to illustrate the truth of this, and in dealing with this grievance, the Legislature should obviate so serious an evil, by enabling any insane patient who feels the disease coming upon him voluntarily to go to any asylum, public or private, by giving notice to the Commissioners that such is his wish and intention. Lord Shaftesbury, as President of the Public Health Department, at the meeting of the Social Science Association in Liverpool, spoke strongly on the necessity of early treatment in insanity. He said, "whatever they did, if it should please Providence to afflict any of their relatives with that disorder, let them listen to the advice which he had always given, which he would act upon if his own wife or his own daughter were unhappily afflicted; that wife or that daughter should be transmitted to some private asylum." And further, "if medical men allowed cases to go on until the evidence of insanity was so unmistakeable, that every one was convinced, why then the parties would be utterly incurable, without any probability of being brought to their senses again. The only hope was in the first development of the disorder."

There is much cause for congratulation, that the Legislature has in our day done something towards providing early treatment for a large class of the insane. There are large and splendid county asylums for pauper lunatics, with means of employment such as they have been accustomed to, with games and sports for those able to contend in them; and it is highly gratifying to reflect that these asylums also provide able and educated practitioners to watch with solicitude their inmates, to do all that science and humanity can effect for their restoration; and if these functionaries are not always free from injudicious interruption in their duty; by the Visiting Justices, yet on the whole these latter are most assiduous in their visits, and earnestly desirous for the restoration of the patients. From no one point of view is the institution of

county asylums more fraught with promise of good, in the future, than in the fact, that a large body of medical practitioners are employed in them, who are devoting their lives and their energies to the solace of the poor lunatic, and it is not too much to say that this Association of Medical Officers of Asylums and Hospitals for the Insane, with all the future benefits which are likely to result from it, would never have flourished, but for the Act of the Imperial Legislature which called into existence county asylums. There is every reason to hope that the beneficial agency of these institutions will be still further developed, and that improvements will take place in their administration. It is devoutly to be hoped, that on some future day, they may be instrumental in applying a healing balm to a class of sufferers, who, for the most part are excluded from their benefits. For under present arrangements, for the poor and educated there is scarcely any relief. It has been well said, "men who have devoted their whole lives to science and art, who, in health are eminently irritable, feeling deeply any slight, and in some of whom their very calling tends to enthusiasm, are reduced to exist on the smallest possible means, extracted from suffering friends, and to be under every disadvantage as to cure." Scotland sets an excellent example in this respect, and this class of sufferers are well provided for. All the chartered asylums there relieve patients of this class at a very moderate rate, apart, entirely, from pauper inmates; and they are provided with accommodation, diet, employment, and amusements, such as they have been in health accustomed to.

I fear I have dilated "*usque ad nauseam*," on an unpalatable subject. The truth is, that the whole question of Lunacy Law, and its bearing on those who are engaged in the management of the insane, is anything but inviting; yet in these days especially, it cannot be passed by, and must necessarily engage the attention of this Association, and of the public; but there is, in my mind, a view of the question of insanity, of the highest importance, but to which the public pay little attention. How much more productive of benefit to the community it would be, if our Legislators would lend their aid in endeavouring to prevent the increasing prevalence of insanity, rather than employ themselves in framing statutes condemnatory of those who are engaged in the exercise of that most anxious and humane department of the healing art, which has for its object the solace of the suffering and afflicted in mind, body, and estate. Let it not, however, be said of us, that we judge harshly of others, whilst we ourselves are in the

same fault. I would put it strongly to every member of this body, whether we, as an Association, are doing all we can to diminish the prevalence of insanity? I would ask you, one and all, whether we have not a duty in this respect to perform? Whether the public may not expect that we should take a lead in investigations which may issue in a more correct estimate of the causes, which in the highly civilised condition of the community in which we live, are concerned in the production of this most cruel of maladies? I would suggest that it would tend to increase the influence of this Association, and to demonstrate its utility, if we had a series of reports from our members, which would enable us to estimate more accurately the prevalence of the causes, which are respectively supposed to produce unsound mind.

Look at the question of intemperance. It is stated on authority, that seventy per cent. of the instances of insanity are produced by the intemperate use of fermented drinks. This may turn out to be a very loose assumption, not resting on a philosophical basis; for it is highly probable, that in many of these presumed instances, intemperance is a concomitant, not a cause of insanity.

The tobacco question also, is one most important for Psychologists gravely to consider, for the weed is now most extensively used by every branch of the community, and great difference of opinion exists as to its effect on the human system, particularly on the nervous functions. Doubtless, in many cases, its effects are most depressing to the heart's action, and it is often a cause of debility and dejection.

Poverty, and want of food, are pregnant sources of diseased mental manifestation; but the relative proportion in which these causes operate in producing alienation, has never been systematically submitted to careful investigation.

The intimate relationship between crime and insanity is patent to all, yet the very obscurity of the connection does not permit, at present, a very accurate elucidation; yet careful and enlightened inquiry may do much to clear away doubt, and dispel darkness.

It does not appear to me that I am wandering from the path in which I ought to walk, by submitting to this meeting my conviction, that each of the four heads, to which I have adverted, might be fit subjects for reports by committees of members of this Association. The present state of our knowledge, on these important points, might be thus more accurately defined, and suggestions might be made for future inquiry. These reports might be published in the pages of



our excellent and well edited journal, and thus most desirable information might be disseminated through the community. Further, it must be manifest that every branch of statistical inquiry, connected both with causes and treatment, should engage the attention of the members of this Association.

In conclusion, it is evident, that all those who are engaged in the treatment of the insane, incur a very weighty legal responsibility. The law is to them a severe, if not an unjust, taskmaster; and yet it is wise in all, whilst they endeavour to improve the law, scrupulously and to the letter to obey its present provisions. Yet, let it never be forgotten, that the Medical Psychologist, in dealing with the perilous stuff that life is made of, has to study the intricate and mysterious connection between mind and matter, and when reason is dethroned, and the storm of the passions hurls the victim, like a hurricane, to desolation, it is sometimes given to him by the efficiency of his art, to stem the rushing torrent, and to say, peace, be still. Or, when wailing melancholy prostrates the forlorn sufferer, it is sometimes possible to pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow, and to restore the lost one to affectionate and grateful friends. It was said by the ancient Roman, "*Homines ad Deos nullâ re propius accedunt quam salutem hominibus dando.*" Surely, if this be true, generally, of the exercise of our art, it is pre-eminently so of that highest department of it, to which those devote themselves, who are engaged in the cure of mental disease. Therefore, undismayed by the reproaches of the froward, or the spitefulness of the proud, let all those who engage in this high vocation, continue stedfastly in the path of duty; they will then have the testimony of an approving conscience, and in reply to the taunts of the ignoble, the ignorant, and the vulgar, may truly and confidently say, "let the galled jade wince, our withers are unwrung."

Mr. LEY proposed that the best thanks of the Association be given to Sir Charles Hastings for his excellent address.

Dr. SHERLOCK said he had very great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks proposed for the very excellent address they had just heard read by the President, Sir Charles Hastings. He felt sure the Association must be very much obliged to the President for the expanded and enlightened views he had laid before them, regarding the very urgent subjects which were at present attracting the attention of the country generally, as well as of the legislature. He trusted that the several points to which the address referred would receive

the attention of the committee. These subjects were attracting so much of public interest at the present time, that anything the committee could do with regard to them would unquestionably be received with great attention. There might not be such an opportunity found at another time. Public opinion was just then very much excited and aroused in connection with several of the points to which the address referred, and that was, therefore, a very favorable time for taking these subjects up, giving them a full consideration, and, perhaps, having them placed in rather a more satisfactory position than at present. In many respects they appeared at present very likely to retrograde; but he thought that if the Association exerted itself, and laid fairly and plainly before the public its views upon these subjects, they would in all probability take a step forward in a proper direction and obtain more enlightenment, instead of proceeding backwards, as hitherto they had appeared likely to do. He had, therefore, much pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks for the extremely able address just read, which he thought deserving of all praise.

The motion was carried by acclamation.

### TREASURER'S REPORT.

#### *Receipts and Expenditure for the Year ending July 1, 1859.*

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
By Balance in the hands of Treasurer	44 17 10	By Annual Meeting, July, 1858	13 6 0
„ Balance in the hands of General Secretary	9 4 10	„ Special Meeting in London, and Printing for ditto	25 12 10
„ Subscriptions, &c., paid to Treasurer	108 14 6	„ Printing & Publishing Journal, 124	18 11
„ Subscriptions to General Secretary	13 13 0	„ Postage and Sundries of Treasurer	2 0 0
„ Subscriptions to Secretary for Ireland	15 15 0	„ General Secretary	2 2 0
		„ Secretary for Ireland	0 11 8
		Balance	168 11 5
			23 13 9
	£192 5 2		192 5 2

The TREASURER laid before the meeting his annual report. He said the year preceding last year closed very well. All arrears were paid up, and the balance left in the hands of the Treasurer and Secretary was upwards of £50. It was calculated that the number of gentlemen added to the list last year would have increased that balance, but the fact proved otherwise. It would appear that in times of agitation, gentlemen did not always act with unanimity, and pay up money as readily as when they expected things

to go on more smoothly and quietly. The agitation had itself been attended with some slight degree of expense. There had been circulars issued and meetings held, which had been the cause of some little outlay. The result was that the balance was reduced to £23 13s. 9d; but the amount of arrears was much more than would cover the deficiency. The present amount of balance was not altogether unusual. The year before last was somewhat an exceptional year for the readiness with which all the subscriptions were paid up. He thought, therefore, that in reporting a balance of £23 13s. 9d., he was reporting very favourably of the circumstances of the institution. Throughout the year there had been a debt accruing to the general secretary, in consequence of the increased amount of expense attending the calling of meetings and other purposes, and in consequence of the meeting being held in Edinburgh rather than in London, which also necessarily involved some degree of expense. That debt, which amounted to £18 3s. due to the secretary being paid, still left the balance of £23 13s. 9d. The society would, no doubt, order that the amount due to the secretary should be paid forthwith. He thought there was nothing in his report which was not favourable. The subscriptions received by the Treasurer had been £107 5s. 4d.; by the General Secretary £13 13s.; and by the Irish Secretary £15 15s. The expenditure by the Treasurer, which was mainly for the printing of the journal was £126 18s. The General Secretary's expenses including the meetings called in London, had been £41; the expenses of the Irish Secretary 11s. 8d. The accounts had been audited, and the books of the Treasurer and Secretary had been signed by the officers.

Dr. BRUSHFIELD moved that the Treasurer's report be adopted.

The motion was unanimously carried, and the sum of £18 3s. due to the General Secretary was ordered to be paid.

The CHAIRMAN said—Gentlemen, the next portion of the business is a vote of thanks to our late President, Dr. Conolly. I feel that I am not departing from what is usual upon these occasions, when I propose myself a vote of thanks to that eminent and distinguished individual. I am sure you all feel with me very great regret that he has not been present upon this occasion, because no one can more gracefully perform the duties which would have devolved upon him than Dr. Conolly would have done. Circumstances which we regret, imperatively prevent him from

being present on this occasion, but that fact does not at all lessen the regret which we all feel that he is not with us. I need not allude in any way to Dr. Conolly; his fame is known and read of all men. So long as he remains a member of this Association, he will ever be considered one of its most distinguished ornaments. His name is written in the history of mental alienation, so far as its history is comprised within the last quarter of a century, in indelible characters. It is past the power of malevolence or of any species of unfriendly comment to take from him the high name and the reputation which will ever be his. I regard it as a circumstance of great importance to this Association that he should have been our President last year when we met in Edinburgh. He there so gracefully performed his duties, and in every way shewed to the eminent men of the northern metropolis that we were well headed; that no one who reflects upon what passed upon that occasion, can do otherwise than join with me in offering to Dr. Conolly our most earnest thanks, with the desire that his valuable life may yet be prolonged for many years.

Dr. BUCKNILL—I second the vote of thanks to Dr. Conolly, and I am sure that all the members present at this meeting will agree with what you, sir, have said so gracefully and so fairly of our distinguished and philanthropic late President. His name has been an ornament to the Association, as it has been an ornament to the medical profession in general, and an honour to his country. I feel that while the ranks of psychology embrace such men, the unfavourable state of public feeling towards physicians engaged in practice among the insane must be as transitory as it is unjust.

The motion was carried by acclamation.

### THE FUTURE PRESIDENT.

Dr. DAVEY said—Mr. President, there has been imposed upon me a duty of a very satisfactory and pleasing nature; it is that of proposing to you the name of a gentleman to act as our President in the coming year. When I tell you that the gentleman to whom I allude is Dr. Bucknill, I am perfectly sure that all present will rejoice at my proposition. I need hardly say that Dr. Bucknill is one who has worked hard for the advancement of science, and whose writings assure us that he is well deserving to hold the position of President. His zeal in our cause is of no ordinary kind. His earnestness for the well-doing of the

insane, is not a quality of every day occurrence. For these and for many other reasons, which will occur to each one of you, I have great pleasure indeed in proposing to you the name of Dr. Bucknill as President for the coming year.

Dr. PAUL said he had much pleasure in seconding the nomination of Dr. Bucknill as President for the ensuing year. It was not necessary to say much, the repute of Dr. Bucknill was known to them all. He was quite sure that his appointment as President would give unmixed satisfaction.

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

Dr. BUCKNILL: Mr. President, I beg leave to thank you for the high honour you have conferred upon me, and I can only say that I will do my best to discharge its duties worthily. Following such men as yourself and Dr. Conolly, my task will not be light; but it shall be my most earnest solicitude to discharge my duty to the best of my abilities. I beg most sincerely to thank you for the honour conferred upon me.

Dr. TUKE then proposed that the next place of meeting be London. The place of meeting ought to have been Dublin, but he had a letter from Mr. Lawlor, stating with extreme regret that the Dublin body could not receive them next year.

Dr. PAUL seconded the motion.

Dr. SHERLOCK proposed as an amendment that Dr. Bucknill be consulted as to whether the next meeting of the Association could not conveniently be held in Exeter.

Dr. BUCKNILL said London would be most convenient to him, and he had been on the point of seconding Dr. Tuke's proposition. It was most important at the present time that the meeting should be held in a place which gave the greatest facilities to members to assemble. Next year, when Bills were likely to be before the House affecting the Association, the meeting ought to be held in the metropolis, where the largest number of members could attend.

Dr. SHERLOCK did not press his amendment, and London was accordingly fixed upon as the place of meeting next year.

#### ELECTION OF TREASURER.

Dr. TUKE proposed that Mr. Ley be re-appointed *Treasurer*, adding that there could not be found one more attentive to the true interests of the Association.

Dr. FAYRER seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

## ELECTION OF EDITOR OF JOURNAL.

Dr. TUKE proposed that Dr. Bucknill be re-elected *Editor of the Journal*. He felt confident that the *Journal* had done a great deal for their position as psychologists; and, when they considered the enormous disadvantage under which Dr. Bucknill laboured in bringing out the *Journal* so far from London, from public libraries, and all the sources of information which were constantly needed in his editorial labours, they would all see that they could find no better qualified man. He was not only an able physician, but also a most accomplished writer, and some of his recent articles in the *Journal* really held a high rank not only in psychological medicine, but in English literature.

Dr. EDGAR SHEPPARD felt peculiar gratification, although he had not the pleasure of knowing Dr. Bucknill, in seconding the motion. It would be impossible to over-estimate the great talent displayed in the *Journal*, particularly in some recent numbers, and he would take that opportunity of mentioning a circumstance which occurred to him during last summer. He was travelling in Brittany, and he visited the celebrated asylum there, with which he had no doubt some members of the Association were familiar, where he found the resident physician reading Dr. Bucknill's recent work. The physician was not a very accomplished English scholar, and asked him (Dr. Sheppard) for some explanation which he endeavoured to give. Having the last published number of the *Journal* with him, he left it with the physician, telling him what a distinguished position Dr. Bucknill occupied, and of the efforts being made by the public asylums throughout the kingdom to advance the science. That gentleman received the *Journal* with very great interest, and promised that he would read every word of it. He could only repeat that he had great pleasure in seconding the nomination of Dr. Bucknill, whose services he would not only willingly admit, but felt extremely proud of.

The CHAIRMAN said he could reiterate every word which had been said in praise of Dr. Bucknill.

The motion was unanimously carried.

Dr. BUCKNILL said he felt deeply moved by their kind appreciation of his services as Editor of the *Journal*. It was a position of which he was very proud, and in which he was delighted to feel that he gave satisfaction to them all. He must own that he had to encounter some difficulties, not only

in the mere matter of labour, but inasmuch as he had to put things on record in the *Journal* which were not always agreeable to members of the Association. But whether he edited it with ability or not, he could promise them one thing, that he would always edit it with honesty. And if there were any matters affecting their specialty which ought to be published, he would be no party to their suppression. He knew that he had given personal offence to members by refusing to suppress, or rather by not suppressing things which had a very important bearing upon scientific questions relating to the insane. Whatever came forward before the public or before the courts of law, or which in any way came to his knowledge as a matter which he deemed it honest and right to publish in the *Journal*, should be published, whether it affected his own interest, or that of any other person. He could, therefore, promise them, that whatever he might lack of that ability which they so kindly attributed to him, in their generous feelings towards him, he should always do his very best to discharge, with uprightness, his very responsible duties.

#### ELECTION OF SECRETARY.

Dr. BUCKNILL proposed the re-election as *Secretary* of Dr. Lockhart Robertson. He said he personally had so much to thank Dr. Robertson for, and so much to expect from him, that he felt it to be his own peculiar duty to thank him for the past, and to crave his services for the future. He thought it would be impossible for the Association to have a more zealous, more gentlemanly, more able and urbane Secretary than Dr. Robertson, and he had the greatest pleasure in proposing his re-election.

Dr. SHERLOCK seconded the motion, which was unanimously adopted.

#### ELECTION OF AUDITORS, &c.

The next business being the election of *Auditors*.

Mr. LEY moved that Dr. Tuke and Dr. Sherlock be appointed Auditors.

Dr. PAUL seconded this resolution, which was unanimously carried.

#### THE SECRETARIES FOR IRELAND & SCOTLAND.

Mr. LEY said that the *Secretaries for Ireland and Scotland*

had been usually re-elected. Dr. Stewart was one of the earliest members of the Association, and had added more members to their list than almost any other gentleman. It was, Mr. Ley believed, in 1837, when Dr. Stewart came forward as one of the original founders of the Association, in whose affairs he had always taken a most active part and interest. He had great pleasure in proposing that Dr. Stewart and Dr. Wingett be re-appointed Secretaries for Ireland and Scotland. Dr. SHEPPARD seconded the motion, which was carried.

Dr. TUKE then read the following letter of invitation to inspect the Rainhill Asylum, which had been forwarded by Dr. Rogers, of Rainhill.

Rainhill, July 17th.

Dear Sir—It is my wish to join the Association of which you are the Secretary (Medical Officers of Asylums, &c.), and I hope the members will pay me a visit when at Liverpool. The distance is only nine miles, they could come out in the morning, lunch at my house, and return to dinner.

I am, yours faithfully,

Dr. L. Robertson.

THOS. L. ROGERS.

Dr. Tuke observed that the members would be very much obliged to Mr. Rogers, and that some of them doubtless, would avail themselves of his kind invitation.

A vote of thanks to Dr. Rogers, having been passed Mr. BRUSHFIELD said that he for one should not only visit the Asylum at Rainhill, but also, if possible, those at Prestwich and Lancaster, for those three institutions ranked amongst the highest in the kingdom. Should any of the members desire to visit his own asylum, in Cheshire, he should have great pleasure in receiving them, and do all that he could to supply them with information and to enhance the pleasure of their visit in other ways.

#### PROPOSED FOREIGN HONORARY MEMBERS.

DR. TUKE then stated that Dr. Conolly had transmitted to him a list of foreign gentlemen to be proposed as honorary members. No one of these names would not do honour to this or any other medical association, for the list included some of the first physicians upon the Continent, but there seemed to be a technical objection on the ground that one of the rules of the Association required that the names of proposed honorary associates should be sent round in a



circular before the annual meeting. Dr. Conolly had not done so, but had simply announced his intention of proposing certain associates. Dr. Tuke then read the following names, observing that it would have to be put from the chair, whether the Society would take Dr. Conolly's notice as sufficient, or whether they would require the rule to be observed strictly.

Dr. Falret, Paris.

Dr. Guislain, Ghent.

Dr. Calmeil, Paris.

Dr. Foville, *Fils*, Paris.

Dr. Evart, Holland.

Dr. Howe, Massachusetts.

Dr. Fleming, Editor of the *Zeitschrift der Psychiatrie*.

Dr. Morel, St. Yon, Rouen.

Mr. LEY said that it was honourable and pleasant for both parties to have honorary members on the list of an Association, if they could be certain that the gentlemen would accept the appointment. He thought the best plan would be for the list to be read, the names to be circulated in the meantime, and the appointments confirmed at the next meeting.

Dr. DAVEY thought that by not attending strictly to the rules, they would be apt to get into a lax way of business, and that the interests of the Association might suffer. He coincided with Mr. Ley in the course which that gentleman recommended.

Dr. PAUL thought that the bye-law might be suspended.

Dr. BUCKNILL quite agreed with the view taken by Dr. Tuke and Mr. Ley; if the rules were broken through on this occasion, on behalf of foreign psychologists, it might on a future occasion be infringed on behalf of gentlemen in this country, respecting whose claims to the position of honorary members of the Association, the unanimity might not be so great. It would be safer and wiser therefore to adhere strictly to the rule. Indeed, he was inclined to go still further, and to say that it would be for the benefit of the Association, to restrict the number of their honorary members, and not to make that title too common.

After some further conversation, it was decided that the subject should come regularly before the next meeting for decision.

## LIST OF NEW MEMBERS.

The following list of new members was next submitted for election.

George Birkett, Esq., M.R.C.S., Northumberland House, Stoke Newington.

Dr. H. Browne, Hayes, Middlesex.

Dr. J. Langdon Down, Idiot Asylum, Reigate.

D. Rossiter, Esq., M.R.C.S., Haydock Lodge, Ashton, near Warrington.

Dr. Lorimer, Royal Asylum, Perth.

Dr. J. M. Lindsay, County Asylum, Wells, Somerset.

James Strange Biggs, Esq., County Asylum, Surrey.

Frederick Needham, Esq., Lunatic Hospital, York.

Dr. P. M. Duncan, Colchester.

M. L. Rogers, Esq., Medical Superintendent, Rainhill.

Dr. Mc Kinstry, Armagh District Hospital for the Insane.

Alfred Wood, M.D., Barwood House Asylum, near Gloucester.

Dr. Dixon, Gloucester House Asylum.

Some conversation took place as to the practice with regard to the ballot, on which it was explained by Dr. BUCKNILL that the rule hitherto observed had been, that gentlemen desirous of becoming members submitted their names to the secretary and the committee, who prepared a list for the general meeting. If the names were all considered unexceptionable, the whole number, to save time, were elected at once. If, on the other hand, any doubt arose, the ballot was adopted. On the motion of Dr. TUKE, seconded by Dr. SHERLOCK, the above list of names was agreed to.

## STATISTICS OF ASYLUMS.

Dr. TUKE said he had a resolution to propose, which would commit the society rather to an expression of opinion than anything else, but which at the same time he was most anxious to bring forward. At the present time, with legislative enactments in prospective, it was of the greatest possible importance that there should be union amongst the members of the Association; and he could not disguise from himself the fact, that there was not that union; and on the contrary a distinct line of demarcation between the medical officers of public asylums and the proprietors of private asylums. There was an element of trade

in the very constitution of private asylums which made it perfectly natural, and almost justifiable; indeed, there was the same line of demarcation between those engaged in the practice of lunacy, and the ordinary physician. He thought it very important however that this union should, if possible, be effected between the two bodies, and the only way in which he could see that it could be done, was by keeping in view the fact, that they were engaged in a common profession. He was perfectly sure that if they could only convince their medical brethren in public asylums, that the interests of the practitioners attached to private asylums was not allowed to interfere with their duty as medical men, they would at once become, not only co-members, but as they ought to be, brethren-in-arms. It had occurred to him that the only way in which they could do this would be by a better system of statistical tables. He believed that one great cause of the efficiency of the officers of public asylums, was their system of reports, and the publicity given to the results of their treatment of the insane. The remarks of their President in his able address, bore him out in this opinion. He believed there was a spirit of emulation excited amongst the public asylums, which was of great value in the treatment of patients, and he thought this might be made available also in the treatment carried on in private asylums. There would, no doubt, be difficulties in the way, but the resolution which he was about to propose, would, he believed, in some degree meet these difficulties. At present, if the question were asked, what was the proportion of cures in private asylums? it must remain statistically unanswered. He must say that he was grieved and distressed to hear from one of our most distinguished physicians in a committee room of the House of Commons, that the cures in private asylums were only 50 per cent. in recent cases, and that of these recent cases 25 relapsed. If this were true, he must confess that the sooner the proprietors of private asylums left the Association the better; for they were most certainly not fit to sit down side by side with the physicians engaged in the treatment of insanity in the public asylums. He (Dr. Tuke) however, did not believe that it was true, and he only mentioned it in order to shew the great importance of having clear and distinct returns. They had no returns by which they could tell how many of their patients recovered, or how many died, they were merely registered as received and discharged, and this was unaccompanied by any reliable statement as to recovery or otherwise. The only way by

which they could get at this information was by a general system of returns. There would be another advantage also in such a system. He need not point out the fallacy of arguments drawn from minor statistics. A single asylum might cure 60 or 70 per cent. out of 200 or 300 cases, another equally good might do nothing of the kind; but if they could get the same returns for several thousand cases by grouping together asylums of the same class in London, and compare them with those of the same class in the country, they would at once obtain a valuable statistical result. For instance, there were many private asylums in which restraint still lingered. How valuable would it be to compare the results of treatment in these, with the results of a similar number of asylums where no restraints were employed. In some asylums—and here was a most important question—what Lord Shaftesbury and the Committee of the House of Commons recognized as the “lay treatment” largely prevailed. A system which it was considered could be adopted as well by ladies, or gentlemen who were not medical men, as by medical men themselves. Now this was a question of fact—was it or was it not successful in its results of cure?—and he thought it was a question which medical men would be very willing to put to the test of statistical proof. There was another point also, which he touched upon with some reluctance, and that was the system of agreements between medical men and proprietors of asylums for paying per centages, or having arrangements by which medical men continued to be the paid visitors of such places, without the knowledge of the patients. That was also a question of importance, though a question with which they, as an Association, had perhaps nothing to do. They might, however, very easily ascertain whether the gentlemen who did this had the same proportion of cures as those who did not; and if they had, it was a matter of perfect indifference how they chose to pay their medical men; if they had not, they might perhaps be led to adopt a better system. He only mentioned this as an instance of the value of statistical returns. It was another question, altogether, whether statistical returns would be available, or would bring out all these facts; but if they would, it was important that the society should give them its recommendation and influence. The question of relapses too was one of vital importance. In comparing private asylums with public ones in these returns, one fact must be kept strongly in view. There were

many cases in private practice which were cured without going into an asylum at all, and for this reason they could not expect to cure so many recent cases of disorder as the public asylums. There were many cases of puerperal mania which were cured at home; and in the same way cases of *delirium tremens* in the higher classes of society were treated at home; the patients recovered, and did not swell the list therefore, of the cures of the private asylums. One objection had been made to these returns, by a distinguished member of the Association, who said that they would not be trustworthy; that in private asylums they were in the habit of sending out their patients as cured, and then re-admitting them, and sending them out again; so that one patient might be cured half a dozen times over. It appears that an error of this kind might arise sometimes from the nature of the present returns; but if the returns were carefully drawn up, so as to distinguish between chronic cases, cases of first attack, and recent cases, this fallacy could not creep in, and the returns would be perfectly trustworthy; besides the Commissioners of Lunacy would hold in their hands duplicates of such returns, which must be therefore correct. In conclusion, Dr. Tuke moved, "That in the opinion of this meeting, a clear and statistical account of the nature of cases admitted into private asylums, and the results of their treatment during the last few years, distinguishing the chronic cases, the recent cases, and those of the first, second, and third attack, would be most valuable to psychological medicine, could be easily attainable from the medical officers in each asylum, would be trustworthy, and would probably afford valuable data for future medical enactments."

Mr. LEY was happy to second the resolution. He thought there could be no question about the value of statistical information, which, though perhaps never strictly true, was the closest information which they could get to the truth.

Dr. FAYRER: How many years would you propose for the average?

Dr. TUKE: A few years only in order to get a sufficient number, say from 100 to 300 cases from each asylum. I would not take less than 100 cases. If this resolution is carried, Dr. Robertson and myself propose to draw out the blank form of such a return, and refer it to Dr. Thurnam, whose reputation stands the very highest in statistical questions connected with our special department of medicine. We would then send it round to the members.

Dr. FAYRER repeated that the number of years should be fixed from which to take the average of cases.

Dr. TUKE would rather fix the number of cases.

The CHAIRMAN suggested a period of five years, because it was probable that during the last five years there had been more accuracy with regard to the records of private asylums.

Dr. SHERLOCK thought that five years would be a very good period, and would enable them to make valuable comparisons in various matters.

Dr. PAUL said, that in the large asylums it would involve a great deal of trouble, as about 1,030 cases passed through his hands in five years.

Dr. TUKE observed, that as there would be 10,000 cases in the large asylums, to compare with 600 or 800 in the smaller ones, the statistics would be useless unless they obtained a fixed number of cases from each asylum, say 200 or 100. They would thus get an easy per-centage comparison, and save a vast amount of trouble in working out the results. They must, however, have the same numbers to compare with the same numbers. If large asylums like that of Dr. Paul were to be compared with smaller ones, where there were only 8 or 10 cases, it would be easy to compare them exactly by comparing 10 years of one with one year of the other. The objection as to the picking of the cases would be met at once by taking the last 2 or 300 cases admitted or discharged.

Dr. SHERLOCK said, that if the last series of cases was taken there could be no objection; but to select particular cases would be of no earthly utility.

Dr. HITCHMAN was obliged to Dr. Tuke for bringing the subject forward, and he thought that such statistics would afford valuable opportunities of comparison between private and public asylums. He should be sorry to be separated from such men as Dr. Conolly, Dr. Wood, and others who had separated themselves from public institutions, and had taken charge of private asylums, and he should be happy to find that these distinctions were passed away.

Dr. DAVY observed, that the subject was one of very great importance, and one about which he had thought a great deal. Indeed, for some time he had resolved that when he had been ten years at Northwoods, he would publish a full and accurate report, statistical and otherwise, of his experience there. He thought it important to do so, not only as illustrating facts with regard to the treatment of insanity, but because it would be calculated to get rid of

those prejudices which prevailed throughout society in relation to private asylums. He believed it was only necessary for the public at large to know what private asylums were, how they were conducted, the large number of cures effected there, and the small mortality which prevailed, to be assured, that a greivous error had been fallen into, in supposing that they were not satisfactorily managed, and that patients therein were not treated with the greatest kindness, and in the most scientific manner. This great error on the part of the public, was to be got rid of by a public statement and avowal of the facts which obtained in private asylums; and if the proprietors of such asylums would give, as he intended to do, decennial reports of their operations, he thought the effect would be of such a kind as to go far to remove the prejudices which had existed; and on this account alone, he attached great importance to the publication of these reports. For these, and other grounds, he begged to support the resolution proposed by Dr. Tuke.

Dr. Mc CULLOUGH thought it would be very desirable for the returns to be upon an uniform plan; at present every Superintendent had a plan of his own, so that the tables were not available in the mass for statistical purposes. He proposed as an amendment, that a committee of the members of the Association, should be appointed to consider the entire subject of statistics, with regard to asylums, and draw up a series of tables.

While Dr. Mc Cullough was writing out his amendment, Dr. BUCKNILL, at the request of the chairman, filled up the time by proposing a resolution "that the managing committee of the association be augmented by six members, who should be appointed from the members who occupied themselves different positions in the treatment of the insane; namely, that one of the members should be the Superintendent of a county asylum; another, the Proprietor of a licensed house in the metropolitan district; another, the Proprietor of a licensed house in the provinces, another the Superintendent of one of the Scotch asylums; another, of one of the Irish asylums; and another, the physician to a hospital for the insane." He thought all their members, with one or two exceptions, would come under one or other of these denominations, and that, if they increased their managing committee by adding six members, representing the different interests of the Association, they would give greater satisfaction than at present to all the members in the management of its affairs.

Dr. DAVEY seconded the resolution which he took it was to supersede the necessity of having voting papers. It would be remembered that at the Edinburgh meeting last year, he took upon himself to propose certain alterations and amendments in the rules of the Association, and at that time a Committee was formed, whose duties were to have been discharged between the meeting of last year, and the present meeting. The subject matter of the amended rules, however, was accepted by those in office, and he had been told by Dr. Robertson, that the thing was looked upon as an accomplished fact, and that voting papers were to be drawn up, and distributed amongst the members, so that each member might carry out those amended rules and regulations which he (Dr. Davey) had the honour of suggesting. He believed, however, that at present, these balloting papers were objected to, because the Committee had never done the work it was appointed to do, and because the amended rules were accepted and attempted to be carried out in an informal manner. He took it, therefore, that this resolution was to meet this difficulty; and, as it might be considered somewhat as an amendment on his own proposition of last year, he had much pleasure in seconding it, because he believed that, as Dr. Bucknill said, it would extend the representative principle, and tend to render the operation of the rules and regulations of the Association more desirable and harmonious.

Dr. TUKE did not wish to oppose the resolution, but he feared that it would be an infraction of the existing rules. The rule with regard to the managing committee "with power to add to their number" only applied to the Committee which met at twelve o'clock, in order to arrange the business of the annual meeting.

The CHAIRMAN thought, it was quite competent for the annual meeting to appoint a committee to attend to any matters which might occur during the year, without any fear of conflict with the officers of the Association.

Ultimately, after further conversation Dr. BUCKNILL added the following clause to his resolution:—"And that this committee, with the officers of the Association, constitute the managing committee of the Association for the ensuing year."

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously; and the following gentlemen were chosen to form the committee—Dr. Hood, Dr. Sherlock, Dr. Skae, Dr. Paul, Dr. Davey, Dr. Lalor.



Dr. TUKE feared lest the adoption of such a resolution would form a precedent which might be worked injuriously to the Association on future occasions.

Dr. DAVEY did not anticipate such an event.

Dr. Mc CULLOUGH then re-introduced his amendment as to the appointment of a committee to consider the subject of the statistics of asylums, and draw up a form of tables applicable to both public and private asylums. He thought Dr. Tuke's motion would only partially realise the desired object. The statistics of public asylums were by no means in a satisfactory state, and he thought it would be much better to have the whole subject thoroughly investigated, and a uniform system adopted applicable to both classes of institutions.

Dr. TUKE, after reading his resolution again, advised that it should be put as a substantive resolution; as if it were passed it would not interfere with Dr. Mc Cullough's proposition.

This was accordingly done, and the motion was carried unanimously.

Dr. Mc Cullough's proposition being then the only one before the meeting,

Dr. FAYRER suggested as an amendment, that it should apply to private asylums only.

Dr. Mc CULLOUGH explained that his object was to improve the statistics of public asylums. He would not bind down a Superintendent to anything beyond a certain number of tables; but it was most important that a limited number of tables should be upon a uniform plan, and that the whole results of the country might be added up and compared in a way which could not be done at present. The tables should relate to the causes of insanity, the cases of death, and the proportion of cures; and there should be a classification of the different forms of insanity. If any Superintendent chose to give other tables, of course he might do as he chose.

Dr. DAVY then seconded Dr. Mc Cullough's proposition.

Dr. TUKE observed, that the 16th rule prescribed that the tabular statements should be of a uniform plan. The resolution, therefore, was perfectly unnecessary.

The CHAIRMAN thought that Dr. Mc Cullough was perfectly in order with respect to the rules. He was moving for a committee.

Dr. Mc CULLOUGH observed, that the rule had never been carried out, as the statistics of public asylums were not uniform.

Dr. TUKE really hoped that the amendment would not be carried. He did not know anything which did more credit to the members of the Association, than the very admirable way in which the reports of public asylums were at present drawn up, the vast amount of work which the Superintendents performed, and the clear way in which the statistics were arranged. It appeared to him that after his remarks upon private asylums, it would be an ungracious thing to attempt to alter in any way the reports of the public asylums. When they got the returns from private asylums, he saw no objection to the committee trying to get them all under one system; but he thought the society would be doing itself great mischief by appointing a special committee. What standard of excellence, for instance, was to be taken?

Dr. Mc CULLOUGH explained, that he did not propose to take any particular person's tables, but to have a certain number of a certain form for the adoption of the society.

Dr. SHEPPARD thought that it would essentially injure the value of the returns at present issued by the Superintendents, and in which the different modes of treatment adopted by different physicians were pointed out, if the resolution proposed by Dr. Mc Cullough were adopted. Many members of the Association would object to make any alterations in the style of their returns. It was all very well to make a distinct return founded upon these reports, but it would be very invidious to go to any Superintendent and ask him to alter his returns, which was what the resolution amounted to.

Dr. Mc CULLOUGH said that his object was to make the statistics of asylums of use to the public by collecting their results year after year, and in order to do this, there must be uniformity.

Dr. SHEPPARD said it would be the object of the committee to make them uniform.

Dr. Mc CULLOUGH replied that they could not be put together at present, because they were made out from different data.

Dr. SHERLOCK remarked that the Lunacy Commissioners did not take the forms made out by the Asylums, but made out tables for themselves. He took it that the work of the Committee would be to arrange the results of certain public and private asylums in a form agreed to by the Association, giving certain particulars with regard to the course of mortality, the duration of cure and various other matters, without referencer to the published reports at all.

Dr. TUKE then proposed, and Dr. ROGERS seconded, as an amendment "That the present reports of public asylums are admirably drawn up, and that it is not desirable to interfere with them by the appointment of any Committee.

Dr. Mc CULLOUGH explained that he did not mean in the in the least to reflect upon the statistical tables of the public asylums. He thought they were very good, and all he wished, was to have them in the form in which they could be most advantageously compared.

The CHAIRMAN put the amendment, which was adopted by 5 votes to 3; several members remaining neutral. The resolution was then put *pro formâ* and lost.

### INSANITY AND CRIME—COMMUNICATION BY DR. DAVY.

Dr. DAVY said he had intended to make a few remarks, which, however, as the time pressed, he must compress within a brief compass. He had a few facts before him, and he merely wished to bring them before the attention of Sir Charles and the meeting, with the view, as he conceived, of shewing the public, who really were the friends of the insane. He trusted that these facts would have a good effect upon the minds of those who were desirous of legislating for the insane, and adopting measures for their amelioration. They were facts of a very stubborn kind, and if he mistook not, were of that nature which had never yet entered, except very cursorily and temporarily, into the heads of those who had given so much attention to the lunacy laws. He took up the other day a file of old newspapers, and went through them with some care, in order to pick out from their pages the number of insane persons who had committed crimes. He found recorded, the fact, that within the last few years so many as 38 insane persons had been arraigned for murder; that these 38 insane persons, guilty of the crime of murder, had caused the death of 53 persons; and that of the 38 insane who were tried for their lives, 10 were executed, 17 acquitted on the ground of insanity, the fate of 8 he could not discover, and the remaining 3 committed suicide. Now, here were facts starting in their nature, and calculated to awaken the attention of legislators to this fact—that insanity was very little understood; and that in consequence of the ignorance which generally prevailed with respect to it, large numbers of insane persons were abroad in the world, who ought to

be secluded and protected from the commission of crime. It followed too, that in consequence of the neglect which surrounded these poor creatures, the lives of fifty sane persons had been sacrificed. Fifty persons had lost their lives who, had they not been subjected to such a terrible fatality, might have been living at this hour in the exercise of the rights and privileges of society, and honourably fulfilling their various duties. Of the eight unknown, he thought that some two or three were transported. Transported for what? Not so much because they had infringed the laws of their country, as because they were neglected; because, being oppressed with a dreadful disease, they were allowed their liberty to go about the streets and parade the country districts; and so neglected and borne down by the pressure of disease of the brain, they were impelled—having lost their volition and all command of their moral feelings—to the commission of crime. And what was the consequence? They were dragged before our tribunals; they were not subjected to wholesome and necessary treatment, but they were treated as prisoners; and if they were not executed or transported, they were made the companions of real criminals, and exposed to all the hardships of a protracted life, having lost their self-respect, and become like criminals; disgraced not only in themselves, but in having heaped disgrace upon their families. The meeting would agree with him that these were very startling facts, and that these things had occurred only because insanity was not understood, because our Legislature did not care to make itself acquainted with the facts of insanity, and because they would not listen to the voice of those who did know what insanity was. The lawyers would not be taught by the doctors the true indications of cerebro-mental disease. To prove that these remarks were not foreign to the present meeting, and that this of all others was the time when they should compel public attention to this question of insanity, it was their duty to raise their voices against the neglect which obtained in reference to the insane, to show that legislators must listen to what they had to teach them, and to prove that the law itself was at fault. He would only refer to a trial which had just taken place at Winchester, on the Western Circuit, by which all his preceding remarks would be verified, and the justice of the words he had spoken, fully established. Mr. Baron Bramwell presided on the occasion, and the indictment charged Henry Benjamin Haynes with the wilful

murder of Mary Mc Gowan, at Aldershott. This poor man murdered the girl under the influence of cerebro-mental disease. He (Dr. Davey) thought that the facts upon the piece of paper which he held in his hand would assure the meeting of this: Haynes had some connection with the girl, but they were good friends, and there had been no quarrel or dispute between them. He seized her by the neck, went into another room, took a razor from a box in his possession, seized her again round the neck and cut her throat. Presently she was a corpse. He was very properly taken into custody; his trial had just now come off; and they had the issue of that trial before them. He would just draw attention to two or three facts as he found them reported in the paper. They were staggering facts, and he thought if Baron Bramwell was ever brought to his senses, and made to appreciate truth as it really was, he would very much regret having committed himself to the extent he had done. One of the witnesses called, was a person named Callender, who stated that the prisoner had been very uneasy in his mind ever since he left America, as he had seduced a young woman there who had a child by him, and whom he deserted. He was asked what had made him kill the deceased? "I don't know," he replied, "poor girl she never did me any harm. It was not her I intended to kill; it was Margaret Cheltenham, who caused me to be kept in the hospital, and it was the devil did it." In cross-examination, Callender said, "that he had travelled from America with the prisoner. He appeared to have something on his mind, and was not like what he had been before he went. He seemed at times hardly to know what he was doing." Another witness called was Sergeant Herman, who said "I have known the prisoner for four years, and was with him in America. After his return, I observed a great alteration and peculiarity in him. When he took a drop of drink he appeared rambling in his mind, and also at other times, very often." In cross-examination, the witness said, "He used to be talking about a woman in America. He seemed sorry that he could not marry her." He said, "Oh, my head!" "He appeared quite out of spirits. One time when he had drank he went away to York and came back very honourably, and gave himself up." He used to say, "Oh, my head! that poor girl." "He did not appear to know what he was doing." It was suggested that the evidence of the surgeon of the gaol should be taken, and Mr. Cole said, that for the satisfaction of his Lordship he had sent for him.

The Judge said, "He doubted whether, after the speeches, it would be right to put this witness into the box, but he would consult Mr. Justice Crompton. Mr. Baron Bramwell upon his return, said, his learned brother agreed with him, that it was better to be regular, and, therefore, he should decline to have this gentleman examined."

Medical evidence (continued Dr. Davey) was refused upon this occasion. Mr. Baron Bramwell had committed himself to this statement:—

"It would be a most dangerous doctrine to say, that because you could not show a motive, a man was to be acquitted. The question was whether this prisoner had a sufficient degree of reason to know that the act was wrong. If he knew what the act was, and that the act was wrong, the prisoner was punishable for the act. When a man committed murder, the influence of religion, the law, and humanity had been overcome, but that was not to relieve him from punishment. Did the woman die by the hand of the prisoner? If so, he was guilty, unless he did not know the nature of the act, or did not know that it was wrong. Those were the only two matters for their consideration. It was to the advantage of all to obey the law, and every improper acquittal was detrimental to the interests of society."

The jury retired for upwards of two hours. They then sent a note to the judge, to state that some of the jury had doubts as to the state of mind of the prisoner, and therefore requested some further explanation of the law as regarded insanity. The judge directed the jury to be sent for, and on their coming into court asked them if they had any observation to make. One of the jurors said the prisoner seemed to have acted under an uncontrollable impulse. The judge said that did not make the offence the less murder. Malice was implied when there was a deliberate cruel act committed, however sudden it might be. It was no matter how sudden the impulse—whether it was the result of long previous deliberation, or whether it was the impulse of an instant—it would be as much murder in one case as in the other. No jury could properly acquit on the ground of insanity, if they believed the accused was conscious of the act he was committing, and that he knew that act was contrary to law. If they gave a verdict contrary to this, the result would be to increase the number of cases of uncontrollable impulse.

In consequence of that statement, the jury returned a

verdict of guilty, and the man was condemned to death.\* Now, if their society was really to be a practical one, and to look after the interests of the insane, he (Dr. Davey) thought that a statement of this kind, and a verdict like this appearing in the daily prints, should not go without their notice; but that if they had really the interests of the insane at heart, they should keep their attention fixed upon facts of this nature, and never allow them to pass unnoticed. He did not himself see why they should not form a committee, with the object of putting themselves into communication with the legislature, and of pointing out the defects of the present law, as it affected the insane charged with crime. He could not himself think it possible that, if the Legislature were really aware of the insufficiency of the law as it affected such persons, and were satisfied of its inhumanity, and of its untruthfulness to science, but that something would be done to amend it. At the present time no insane person was safe from the consequences of his acts. No person under the influence of cerebro-mental disease could say how far he should go, and when he should stop. Their President might be attacked by this disease, their wives and their children might all be subject to its influence, and when this cerebro-mental disease came on, none of them could put a limit to it. He (the speaker) might do something under the influence of this disease, should it ever afflict him, which might render him in the eye of the law, a criminal. But how very hard it was that persons subjected to such a dreadful disorder should not be protected from the consequences of an act which they never choose, of an act forced upon them, and the result of organic change which they were not instrumental in bringing about. They would agree with him that the matter which he had introduced to their attention was of very great moment and he did hope that as a body they would go practically into the question. In conclusion, therefore, he proposed "that a committee of the Association be formed, to put itself into communication with the Legislature, with a view of exposing the present defects of the law, as it affects the insane charged with crime."

Dr. SHEPPARD seconded the resolution. Members would

\* The sentence was not carried out, as will be seen by the following extract from the *Observer* :—" A MURDERER RESPITED.—A respite was forwarded on Saturday night from the Secretary of State to stay the execution of Henry Benjamin Haynes, who was convicted at the late Winchester Assizes for the murder of a woman at Aldershot."

doubtless recollect the saying of Sidney Smith, that "we should never be free from accidents on the railways until a bishop was killed;" and so, as specialists, he believed they would never be safe in their practice until some honourable member for Marylebone, or some other Queen's Counsel got a knock upon the head from some insane person.

The PRESIDENT: In what way did you think of getting into communication with the Legislature?

Dr. DAVEY: That is one point of detail which I have not thought of at all, but I suppose it is practicable in some way.

Dr. SHEPPARD: Sir Charles, you have had great experience in depositions, will you give us a little light upon the matter?

Dr. FAYRER said, that if the public were more acquainted with private asylums, and the manner in which patients were treated in them, there would not be that outcry which was raised against them. They were accused of sordid motives, and of making use of their patients for mercenary views. They had a great deal to put up with, and there were many things in connection with their position with which the public ought to be acquainted, and he did think, that if the public knew more of the asylums and of the way in which the patients were treated, they would not accuse the medical men of those views. He thought the very facts which Dr. Davey had brought forward, would be the means of shewing the public more of their proceedings, and do them a great deal of good.

The PRESIDENT then put the resolution, which was carried unanimously, and the following gentlemen were appointed the committee—Dr. Davey, Dr. Sheppard, Dr. Hitchman, and Dr. Palmer.

The PRESIDENT observed that the whole matter hinged on the decision of the judges. They might give a legal interpretation to insanity, which did not hold good in its psychological truth. He had no doubt that in point of law Baron Bramwell was right.

Dr. DAVY: Yes, but we have nothing to do with law; we have to do with justice, with humanity, and with reason.

The PRESIDENT: I think if the judges could see the position in which they are, they would at once alter it.

Dr. TUKE: It is not Baron Bramwell's fault.

Dr. DAVEY remarked, that unless they agitated the question, they would never be heard.

Dr. ROGERS said he had been asked by the Secretary to propose a vote of thanks to Sir Charles Hastings for the very able manner in which he had filled the chair, and the useful



and instructive paper which he had read. The paper was valuable, inasmuch as it directed the attention of members to rely upon themselves rather than the Legislature, and to endeavour to do away, by their own exertions, with a certain amount of obloquy that was liable to fall upon members when any cases of insanity came into courts of law. He wished the task had devolved upon some older member of the society; but he thought that none would differ from him in returning a cordial vote of thanks to Sir Charles for the manner in which he had filled the chair.

Dr. HITCHMAN had very great pleasure in rising to speak upon this point. He felt deeply grateful to Sir Charles for taking the chair upon this occasion; for although they were in point of numbers, a small body, compared with that great Association, which in connection with theirs had selected the noble town of Liverpool, the home of merchant princes, for its annual meeting, yet he felt that in the importance of their relative functions they might claim co-equal fellowship with them, and walk, as it were, *pari passu*, as a common brotherhood of philanthropy and science. And if anything were wanting to prove this, it would be found in the delightful fact, that their distinguished President was also the founder and the President of that great Association; and he (Dr. Hitchman) did hope, that from the circumstance of their occasionally meeting together, great good would spring up, and that many diseases of which the public had only confused notions, would become more clearly known, even by the medical profession, and that many diseases which were as yet impracticable to science, might become ameliorated. If they looked at their own specialty, which was but one of yesterday, they must admit that its progress had been continuous, and that if they boldly declared their sentiments, and followed up from time to time before the public those subjects which Dr. Davey had so eloquently described, the evils of which he complained would pass away. Without quite endorsing all that Dr. Davey had said, as to the judges of these realms, he (Dr. Hitchman) did think that lawyers, as a body, were entirely deficient in knowledge in reference to the influence of physical organism upon mental acts. He believed that ignorance, gross and dark pervaded the mind of the public upon these matters, and with regard to the results of physical disorders upon mental acts. In addition to what Dr. Davey had pointed out, he (Dr. Hitchman) might specially illustrate one question upon which he felt strongly. He did think it was monstrous that Life Assurance Associations

should refuse to pay the policy of a man, who, under a morbid impulse, fell a victim to suicide. It was great cruelty to orphans and widows, that they should be deprived of that means of support which the unhappy man in his moments of health had secured to them; that they should, as it were, be branded with penal consequences to a greater extent than if their natural protector had fallen a victim to misfortune or to crime. He hoped that their meeting would be attended with some practical results in regard to these matters; and that when their words came through the press before the public, they would meet with an indulgent hearing, and that the public would believe that these words were spoken from a large experience. He, himself, had known great woe fall upon families from this cause, when he was sure that the suicidal act was as completely independent of the man himself as death would have been from inflammation of the lungs, or any other well-known disease. He thought they had a duty to perform to those sufferers in their respective spheres, by endeavouring, wherever they could, to prevent suicide from mental diseases from being fatal to the payment of the policies; and he hoped they would not leave this great city, without using their influence upon all with whom they came in contact, to realize this object. He might appeal to all who had received enjoyment from the writings of the gentle Cowper, who had been thrilled by the eloquence of Robert Hall, who had admired the patriotism of Romilly, or who had sympathised with Chatterton or Tasso, whether the shield of their protection should not be thrown over the children of those who had suffered from the cause which he had described. He had great pleasure in endorsing the sentiments of Sir Charles Hastings, and in calling upon the meeting to express their thanks to him. The vote having been carried by acclamation,

SIR CHARLES HASTINGS, in replying, said that he was much obliged to the meeting, and that he should always endeavour to advance those great truths which it was their object to cultivate and promote. It gave him ineffable pleasure to find himself amongst them again, and he could assure them, that to co-operate with his medical brethren in meetings like these, and in social intercourse, was one of the greatest pleasures of his life. He begged most cordially to thank them for their kindness.

This closed the business of the meeting. The annual dinner afterwards took place at Radley's Adelphi Hotel, the President in the chair.

*What is Psychology?* By J. STEVENSON BUSHNAN, M.D.,  
*Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh ;*  
*late Senior Physician to the Metropolitan Free Hospital ;*  
*Resident Proprietor of Laverstock House Asylum, near*  
*Salisbury.*

Physiology is co-extensive with organic nature. Organic nature is wholly composed of individuals, comprising the two great kingdoms of plants and animals. A unity of structure pervades the whole of this wide field of nature ; and this unity is a great principle, applicable to the determination of truth in the investigation of this part of knowledge. Every individual in organic nature is a system made up of reciprocally dependent and connected parts. The objects of investigation in physiology are phenomena, organs, and principles. The study of phenomena stands first in order ; but while it must essentially be first cultivated and advanced, in the ulterior stages of its progress it gains continually fresh additions from the progress made in the knowledge of organs and principles. That phenomena attract attention before organs, is manifest on the slightest consideration. Thus the phenomena of locomotion were familiar to mankind long before the part taken by the muscular flesh in locomotion was discovered. To this moment it is far more certain that absorption takes place throughout the animal body, than what the organs are by which that office is performed. And it would be easy to multiply examples of the same kind, notwithstanding that there are some phenomena of the human body—such as those connected with the sense of sight, the sense of hearing, and other senses—the organs concerned in which must have been known, in a general manner, almost as soon as the earliest phenomena in which they are concerned. Principles, in their larger sense, take their place subsequently to the study of organs ; yet, as referring to the more common genera of phenomena, these must also have had their rise almost coeval with the observation of phenomena. Thus the grouping of colours, sounds, smells, and tastes together, under the name of qualities derived from sense, must have been a very early and universal generalization. Nevertheless, it will,

I think, be conceded, after these examples, that the study of phenomena is of a more elementary character in physiology, than the study of organs and principles; and, therefore, in the difficult parts of any physiological subject, that more progress is likely to be made by the study of phenomena, than by the study of organs and principles. But before proceeding further, it may be desirable to give some examples of physiological phenomena:—the alternation of sleep and waking; of hunger and satiety; thirst; the effect of drink; breathing; the exercise of the senses, and trains of thought; the various kinds of locomotion, walking, running, leaping, dancing. Here a question naturally arises—if trains of thought be physiological phenomena, does not all human knowledge fall within the definition of physiological phenomena? If the human race were not yet called into being, neither would human knowledge, it is true, have any existence in the world. And, it is doubtless true, under one point of view, that all that man has discovered; all that he has recorded; all the changes which he has made upon the earth since his first creation—are the effects of his physiological nature. But to place all knowledge under the head of physiology would be to defeat the very end of methodical arrangement, to which the progress of knowledge is so largely indebted. Nor is it difficult to mark out at least the general character of the boundaries within which physiology, in the largest sense in which it is convenient to accept it, should be circumscribed. Let us take as an example man's susceptibility of locomotion. It is a sufficient illustration of the physiology of locomotion to point out, that every man without any extraordinary effort learns to walk, run, hop, leap, climb; but there is at least a manifest convenience in separating such more difficult acquisitions as dancing, skating, writing, from the order of physiological phenomena, and placing each in a department by itself, as subject to its own rules. So also it is at least a convenience to consider painting and music as separate departments of study, and not merely as physiological phenomena, falling under the senses of sight and of hearing. It may be supposed to be a matter of the like convenience, to separate from physiology all the phenomena which enter into what are commonly called trains of thought; that is nearly all that comes under the head of psychology, in its most appropriate extent of signification. But several objections will readily occur to such a mutilation of physiology. In particular, it is objectionable, because, as was already hinted, the phenomenal departments

of physiology, though the first to take a start, are often much augmented by the subsequent study of the organs concerned ; and, more so that, since psychology, disjoined from physiology, and limited to one mode of culture, namely, by reflexion on the subjects of consciousness, were psychology thrown out from physiology, the probable advantages from the study of the organs concerned in the mental processes, and the other modes of culture, admissible in physiological enquiry, would be lost. If it be said that psychology proper rejects all evidence, except the evidence of consciousness, on no other ground, but because of the uncertainty of every other source of evidence—the answer is, that in those sciences which have made most progress, possibility, probability, and moral certainty have always been admitted as sufficient *interim* grounds for the prosecution of such inquiries as have finally, though at first leading to inexact conclusions, opened the way to the attainment of the most important truths ; and that psychology, by the over-rigidness of its rules of investigation, has plainly fallen behind sciences, in advance of which it at one time stood in its progress.

It will not, however, be easy to persuade the votaries of pure metaphysics to relinquish the vantage ground afforded to their science, by its exclusive dependence on the evidence of self-consciousness. Yet there is a ready expedient by which this difficulty may be overcome ; namely, by leaving the old metaphysics on its footing of dependence for progress exclusively on the evidence of self-consciousness, under the name of metaphysical psychology—while the psychology which avails itself of the assistance of the discoveries of physiology, in regard to the functions of the nervous system throughout the animal kingdom, may receive the name of physiological psychology.

But my present purpose is to attempt to settle in what sense the term metaphysics is to be received ; and again, within what limits the signification of the much-abused word psychology is to be fixed.

The term metaphysics is universally acknowledged to be vague in its signification. Yet it will be found that this vagueness of signification, arises solely from the vast number of still uncultivated subjects which it embraces. To take a common arrangement :—metaphysics falls under two great heads. 1st, general metaphysics or ontology ; and 2ndly, special metaphysics or pneumatology. Under the former head rank several subjects, not only of immense extent, but

of very great obscurity; for example—being and essence; substance and mode; non-existence and annihilation; the possible and impossible; the necessary and the contingent; the determinate and the indeterminate; duration; time; cause; effect. Under the latter head, or special metaphysics, come the properties of being; identity; similitude; natural theology; psychology.

Thus psychology, according to this view, constitutes but a single subsection of the great chapter of metaphysical science.

To take psychology in the first place, in the acceptation in which it stands in this subsection, what does it signify? It may be considered as signifying the phenomenology of the human mind; that is the phenomena ascertained to be existent by the evidence of observation through self-consciousness. Such phenomena are, 1st, the phenomena of knowledge; 2nd, the phenomena of feeling; 3rd, the phenomena of effort.

It must be confessed, however, that this word psychology has also been used by good authorities in a larger sense, so as even to be nearly synonymous with the term metaphysics. Thus psychology is sometimes, by such authorities, represented as signifying in its larger sense, the philosophy of the human mind.

As this word then can hardly be said to be as yet fixed in its signification, a question may arise whether such a word be more required in the larger or in the more limited sense. In debating such a question, the past use of the word, that is, where it has not been wholly abused, need hardly be taken into account. It is nearly three centuries since the word first appeared in works of metaphysics; yet it cannot be said in that long period to have earned for itself a definite signification. If it is to be employed synonymously with metaphysics, or at least with philosophy of mind, it must be regarded as having a two-fold character; namely, psychology proper, or the phenomenology of mind, and psychology inferential, synonymous with ontology or general metaphysics.

In what has been said hitherto, psychology has been regarded as either synonymous with, or falling under the head of anthropology—that is the psychical nature of man. But a question may arise, whether in adopting a new word of such a description, it would not be useful to comprehend within it also the psychical nature of such animals as seem to possess consciousness. This is probably a more important point than the former question, as to the extension of the signification

of this word. The correlative term psychical seems already to have become established, as applicable to every state of consciousness, whether in man or in any other animal; and a word which should include the phenomena of which consciousness forms a part throughout the whole conscious animal world, would undoubtedly be of the greatest convenience.

Were such a use of the word agreed upon, then psychology, in its largest sense, would be divisible into the psychology of man or anthropopsychology, and the psychology of the dumb creation, eneo-psychology (*ἐνεὸς mutus*); while the former or anthropopsychology, would as above, be divisible into inferential psychology, and empirical psychology, these two epithets being sufficient to indicate that anthropopsychology is referred to.

Such, then, are the large limits within which there is a legitimate—a defensible use of the word psychology.

But even these wide limits are too narrow to contain the vagaries of some modern votaries of this word. Their use of it is psychology run mad. We cannot always discover whether it be the doctor or his patients who are the objects of psychology; whether psychology be madness or mad medicine; whether it be like that “metaphysical aid” by which Lady Macbeth expected her husband to obtain a crown; or, like the character of the lady of whom the poet speaks:

“Call her the metaphysics of her sex,  
And say she tortures wits as quartans vex physicians.”

But, let that pass. The sense in which psychology chiefly concerns the physician is, what was called above, empirical psychology, or that which treats of the phenomena of the human mind. Insanity has nothing to do with any other kind of psychology; nor has it anything to do with this kind of psychology, except that there cannot be any form of madness which does not consist in a failure of the mind to be subject to some one or more of the ordinary laws by which its healthy phenomena are regulated.

This proposition may require some illustration, since it has become so common of late years to regard psychology as being in some manner intimately mixed up with insanity.

Mental phenomena consist of trains of states of consciousness, more or less simple, or what is the same thing, more or less complex; more or less under the control of reason or the

regulative faculty. It would be easy to multiply examples of trains of thought. The mind may be readily traced as passing from a state of perception to a state of simple self-consciousness of a present thought; thence to a state of memory by suggestion; again, to a state of memory by reminiscence, or effort of memory; then, to a state of imagination; next to a state of comparison; and, by and by, to an exercise of reason, or of the regulative faculty. Such states constitute the faculties of knowledge or cognition. It may further be traced into states of feeling, and into states of effort, called of late, by some, states of conation. But, it may be asked, how do we come to determine the character of the state in which the mind exists at any one moment? The answer is—exactly in the same manner as in any other case in which natural phenomena are observed, with this difference only that the mind is at once the observer and the observed. This last peculiarity is the foundation of the distinction so much insisted upon in our day among metaphysicians; namely, the distinction of states of mind into subjective and objective. For, when the mind is considered as existing in a state calling for observation, it is in a subjective state; when, on the other hand, it is actually under self observation, it is in an objective state. But, to return to the result of such observation of the successive trains or states of mind, it is plain that the process of observation consists in remarking the several resemblances and differences between the various states of mind which arise in succession. The consequence of this operation is, that we throw those states of mind, otherwise termed states of consciousness, which closely resemble each other into groups or genera. Thus, the state of consciousness which constitutes the sensation of a red colour, resembles that which constitutes the sensation of a blue colour much more than either resembles the state of consciousness, which constitutes the sound of a trumpet, or the sound of a flute; while the two latter states of consciousness resemble each other much more than either resembles the smell of a rose, or the taste of honey. Thus, the several states of consciousness constituting the sensations derived from each of the five senses are readily grouped into as many genera, owing to the close resemblance which they respectively have to each other. In like manner the sensations as a whole, owing to the element of local seat common to all of them, are readily distinguished from what metaphysicians term internal perception, or the simple self-consciousness of a present thought, feeling, or



exertion. So, also, the consciousness of acts of reminiscence is readily distinguished from that of acts of imagination, owing to the peculiar characters recognised in these two groups of phenomena; and so forth, with regard to all the several states of consciousness entering into what is termed a train of thought. Hence, the various states of consciousness constituting trains of thought, are grouped according to their resemblances and differences into sensations, reminiscences, imaginations, desires, emotions, volitions; and into whatever other genera shall be sufficient to include all the individual states of consciousness which may come under observation.

It is further to be remarked, that states of consciousness, such as those enumerated above are not necessarily simple—that such states are more frequently complex; for example, a sensation united with a remembrance; a reminiscence with an emotion; an imagination with a desire; an emotion with a volition; and so on each simple state of consciousness, being often variously combined with other states of consciousness into a highly compounded state of consciousness.

Besides the grouping of the various states of consciousness into genera, according to their resemblances and differences, so as to represent the phenomenology of the human mind by distinct names, bearing reference to the distinguishing character of each group, such as perceptions, suggestions, reminiscences, imaginations, and comparisons, psychology includes the observation of the rules, according to which particular states of consciousness, are determined to arise at the moment, in preference to others; these are commonly termed the principles of association, or the laws of human thought.

Thus psychology, that is empirical psychology, may be described as having two principal ends, namely, to methodise the phenomena of the human mind by reducing these to groups; and to determine the rules according to which such phenomena arise in their ever varying order of succession. It must be confessed, that in the former of these two great ends, namely, the methodising the phenomena of consciousness, psychology is infinitely more successful than in the latter, or the determining the rules according to which the phenomena present themselves. Nevertheless, it is a common persuasion, that the glory of psychology lies chiefly in having accomplished the latter of these two objects. A very short consideration will show how erroneous is such an idea. Psychology undoubtedly has discovered certain general rules,

according to which the succession of human thoughts is determined. Moreover, it should be admitted, that this knowledge is not without some practical value. Its real character, however, is almost entirely speculative. It is not of such a kind as to enable us to predict even the general course of a train of thought by knowing its commencement, otherwise than as a vague probability. Further, it is manifest, that individual peculiarities, to a great degree, overrule all these general laws of thought ; while temporary physiological conditions of the body, even within the limits of perfect health, exercise an incalculable influence over the course of thought which would otherwise have been determined. What a modification of the laws of thought does a single glass of champagne produce ! How many other slight causes of exhilaration will give rise to a like modification ! How many temporary causes of depression, will exert as great a power in an opposite direction ! The prediction of the course of a train of thought, under given circumstances, is hardly more certain than a prediction of the result of a cast of the dice from the dice box.

But it is a one-sided view to dwell on the mere succession of thoughts in a train as determined by such circumstances as contiguity, similarity and the like. Thoughts do not succeed thoughts like a long chain of connected events in physical nature. They do not follow each other under definite impulses, like wave upon wave.

It is, indeed, quite correct to say, that one cannot recover a thought which is missing, by a mere act of will : it can only be brought back by the principle of suggestion, in obedience to the established laws of our mental constitution. The things which are in the memory do not exist for the present in consciousness ; they are retained in the mind, but out of sight, until recalled by a reproductive faculty, namely, either by spontaneous suggestion, or by the effort termed reminiscence. Nevertheless, we have only to consider how extensive this power of reminiscence is over whatever exists, or even over whatever has existed in the memory, to be convinced of the vast indirect power which the *ego* exercises over its own trains of thought.

In our common systems of the nomenclature of the mental phenomena, this vast indirect power of the *ego* over the successions of thought, is hardly pointed out with sufficient distinctness. It is true we are told that, though we cannot call up any thought at pleasure, yet when a thought has come up, we can detain it, and dwell upon it as long as we

please. This proposition is commonly interpreted as denoting that the human mind is of a very passive character ; and that it is only by a train of fortunate accidents it can bring up for use the stores of knowledge, which it may contain. But to what is the proposition, that the mind can detain and dwell upon a thought at pleasure tantamount? Surely to this: that with very trivial exceptions, the whole contents of a man's memory are constantly at his disposal. For what thought is there that does not connect itself with a multitude of other thoughts, so as to bring each up in succession when it is detained before the mind. Again which of that multitude does not connect itself with a like multitude, so that by a continuance of this power of detention, nearly the whole contents of the memory may be at last exhausted. If it be said that every man does not possess such a ready power of bringing up his thoughts in such a manner, the answer is, that in such a man's memory his knowledge is not properly arranged, and that the sooner he sets about methodising it on a more skilful plan, the more available will it be for the use whereunto he designs to apply it. But after all it will be said, is not this process merely the reminiscence of psychologists. True ; but it is that faculty viewed from a point different from that whence it is commonly regarded. In short, when trains of thought are considered in connection with the laws which usually determine their succession, the mind is apt to be viewed as in a merely subjective state, such as is the state of reverie ; but man is seen to much greater advantage in the full activity of his mind when the *ego* is objectively occupied with thoughts, determining their rise, selecting those which he prefers, rejecting those which displease him when they but threaten to arise, coercing the dilatory, and compelling all to assume a fixed order and methodical array. Such a power unquestionably belongs to the *ego*. It is not the result of one faculty. It is often a combination of many different and even opposite states of consciousness. It is the exercise of the objective energy of the *ego*. Moreover, such a power is not developed but on great occasions ; even in the ordinary states of mental activity there is a similar objective control of the *ego*. To use but a mean similitude, the *ego*, in respect to the succession of thought, sits as at the table of a money changer, rejecting the counterfeit, receiving the real, computing its value, allowing what it is worth in exchange, and disposing of it in its proper drawer.

It is the regulative faculty or reason which is most con-

cerned in keeping our trains of thought nearly square with the perception of what is present, with the memory of the past, and what they derive from imagination within the bounds of truth to nature. Even in reverie this control is exercised to no small extent. In intoxication such control is not wholly lost. In dreams, on the other hand, there is often little trace of this controlling power to be met with. The laws of suggestion operate in dreams without any constraint; while in dreams the controlling influence of external realities as presented by perception is lost.

Dreams unquestionably belong to psychology. The evidence of dreams is the same self-consciousness on which the truth of waking reality rests. But while dreaming belongs strictly to psychology, it is the very type of mental derangement—which belongs not to psychology, but to the pathology of the nervous system. According to some psychologists, there is during sleep an unceasing state of dreaming. If this be true, it must be rare for a man to be otherwise than mad during sleep. But to become sane again he has only to awake.

It must be confessed, however, that though mental derangement does not strictly belong to psychology, that subject cannot be studied advantageously without the aid of psychology.

It was remarked above, that dreaming is a perfect type of mental derangement. In dreaming, the laws of human thought do not cease to operate; but the controlling influence of reason is lost—so also is the correcting effect of an external reality through perception. In mental derangement the controlling influence of the regulative faculty or reason is lost to a greater or less extent; and, although an external reality is before the eyes of the patient, that sometimes only adds to his delusion by presenting itself under a perverted form, owing to pathological alterations in the action of the organs concerned in sense; while, from the same cause, the ordinary laws of human thought, although not lost, are so modified that their results stand more than ever in need of that control, necessary even in health, of which the unfortunate condition of the patient has wholly deprived him. It was remarked above, that the laws regulating the succession of thoughts are much modified even within the limits of health, by slight physiological changes on the living system. How easy then is it to conceive that pathological changes even of no very great extent, may still more influence and modify such laws; and, if the controlling power be at the same time weakened, though only in a slight degree, the result will readily be some

of the strikingly marked forms of mental derangement. The effect of such slight pathological changes on the ordinary laws of thought commonly is, that thoughts arise in rapid succession connected together by very slight ties of resemblance, contiguity or parallelism; for example, the remembrance of any two articles lying across each other will suggest a gibbet in the form of a cross, while out of this gibbet a thousand grotesque images, all slightly in some manner or other connected, will arise. Examples of this kind are found to abound in dreams; and even in our waking moments there is frequently a threatening of the same kinds of absurdity, which, however, is put down at once by the regulating faculty. This may at first view appear incredible to many. But let a man watch himself for some time, and he will, it is certain, discover that but for the vigilance of the self-regulating faculty, he would often not only think, but even utter things which he would be ready to pronounce fit only to come into the mind, or to be spoken by the lips of a madman. Such are the effects which the laws of human thought would produce, were these not controlled and overruled by the objective energy of the *ego*.

But it is time to draw to a close. In a certain sense psychology is a department of physiology; and under that aspect it may derive improvement from those methods of cultivation which prevail in physiological science. Viewed as a department of physiology, psychology may be made to include all the phenomena throughout the animal kingdom, in which consciousness or the sense of existence takes a part. But more appropriately psychology belongs to anthropology, or what concerns man; and when limited in the greatest degree, it denotes the phenomenology of the human mind in its healthy state, or that part of human science which is cultivated by the observation of what self-consciousness suggests.

*The Correlation of Mental and Physical Force ; or, Man a Part of Nature.* By HENRY MAUDSLEY, M.D. LOND., Medical Superintendent of the Manchester Royal Lunatic Hospital.

- 1 "Man and his Dwelling Place." London : J. W. Parker & Sons, West Strand.
- 2 "Essay on the Unity of Science," by Rev. B. Powell, F.R.S., &c.
- 3 "Order of Nature," by the Rev. B. Powell.
- 4 Grove, on "The Correlation of the Physical Forces."
- 5 On "The Mutual Relations of the Vital and Physical Forces." Dr. Carpenter, *Philosoph. Transac.*, 1850.
- 6 Oersted's "Soul in Nature."

Philosophy arrives at strange conclusions. At one time it informs man that the world in which he lives, and moves, and has his being, has no real existence ; and then again placidly assures him that he cannot be at all certain of his own existence ; consciousness it now exalts into the infallible test of truth, and then pronounces it to be the most deceitful liar ; morality is eternal and immutable, and in a short time a mere matter of expediency, or non-existent altogether. Bewildered by the multitude of its variations, and by its mystical uncertainties, man at last comes to the conclusion, that philosophy itself is all a delusion, and aspires to leave its vagaries unnoticed.\* But in vain ; it will not be unnoticed ; again, and again it raises aloud its voice and insists on being heard, reproachfully and pitifully too. "Wretched, mistaken man that thou art, how long, how long will thou rest satisfied to concern thyself with the heresy of phenomena, when there is actual existence, essence in the universe?" Should the reply be made, that ages on ages have been passed in the attempt to grasp *the essence*, and yet utterly without profit, while a few years spent in the humble method of observing phenomena, have resulted in much knowledge and much benefit to humanity, philosophy, unabashed, still has its answer. Since science cannot possibly be rejected, it must be accepted ; it must be regarded as affording data on which to found the investigation into the real, spiritual, or by whatever other name it is called, and must be incorporated as an humble element into philosophy's glorious system. And thus science, which owes its own existence to the avoidance of all such speculation, is dragged in to make a pavement for this struggling, aspiring,

\* In compliance with general usage, Philosophy is used to refer to *Metaphysics*, although, strictly, it should include all the sciences.

ever-restless philosophy. Should science be claimed with success, we may readily conceive from the experience of the past, how much its own progress would be hampered, indeed, how soon there would be a stop put altogether to progress. What interpretation then has philosophy to offer at the present time of the universe, and what place has science in that interpretation? Why the fact is, as we are informed by the eloquent author of "Man and His Dwelling place," that after all, man is really dead, and that nature only is alive.

"Instead of dead matter the deadness is in ourselves, and we transfer our own defect into the universe wherein we exist. There is in the universe but one essence, that of spirit, which is life; material things are phenomena thereof, appearing to us dead and inert, by reason of our own inertness. The belief in matter is in the strictest sense a superstition. It is *the superstition* rather; the idol or show in which we worship, in which we believe."

This is repeated so often and in such identical language, chapter after chapter, although very eloquently, and with many beautiful thoughts, that it becomes somewhat wearisome, almost, indeed painful. For there is not satisfaction to the soul's anxious longing in the dogmatic assertion, that "inertness is deadness" and in the demand "how can inertness belong to being?" followed immediately by the assertion that "here in ourselves is the being to which inertness belongs, we know it too well." We retort the question, "how can inertness belong to being?" and begin to suspect that we are tantalized with a mere juggle of words. And yet it is a philosophy which claims to be founded on science and on religion. Which if it be, it rests, verily, on foundations that are inexpugnable. Science has shown that our senses may be deceived, that the earth moves round the sun, although man long entertained the conviction that the sun moved round the earth; and, it is asked, why may not the senses be deceived when they teach man that nature is dead, and that he is himself alive. This is the whole of the argument from science, and it somehow suggests by way of commentary such questions as "why may not the sun be dark?" "why may not the heavens be only a few miles off?" and so on. Surely, too, if man be dead, animals are dead also. In fact, half nature is dead, and no man can say where death ends, and where life begins. The error which lies at the bottom of such an hypothesis, as it does at the bottom of all so-called philosophy, is that which considers man as something apart from nature, and not as a link in the mighty chain. The tendency of

science is more and more daily to show that man is but a part of nature, and not a small god for whom all has been created, but of this more hereafter. Meanwhile, let us glance for a moment at the support which this startling hypothesis is supposed to obtain from religion; for it is in this aspect that we seem to discover its birth and growth.

"The writers of the New Testament declare man to be dead. . . . If, therefore, our thoughts were truly conformed to the New Testament, how could it seem strange that this state of man should be found a state of death; how should its very words, affirmed by science, excite our surprize."

Granting to the author that signification which he desires to attribute to the sacred writings; granting, indeed, all that he has argued for, what have we gained thereby? Is there any gain in actual knowledge in being informed that the world is spiritual, and in being confounded by the information that we are dead? The whole argument is merely a disquisition on words, and on words that have to us no intelligible meaning. What is death, if nature is alive, and we are dead; what is spiritual, if nature is spiritual, and we are inert? We are merely changing the names of that which we know nothing about, and of which we can know nothing; of what, by the very nature of our being, is beyond our comprehension. Does science really affirm that man is dead! If so, it is no longer science, it is nothing better than metaphysical vanity, the dead man's knowledge. No, there is no knowledge in such an hypothesis; it is nothing else but a mysticism which has its origin in the adoption of the letter of certain passages of Scripture, and the desire to reconcile these with our moral instincts. It is an attempt "to amalgamate by a transcendental solvent, ideas which belong to different schools of thought."

Few will dissent from the eloquent author, when he says that "science is religious; all things are so; nothing is irreligious, but by error and ignorance," but few will be able to congratulate him, on the result of his labours to "mingle science and religion." It is in truth a difficult task this "the great problem of the age, to reconcile faith with knowledge, philosophy with religion."\* And it would not be without interest to note the changes which have been gradually produced in the relative position of religion and science, to observe how religion at one time claimed to be science, and all in all, and how, as science began to appear, it railed at and persecuted it, in time patronised it, and has at last acknowledged it. And yet

\* "Life of Sterling"—Archdeacon Hare.



not universally ; for, impossible as it seems, there are yet found men to deny the plainest truths of science, influenced by a mistaken notion about religion, and others, some even illustrious in science, who torture most cruelly these truths, in order to adapt them to their religious prejudice. A late writer in the "British and Foreign Quarterly," for instance, while admitting the existence of a direct contradiction between geology and Scripture, throws the blame thereof upon the geologists.

In the last work of the illustrious Hugh Miller, there is a strenuous attempt made to revive the Biblical geology.

But, perhaps, the strangest specimen of human ingenuity is exhibited in the attempt of a celebrated naturalist, to reconcile geological revelations with the Scriptural account.\* The organic fossils are merely *resemblances* of real forms. The first of existing plants and animals were *created* suddenly out of nothing, and, *therefore* full-grown ; trees with their concentric rings, &c. In like manner the crust of the earth was created with the fallacious marks of successive deposits. And thus, the world was really created in six days. It is not, however, of such men as Hugh Miller and Mr. Gosse that one dares to complain. Their opinions, whether right or wrong, are formed after mature deliberation, and with a full knowledge of the subject. It is the noisy and obtrusive man that is so abhorrent, who, without a particle of that moderation which a little knowledge would impart, with the self-confidence of ignorance, throws the whole energy of passion and prejudice into a quarrel about the interpretation of a Scriptural word or sentence. Thereby he succeeds in placing science in apparent antagonism to religion, in frightening many timid people, and in placing himself in the proud position of asserting that the uncertain dictum of his judgment is more sure than the actual immutable fact of nature. This is the man who clogs the wheels of science, and acts as a dead weight on true religion. Infallible ! It is not the "everlasting hills" that are facts ; it is not the wondrous orbits of the planets that are certain ; but, it is his individual interpretation of a sentence which was the human expression of a fact, incomprehensible by the then human judgment this only is certain. Happily, religion stands not in need of such individual's declamatory harangue, or it might go hard with it. And to us, there may be some

\* "Omphalos," by P. H. Gosse, F.R.S., 1857.

See "Order of Nature," by Rev. B. Powell, where some excellent observations are made on this subject.

amusement, and need not be any indignation in watching the fly on the chariot wheel raise such a dust. That which has its sure and certain evidence in the heavens, in the earth, in the sea, and in all that therein is, which is fundamental in man, and in the universe, needs, forsooth, the benefit of the self-inspired enthusiast to defend it against the progress—of what?—of truth; to defend it, in fact, against that in which it has its own sure foundations. For what is science but truth; and the knowledge we get thereby, but a knowledge of the laws of nature, which are the ways of Providence—a world—revelation? The very object and aim of science, considered for a moment, should lead us to doubt our opinion on any subject on which we find ourselves opposed to its revelations. “It is, indeed, obvious that the *works of God* can never be really opposed to the *word of God*, and that (as it has been ingeniously and reverently expressed) whenever there is an apparent discrepancy, it must necessarily arise from an erroneous interpretation of the latter.”\*

And yet, so far from being general at the present day is such a conviction, that there is need of another Bacon to teach us a method of confirming a physical truth when it has already been inductively established. For, when certain things are affirmed on data, which it is impossible to contradict, and when every argument against them has fallen pointless, it too often happens that the religious danger signal is raised, and religion is brought to the rescue. And what, in reality, is it brought to support? In sooth, nothing better than man's little pride, his vanity, his idea of his supremacy, and special privileges, his refusal to acknowledge himself as a part of nature. Geology was abused, and its truths denied, because it proved that creation was a great deal more than the mere making of man; a plurality of worlds was denied, and Giordano Bruno burned, because such a doctrine was considered derogatory to man's privileges and moral supremacy; the theory of progressive development has been execrated, mainly, because it hurts man's complacent dignity; and Galileo was persecuted, and the sun was made to move, because man had said so. Happily there is a comfort to those who mourn; time dissipates all errors, and erroneous opinions and prejudices must sooner or later give way, shattered by contact with the veracities of nature. The course of science is, indeed, as the course of nature. Proceeding according to fixed and unchanging laws, nature ignores all apparent impediments, and mercilessly crushes

\* Dr. Wigan, on “The Duality of the Mind.”

whatever is not conformed to their operation. There is no respect for the ingenious contrivance of man, by which he fondly believes that he has conquered nature; no respect for the manifold virtues by which he vainly hopes to secure a special dispensation; no respect even for that life which he so highly values. This lordly despot who looks upon the universe as created for his enjoyment and profit, sees again and again with what supreme indifference the course of nature treads out, so to say, his highly prized existence, and is forced to confess that there is no distinction made between him and the rest of creation. And yet he learns no humility therefrom. The lightning which blasts the oak, spares not the man under it; the ocean in its anger does not become calm around the vessel, because a man cries or prays therein; and the earthquake shakes his buildings about his head, as though ignorant that a thousand human beings perished in the ruins. Man builds his houses again, forgets his wailing supplication, and again struts forth the "lord of creation." Oh! how great is the vanity of man, "this miserable atom, this small piece of the universe." Such is man in his relation to nature, something similar are his opinions in reference to science. For the progress of science is the progress of our knowledge of nature, as crushing and as unrelenting in its course, as nature herself. Mercilessly does it upset the prejudices and grind down the idols of ages, careless of the groans and curses of humanity, in despair at the destruction of its Dagon. And yet on the ruins of old, new and obstinate prejudices spring up, sure of eternal veracity and durability, as prejudices generally are, doomed sooner or later to an unhappy fate. There can indeed be no finality in opinion, as long as there is no finality in knowledge. And man has yet much to learn, and is progressing slowly and steadily, as the Laureate says, "For I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs, And the thoughts of men are widened by the process of the suns."

Those, therefore, who would bring religion into the field to oppose the revelation of science, and those who strive to no less than dislocate the human mind, in order to make the explanations of science and their supposed interpretations of Scripture phraseology coincide, take an exceeding unhappy course, and may look out for an exceeding unhappy result. If the Scriptures are so plain "that a way-faring man though a fool cannot err therein," it is very evident that the infinite wisdom which dictated them, never intended that they should

speak science.\* For science has required ages to elaborate it ; religion was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be the same. The Bible, therefore, does not teach science ; it speaks all important truths, to man in a way he can best understand ; it is the Infinite speaking to the finite, and adapting himself thereto. Man does not rest in the same position as to knowledge ; and a Bible, which spoke to him in the language of his day, would require constant renovation. Most absurd, therefore, and, most to be deplored of all, seems to us the egregious vanity of the man, who comes forward with his last discovery, or with his bundle of scientific discoveries, and parades them as destructive of the truth and authority of Scripture. He is supposing that he has arrived at finality, and yet his successor of a century hence would have a similar complaint to make against a Bible which spoke in the scientific language of to-day. Constant change is essential to the existence of man's organism ; a general cessation in the activity which exists throughout is death : so it is with humanity on the whole ; if knowledge does not progress, there is spiritual death. "To cease to change, is to lose place in the great race, and to pass away from off the earth with the same convictions which we found when we entered it, is to have missed the best object for which we seem now to exist."† And how then dares man constantly changing, constantly acquiring, as the condition of his intellectual existence, complain that what speaks to him of the never changing, should not coincide in its language with the variations of which he is the subject. When man has arrived at the Infinite, then will it be the time to complain that the Infinite is not intelligible to him. It is very much to be regretted that so eminent a philosopher as Auguste Comte, should be one of those who have endeavoured to place science and religion in antagonism to one another. After ridiculing the idea that the famous verse ; "The Heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handywork," still preserved its value, he says, "To minds early familiarized with true philosophical astronomy, the heavens declare no other glory than that of Hipparchus, of Kepler, of Newton, and of all those who have aided in establishing their laws. I have shown that all real science is in necessary and radical opposition to all theology," &c.‡ After which he goes on to say, that "an

\* "Scriptura sacra est a prophetis et apostolis ad docendum non philosophiam (quam ad exercitationem rationis naturalis contemplationibus disputationibusque hominum reliquit Deus) sed pietatem et salutis eternæ viam." Hobbes's "*Leviathan*," c. viii.

† "History of England." J. A. Froude, M.A., 1856.

‡ "Comte's Philosophy of Science," by G. H. Lewes, Bohn.

accurate explanation of our solar system shows, in the most sensible manner, and in various respects that, "the elements of this system are certainly not disposed in the most advantageous manner, and that science permits us easily to conceive a happier arrangement." The old assumption already reprobated, that "man is the measure of the universe." We may, by way of commentary, add the words of Lafontaine,

"C'est dommage Garo que tu n'es point entré  
Aux conseils de celui qui prêche ton curé  
Tout aurait été mieux."

The intellectual pride of science is too apt to lead to such dangerous paths, and M. Comte is not the only beacon to warn us. The argument in Sir D. Brewster's reply to the celebrated "Essay on the Plurality of Worlds," is a marvellous exhibition of the vanity of intellect. The planets are inhabited, because, if not, we cannot assign the cause of their existence; we cannot conceive what else they are for, but to sustain animal and intellectual life. In fact, (for such reasoning amounts to nothing less,) in place of God having made man in his own image, man makes God at all times after his own image. It is full time indeed that man should learn to labour and to wait, content to know that he is but a part of nature, and that the part cannot comprehend the whole. "Let science follow her own path unrestrained, let her cultivate her own region—that of *universal law*—untrammelled by speculations, either of one kind or another, and moral reflection will be sure in the end to vindicate for itself the truths of theology, and that upon the firm and immoveable grounds, from which a true and all-influencing theology can alone take its start."\* It is very difficult, however, with the best intentions, to follow such a course, so startling at times appear the revelations of science to those prejudices which are so often interpreted as religion. The "Essay on the Unity of Sciences," though of a highly philosophical type, yet affords an example of this difficulty. In it is pointed out with admirable force, that all real science is in a state of perpetual change, but that the change is all in one direction; "that every branch approaches perfection and stability, as it approaches to and realizes the grand principle of *unity*." The sciences of life and organization, which by some are supposed to involve a new *class and order of ideas*, and to stand out as exceptional cases to the general unity, are really no exceptions at all. "All myths about imponderable matters, and especially vital forces," says Humboldt, "only

\* "British and Foreign Review," April, 1856. J. D. Morell.

render views of nature perplexed and indistinct." To attribute the causes of life and organization to something essentially mysterious and inscrutable is to paralyze research. "Everything," says the Rev. B. Powell, "is mysterious 'till it is made known, and there really exists as complete and continuous a relation and connexion of *some kind* between the manifestations of life, and the simplest mechanical and chemical laws evinced in the varied actions of the body in which it resides, as there is between the action of any machine and the laws of motion and equilibrium, the weaving of a cloth by a power-loom, and the principle of latent heat; and that the connexion and dependence is but one component portion of the vast chain of physical causation, whose essential strength lies in its universal continuity, which extends without interruption, through the entire world of order, and in which a real disruption of one link would be the disruption of the whole" (p. 67).

But here we come upon dangerous ground. Is man to be included in the series of nature? "Considered in his animal nature," says Rev. B. Powell, "he is very little superior to the brutes, and *in so far* as his animal nature, functions, and instincts are concerned, they are linked in the same chain of continuity with the order of other material existences."

Then, as to mind and volition, between the manifestations of which in man and in the lower animals it is impossible to draw the line: "In so far as they belong to the animal part of man's constitution, the question as to the nature of such manifestations of intelligence may be a question of *degree*, and may be philosophically treated as connected with other questions of man's physical development, as part of the great scale of natural existence governed by natural laws as yet very imperfectly known, but fairly subjects of intellectual enquiry."

This is not very satisfactory in an essay eloquent on the unity of sciences, and the mighty chain of continuity which extends throughout nature. *In so far as*—the continuity of our chain is interrupted, and a new order of phenomena introduced by an *in so far as*, without any power on our part of deciding how far that may be. One feels moved to say after Falstaff, "I had as lief they would put ratsbane in my mouth as offer to stop it with an *in so far as*." For the difficulty is to fix the point in the manifestations of mind and volition, at which the difference in degree may be supposed to become one in *kind*, nature not having marked it at all clearly. It seems as though at this

point in the essay some small voice had whispered to the learned author: Put off thy scientific shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground. And the advice is accepted; in a moment more there is a bound quite out of scientific trammels, and man's *moral and spiritual* nature is referred to a wholly "*different order of things*, apart from, and transcending any material ideas whatsoever. Hence, it *cannot be affected by any considerations or conclusions belonging to the laws of matter or nature.*" We are at once carried out of the domain of science; the ground is, as it were, suddenly taken from under our feet, and we are left, it must be confessed, with no clear idea of where we are. Two impressions gradually become distinct to our minds. The first is, that it is very unlikely that there should be two such essentially distinct orders of phenomena in the universe; that, in fact, it is almost inconceivable that there should be a unity and continuity throughout the mighty field of nature, that continuity extending far into man's own nature, there suddenly to be broken off. Mr. Baden Powell himself considers, that mind in that department of its operations which are independent of physical laws, is yet "governed by equally regular laws of its own."\* We are required, therefore, to believe in two separate and distinct systems of laws in the world, we are required to believe in a mind, which "*in so far as it is physical,*" is subject to one system, and "*in so far as it is metaphysical,*" is subject to the other, yet systems unconnected and independent. Whether such a doctrine is accepted or not, will probably depend on the character of the individual mind. Secondly, we have an impression, almost amounting to conviction, that to assert that moral phenomena are not affected by any condition of matter, is very far from being a correct statement.† Without claiming, as M. Comte does, the scientific cognizance of moral and intellectual phenomena exclusively for the physiologists, and placing mental philosophy on a par with astrology, many eminent men entertain the conviction that "every mental state has a nervous state for its immediate antecedent and

\* "Unity of Science," p. 245.

† Spinoza in his Ethics says, "Quæ omnia satis ostendunt, unumquemque pro dispositione cerebri de rebus judicasse, vel potius imaginationis affectiones pro rebus accepisse. Quare non mirum est (ut hoc etiam obiter notemus) quod inter homines tot, quot experimur, controversiæ ortæ sunt, ex quibus tandem Scepticismus. Nam quamvis humana corpora in multis conveniunt in plurimis tamen discrepant, et ideo id quod uni bonum alteri malum videtur; quod uni ordinatum, alteri confusum, quod uni gratum, alteri ingratum est."—Quoted in Lewes' "Life of Goethe."

proximate cause ;” indeed, this is all but proved. But without entering into an unnecessary discussion on this point, or upon the order of things to which moral phenomena belong, it remains a fact, that from considerations of matter only, one can predict, to some extent, moral nature ; and to such an extent, that we are justified in the belief, that were our knowledge of matter greater, this power of prediction would be increased also. Phrenology is, doubtless, often at fault in its details, but it is founded on a fact, which is almost as certain as any principle of science, that the character and confirmation of the brain, and the nervous susceptibility, determine in this world the moral and intellectual nature of the individual. Of course this nature is modified by circumstances, but these modify the brain also ; in fact, it is a law of the nervous system to “grow to circumstances.” But every-day experience, as well as pathological observation, will supply hundreds of examples of the direct manner in which moral character is influenced by the physical state. “I firmly believe,” says Dr. Wigan, “that I have more than once changed the moral character of a boy, by leeches to the inside of the nose.”\*

It would be gratifying to learn what signification the assertion of a distinct moral nature bears to human knowledge. If there was anything gained by a belief therein, one would be only too glad to accept it. Even if the supposition of a moral sense, or intuitive moral principle could be shown to be a necessary and satisfactory principle, there would be much hope from it, and immediate acceptance of it. But even if the doctrine were true, “it would provide only for that field of conduct which is properly called moral. For the remainder of the practice of life, some general principle or standard must still be sought ; and if that principle be rightly chosen, it will be found, I apprehend, to serve quite as well for the ultimate principle of morality, as for that of prudence, policy, or taste.”† If human nature could but be divided and mapped out, and human principles of action discriminated and specialized as certain human ideas require, what a host of difficulties would be annihilated. But it is just the fact, that everything in man is part of a whole, and that whole but a part of the greater whole of nature, which prevents doctrines so pleasing to human vanity from affording definite and satisfactory explanations of facts. “The connected series of *physical causation* is the manifestation of *moral causation*,” as Baden Powell himself says ; and it seems impossible to believe that the

\* “Duality of the mind.”—Dr. Wigan, p. 16.

† “System of Logic.”—J. Stuart Mill, vol. ii., p. 529.



*moral* man stands distinct and apart from a *morally* governed universe. Placing side by side the title of the essay, "On the Unity of Sciences," and that of the last book of Mills' Work on Logic, "On the Logic of the Moral Sciences," there is a pleasure in believing that the tendency of the age is to extend the unity spoken of in the former throughout the whole of the latter.

Should it be said in reply to the assertion, that moral nature is determined by cerebral state, that it is merely the operation of the moral principle which is influenced, whilst its nature remains always the same, such a reply may be extended to mind in all its manifestations; to "mind and volition" in their lower functions, *in so far* as they belong to the animal part of man's constitution. If the unity of science extends into these, and they are fit subjects for scientific cognizance, there seems no reason why the character, operations, and relations of the moral principle should be exempt. But, in reality, such a doctrine, which we find so frequently enunciated in the case of mind and brain, is a self-deceiving sophistry. If the manifestations of mind are only through the medium of a certain organization, it is the manifestations only that we have to do with in this world; these constitute the character, these are the individual. The mind in its own immortal nature may be "unchanged and immutable by anything of earth;" but it is then no longer individual mind, it must be evidently the same in every one; individual character is annihilated beyond the body, and there is no distinction of persons. The brain in fact is, as one cannot but think the most philosophical of the Apostles clearly saw, essential to the existence of the mind as individual; if we believe otherwise, we must believe in the veriest Pantheism that ever was dreamed. It is difficult to understand why there should be any objections, on religious grounds, to language which speaks of mind being dependent on brain, being in fact a function thereof, when our religion teaches that Christ raised Lazarus, and rose himself bodily from the grave, when St. Paul distinctly preaches the resurrection of the body, and when Job confidently affirms, "in my flesh shall I see God." Nevertheless, man blinded by his vanity, and by the mists of metaphysics, ashamed apparently of his body, as having so much in common with the rest of nature, cannot bring himself to acknowledge it, and with many an opprobrious name brands those who teach so humiliating a doctrine. The irreligion, if any there be, is on the side of those who will insist on ignoring the organism, and viewing man as mind;

mind chained, as it were, for a time, but scarcely acknowledged to be determined in action, even by its chains. Irreligion is not with those who, following scripture, and learning humility, reverently refrain from assimilating themselves to the Infinite, and humbly hope "in the flesh to see God." Surely then science is justified by scripture in viewing man as a material being, and as a part of the vast structure of the universe, which for some wise end Infinite Wisdom is governing in such wondrous harmony and order. Considering the history of the universe, as it is disclosed to us, and the nature of man as it is forced upon us, and reflecting on the aspect which science gives us of nature, it seems impossible to believe that man is the end of creation. And yet such is his exceeding great vanity, that a doubt on the subject rarely presents itself; and it yet remains for him to learn that he is but a link, and that not the last link in the mighty scheme of the universe. He is a part of nature, and like everything in material existence, produced from "particles of matter by the same forces, and in obedience to the same laws." The laws of man's reason are laws of nature, and the laws of nature are laws of reason, as Oersted has taught,\* and herein is the harmony which is described by some as existing between man and nature.† Such a consideration also will incline us to expect that the multitude of speculations which the human mind has through successive ages been engaged in, have not been altogether vanity. They are, for the most part, operations of reason, often in giant minds, and must, therefore, have in them something of the truth in nature. They express, as it were, in a different language the facts which positive science now expounds in its own language; and a liberal translation, when the time has come for it, will probably show that there is in very truth "nothing new under the sun." This, however, is a subject for separate consideration, and may be advantageously discussed on a future occasion.

For the present our duty evidently is, in recognising man as a part of nature, to glance at the forces in the universe, and their relation to one another; and on this subject recent science has made most important revelations. In his important work on the "Correlation of Physical Forces," a book which will probably be one of the most notable in the history of science, Grove has pointed out how questionable it is, not only whether "cause and effect are convertible terms with antecedence and sequence," but "whether in fact, cause does

\* "The Soul in Nature."—Oersted.

† Morell's "Elements of Psychology."

precede effect, whether force does precede the change in matter, of which it is said to be the cause." "The common error consists in the abstraction of cause, and in supposing in each case a general secondary cause, a something which is not the first cause, but which, if we examine it carefully, must have all the attributes of a first cause, and an existence independent of, and dominant over, matter."

Electricity and magnetism furnish examples. Electricity was supposed to be the cause of magnetism, but magnetism may cause electricity; *ergo*, electricity causes electricity, a *reductio ad absurdum*. And so with other cases, from consideration of which the author has been led to the conclusion, that "abstract secondary causation does not exist." Cause and effect, therefore, are relative terms; there is a *correlation* of the forces in nature, one is convertible into another, but no one is the essential cause of the other. One form of force disappears as another is evolved, and from a single source we may have all the great natural forces of which we have any knowledge (with the exception of gravitation) evolved.\*

"The same electrical current from a voltaic battery is capable in its circuit of evolving heat and light, of creating magnets, of producing mechanical force, of violently affecting the nervous and muscular organization, and of inducing by decomposition or combination the most powerful chemical changes, simply according to the nature of the different material objects which the experimenter interposes in the circuit, so as to subject them to the current of power."†

All these forces are to be considered as forms of one and the same force, varying only in its outward manifestations. There is but one condition wanting to convert this doctrine into an unimpeachable scientific truth; it is proof of a *quantitative* equivalence of the various forms of force. "Heat should be capable of being converted into electricity, electricity into chemical action, chemical into mechanical force, and mechanical force back again into the very same quantity of heat which was expended at the commencement of the series."‡ This demonstration will, doubtless, be acquired in time, and meanwhile there is evidence enough to justify us in accepting

\* Gravitation also will, doubtless, in time be shown to be no exception. Faraday observes, "that there should be a power of gravitation existing by itself, having no relation to the other natural powers, and no respect to the law of conservation of force, is as little likely as that there should be a principle of levity as well as of gravity."—*On the Conservation of Forces*.

† *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1858.

‡ "System of Logic."—J. S. Mill, vol. i., p. 477.

the doctrine of the Correlation of Physical Forces, and in awaiting with confidence the full proof.

But when we once admit the principle of correlation, we find a considerable amount of evidence disclosing itself in favour of a further extension of it. Man, as has been already repeatedly said, is but a part of nature, and subject to the laws which govern matter throughout the universe. To the development of his organism, heat is as essential as it is to the budding of a flower, light as necessary as it is to the proper growth of a plant, and the chemical force is as active in man's body as it is in any other product of nature. What relation then does the force which has constructed the organism, the germ force of Paget, bear to the other physical forces? Does it rank in the correlated circle? There are many minds in which analogy, without any aid from special observation and experiment, would produce the conviction that it does. The evidence of observation is not, however, wanting in favour of such a belief. Liebig had indicated the relation, but it is Dr. Carpenter who has proclaimed it distinctly, and mainly contributed to establish it. Liebig had shown how very closely chemical processes are engaged in all the great processes of animal life, and that it was highly probable that muscular contraction proceeded from the expenditure or metamorphosis of the cell-force, which ceased to exist as a *vital* force in giving rise to *mechanical* agency; while the experiments of Matteuci and Du Bois Raymond have demonstrated the intimate relations which exist between electricity and nervous and muscular action. Dr. Carpenter has given the interpretation of these facts, in placing "vital force" in the circle of correlation with the physical forces; he traces further a correlation among the several forces (assimilative, secretive, &c.,) to whose agency vital phenomena are attributable. The term "germ-force," therefore, used by Paget, can only be understood as a "comprehensive expression of all the individual forces which are at work, and so far from *residing* within the germ, it is of *external* origin."\* And, verily, as Grove has observed, "it is certainly far less difficult so to conceive the supply of force yielded to organized beings in their gradual process of growth, than to suppose a store of dormant or latent force pent up in a microscopic monad."

If such then be the position of the so-called "vital force" in its relation to the physical forces, it is no wonder that the

\* *Philosophical Transactions*, 1850. Dr. Carpenter "on the Mutual Relations of the Vital and Physical Forces."

organism throughout life should be so much influenced by the powers without ; it is no wonder that it should *grow* to circumstances in the way it does ; for the forces that are affecting it are in reality the force that is in it under different *modes*. To any change *without* there will be an answer *within* ; to any disturbance *without* a respondent irregularity *within*, which may manifest itself in a modification or a disease of the organism, in the blighting of a flower, or in the purging of a man.

But there is another doctrine regarding the so-called "vital force," which was entertained by some of the old philosophers, and which has again been put forth at the present day—of much interest and importance, when viewed in relation to the correlation of vital and physical force. It is that which regards the soul as operating unconsciously in the construction of the organism. "The soul and the body," says Morell,\* "are perfectly coincident ; the soul is prior to consciousness ; it exists unconsciously from the formation of the first cell-germ." Dr. Laycock also looks upon "the human mind as none other than the unconscious working principle of intelligence individualized, and become conscious of its workings in the cerebrum."

What at once strikes us in this doctrine as somewhat extraordinary and improbable is, that in the construction of organisms which form such an important part of nature, a force should be in operation which has no relation in its nature to any other of the known forces at work in the universe, and which is, nevertheless, notably influenced by them. It looks like filching away from science the most interesting field of its labours, by referring to a different order of things, phenomena of which science feels itself capable of taking cognizance. Those who describe organic growth and development as the results of "vital force," operating according to certain laws, can feel no scruple in admitting its probable correlation with the other natural forces, by which its agency is so much modified ; but when we substitute for vital force the unconscious intelligent soul, a difficulty will arise in the minds of many, in admitting that correlation, which the analogy of nature renders probable. But are the two doctrines really incompatible ? To suppose that they are not is startling, for it is to suppose that mind is one of the correlated forces of nature. And yet there are many weighty arguments in favour of regarding the constructive force as unconscious soul. The marked *intelligence* which it exhibits

\* "Elements of Psychology."

in all its operations in the building up of the organism, indicating a completer knowledge than is ever acquired by the conscious soul, and which, indeed, it is the constant aim of the latter to attain to; the *reason* with which it adapts its structure to the varying circumstances in which they are placed, apparently yielding to the powers of nature, but in reality subjugating them, so to speak, to the advancement of its end, compel admiration, and at least the acknowledgment, that there is nothing extravagant in the supposition of its nature being identical with that of conscious soul. In point of fact, its mode of action is precisely that which Bacon asserts to be the characteristic of the enlightened scientific mind—"it conquers nature by obeying her." If we contemplate its history, as written in the infinite multitude of organic structures, and their appropriate distribution, or in the infinite variety of structural changes by which both plants and animals are adapted to new external circumstances—in the intelligent action too of the new machinery, as exhibited in acquired instincts and habits—it will be impossible to deny that this unconscious soul is eminently *world-conscious*. Every organism is, in fact, an intelligent response to external forces. Unconscious, indeed, this intelligent power, which with such wonderful uniformity elaborates material, and with such unerring precision applies the different varieties to their different purposes, so that even the scar on the child's finger is not forgotten, but appropriately nourished, grows as the body grows, and which in the unflinching constancy of its action, often brings recollection to the forgetful, conscious soul. Doubtless, the unhappy sufferer who sees the syphilitic spots sprouting out over his body years after the original sin, would wish that it were not quite so sensitively alive to outward agencies, and at times a little more oblivious of them; but in vain. Conscious soul may forget; unconscious soul does not. It is true that all its operations are performed quietly, without other notification than the result; but if some disturbing agent interfere with its peaceful action, it is admirable to observe how speedily a consciousness thereof is exhibited, and what intelligence is manifested in the means adopted to remove the impediment. It is thus that the oyster produces its pearls, that the lobster throws off its claw, and that man recovers from gangrene. Disease itself is the evidence of the world-consciousness of this force, and the "*vis preservatrix nature*," the manifestation of its intelligence. Which is the more certain index of the state of the *external-conscious* or unconscious soul? Let plague, fever, cholera,

and a host of other diseases answer. We may justly then echo Spenser's creed, that

“Soul is form, and doth the body make ;”

or say with Virgil,

“Totamque infusa per artus  
Mens agitat molem.”

The intelligent adaptation of structure to circumstances, by the so-called vital force, has already been mentioned, and needs no illustration here ; but we may reflect for a moment with advantage on the perfect correspondence that exists at all times between physical structure and the “indwelling self-conscious reason.” Thus consider for a moment the eye of such admirable mechanism, that each fresh contemplation of it calls forth fresh exclamations of wonder. The light is adapted to the eye, and the eye is so formed as to produce by concentration of its rays an image on the retina, which the mind can receive. Is not reason exhibited most notably in the construction of the eye, and is the force (mind) which owes chiefly to this very structure its power of detecting the *reason* in nature—in fact, mainly its own existence—is it essentially different from, and superior to, the power which has constructed the admirable organ? Or, again, considering the adaptation of light to the eye, as well as of the eye to mind, is it probable that there is a correlation between the force, whatever it be, which is light, and the force which has been engaged in the formation of the eye, and no correlation between the latter and the force which appears as mind? The more one reflects upon the subject, the less easy does it become to avoid the conviction, that the self-conscious operates unconsciously in the construction of the organism, that vital force is soul.\*

To what point then have we arrived? We have seen that men in olden times, and at the present day, uninfluenced by any theory of the correlation of forces, have taught on evidence

\* “Similar views respecting the essential homogeneity of mind and nature were entertained by Leibnitz in his *Monadology*; and afterwards illustrated in a series of letters published amongst his *Opuscula*. Modern science and philosophy, instead of refuting these speculations of, perhaps, the greatest of modern *thinkers*, has only availed more and more to prove their fundamental consistency, with the principles both of thought and existence. Whatever research, either on the physical or mental side, has proceeded far enough to open the question *at all*, it has almost uniformly shown a manifest tendency either to recur to the point where Leibnitz left it 200 years ago; or to restate the theory in a more perfect form. Among modern writers we may mention Alex. Von Humboldt, Waitz, Carus, Oersted, Erdmann, Karl Schmidt, &c., as having given clear illustrations of the unity of idea which reigns through the world of mind and nature.”—Note in Morell's “*Elements of Psychology*,” p. 46.

that has not been refuted, the identity of soul, and of the force which is engaged in the construction and maintenance of the organism. We have seen, moreover, that others unbiassed by any theory with regard to the soul, which they leave out of consideration as beyond their domain, have taught, and on evidence which establishes conviction, that there is a correlation between the organic force and the physical forces. The conclusion then is inevitable ; there is a correlation between mind and physical force, between all the forces of nature. Verily, verily then is man indeed but a part of nature.

But confining attention for a moment simply to the forces in man, irrespective of any theory of correlation of forces, and leaving out of consideration the physical forces, we find that we are unable, reflect and observe as we may, to distinguish their effects. It is, in fact, impossible to discriminate between the vital and automatic acts, and the proper functions of mind. There is no certain boundary line, not even an uncertain boundary line, "no absolute gap between the unconscious and self-conscious portions of the universe." Are we then to suppose that there are in man two forces essentially distinct in nature, belonging to different orders of things, yet merging so gradually the one into the other, that the most acute philosopher is unable to say at all times which is which. Nature everywhere proclaims a gradual progression, and science has at length understood the proclamation, and has discovered that a "law of progression" does pervade the universe. And yet we cannot bring our minds to accept the law purely and simply ; we must actually go out of the way to invent difficulties. Instead of accepting nature, we devise theories, and endeavour to make nature appear anomalous. Where there is a gradual progression, with no gap, no interception, we must imagine forces unrelated and essentially distinct in operation. We assume the right to make a monstrous gap between the forces, and then are actually astonished, and unable to explain that there is no gap in their operations. It is almost needless to enquire how this happens. It has its fundamental origin in that propensity already reprobed on the part of man, to ignore himself as a material being, and to speculate loosely and dilate rapturously on his mental being. He finds much inward gratification in speculating on a force which he begins by assuming to be independent of all other forces in nature, and resolves to examine it exclusively on its own merits. The scientific man does not attempt to ignore heat in his consideration of motion, or magnetism in his



examination of electricity, and yet the man who boasts of being the "philosopher" *par excellence*, does in his metaphysics exclude everything but the one which he professes to be studying. Hence it is not at all astonishing, that of all vanities, metaphysics is the vanity of vanities, and that the study thereof (*l'art de s'égarer avec méthode*—the art of methodically "muddling" oneself,) is a vexation of spirit. It appears as though in the study of mind the right course would be to observe the relation of phenomena, as it is in the study of the external world. In the latter, it has been agreed to dismiss as vain the question of essences, and to confine the attention to phenomena; but in the field of mind, the hypothesis of essence still excludes the proper course of investigation, and effectually prevents progress. Yet withal there is some difficulty in understanding why we should cling so tenaciously to the erroneous method; for the physical forces, we cannot but see, operate in the most *intelligent* manner in the universe, and exhibit a higher *reason* than any to which man has ever attained; and surely there is no extravagance in supposing that the great cause which has determined the laws according to which they act so harmoniously throughout nature, may have determined a similar *intelligential* operation on the part of a correlated force in man. Our highest efforts in science are directed to detecting the *reason* that is in the universe, and thereby ourselves acquiring knowledge. Man, indeed, only progresses in knowledge in so far as he progresses in physical science; it is in this mainly that the progress of civilization has consisted. The intellect in the days of Aristotle and of Plato was probably not inferior in itself to the intellect of modern times, and its cultivation was as great in Greece as it has been in civilized England. But the method was erroneous in the days of Plato. The inductive investigation of nature of the spirit of which Bacon was the expression, and the progress of positive science, have supplied to modern mind a better nourishment, and have conferred upon it a greater power. Knowing the physical laws, man can employ the physical forces for his purposes; these are brought into subjection, and the proposition of Bacon, that "man conquers nature by obeying her," is realized. There is, as it were, a double correlation between the laws and reason of nature, and the mind's knowledge (science), and again, between the latter and the world of *art*. It is the world acting on man, and man reacting on the world. Buckle, in his learned work on the "History of Civilization," has argued very eloquently, that

science only is progressive, and that morality is not ; and it is so far true, that no change has taken place of late in the principles of morality ; but it seems impossible to deny that there has been an extension of the application of those principles—an increase in practical morality ; and this, not as the result of any supposed exacerbation of moral principle, but as the simple and inevitable result of the progress of science. The abstract moral truth, that man “should do unto others as he would have others do unto him,” though for ages preached and for ages recognized as true, could not avail to induce the rich man to improve his poor neighbour’s pig-stye habitation. And the poor man being left, morality notwithstanding, to live like a pig, acted in some measure also like a pig. But modern science has taught that a filthy habitation, and a foul atmosphere, and unwholesome food, are directly destructive to human life ; and cholera and fever have done what religion and morality had attempted and failed to do ; and now, as the result, is appearing the dawn of a social science.

Thus, then, the advance of civilization, consisting in a progress of the intellect, is owing to the progress of man’s acquaintance with the laws of nature. It is the mind responding to newly-discovered laws of reason, by virtue of the correlation of forces ; Antæus-like, it gains new life by contact with mother earth. Yet, partly by reason of the exaggerated idea which we entertain of our individual selves, and partly from our familiarity with the physical forces, we refuse to recognize such a doctrine, deeming it to involve a fearful degradation of our spiritual nature. Because, forsooth, man can bottle electricity, he fancies that it is not very wonderful ; he underrates the nature of this force, and overrates mind, at least comparatively, as though Providence had not sent one forth to do its work in the world, just as much as the other—as though God were not omnipotent. But the fundamental error which appears to lie at the bottom of man’s opinion on this subject, as, indeed, on a good many others, is his inability to rise out of himself ; he cannot emancipate himself from the tendency which is so general at the commencement of speculation, to regard all things with reference to himself personally. On the whole, this is, perhaps, not to be wondered at, seeing how he is materially affected, for pleasure or for pain, and is a considerable part of the whole. Yet the progress of science tends to show that what we have to learn, is to observe objects not as related to *us*, but to one another, and not only so, but to place ourselves on equal terms amongst the objects

whose relations we are to observe—to become, as far as possible, indifferent spectators of these relations, forgetting, as far as may be done, that we are interested and affected parties. Man is certainly too personal, and much needs to be brought back now and then to his cradle in the dust; he would do well to observe how nature everywhere proclaims his individual littleness, to listen to the “tongues in trees,” to attend to the “sermons in stones,” and to read the “books in the running brooks.” Thus to give an illustration of what, perhaps, yet remains to be learned from the “tongues in trees,” regarding the subordinate part which the individual plays in the mighty scheme of the universe, let us instance the phenomena of nutrition and reproduction. In the lowest plants and animals, generation is but nutrition directed to a particular purpose. A cell, to all appearance, breaks off indifferently somewhere from the parent, settles down and grows into a new organism; or, ascending a little higher in the scale of organization, there is a budding (gemination) from some part of the parent, the bud increasing and remaining for some time attached, perhaps, permanently so, or at other times breaking away and becoming a new organism. Amongst physiologists, some will not consent to call this a new *individual*, while others do—a fact which is not without interest. The germ which is to become an oak, becomes so by a succession of buds developing year after year, each as its immediate work is done, remaining to constitute a part of the individual; each bud is, so to say, a brick added to the house. In such a consideration, taken in connection with what human history teaches, is there not a useful lesson for man to learn with respect to his individual littleness *in this world*? His reproduction is but nutrition, under less patent, more complex, and more exalted conditions, than in the plant; and what are the successive generations of a family, but so many buds, which, if not blighted, are to culminate, at some period, in the family oak? There were many Mirabeaus, doubtless, who lived and died un-noted before the world-noted Mirabeau appeared, who performed such an important part in revolutionizing the world. In him the Mirabeau family tree attained its full growth, and the full performance of its function, and then, having done its duty, decayed. As individuals, we have far too exalted notions of ourselves; thousands appear to exist only as bricks to build the house, or as buds to build the tree; we are steps in the evolution of a mighty scheme, for, as individuals, we are, many of us, no better than “stuffed clothes-suits.” So also may it be with regard to nations, for

it is important to bear in mind, "that centuries form but short periods in the history of the human race." And, although "it may be dangerous," as Oersted observes, "to wound the self love of the human race by the supposition that it must one day make room for a more perfect order of beings,"\* so also may it be with the whole creation which "groaneth and travaileth," to some wise and glorious end. Perhaps when man has brought himself clearly to recognize these things, he may not find it so hard a matter to place himself in the circle of correlation.

Turning back, then, as physical enquirers to the contemplation of man, and adopting the physical maxim, *de non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem est ratio*, it seems impossible to resist the conviction, that mind must be correlated with the other forces of nature. What means else the never-ceasing dependence of mind on brain? When we reflect on the gradual development of brain throughout the animal kingdom, and on the uniform correspondence that there is between increase thereof and increase of mind, when we observe how invariably in man himself a deficient brain is associated with deficient mental power—how notably concomitant are their variations—when we find that injury or disease of the former, is injury or disease of the latter, and that the development of mental force is attended with a change or "waste," as it is called in the material substratum, we cannot but acknowledge that mind exists only *to us* as evolved through the material substratum of the brain. As forcibly expressing this, we may venture to quote, although it is dangerous to tread on such ground, the very eloquent words of Lawrence.†

"Examine the mind, the grand prerogative of man. Where is the mind of the fœtus? Where that of the child just born? Do we not see it actually built up before our eyes by the action of the five external senses, and the gradually developed internal faculties? Do we not trace it advancing by a slow progress through infancy and childhood, to the perfect expansion of its faculties in the adult, annihilated for a time by a blow on the head, or the shedding of a little blood in apoplexy, decaying as the body decays in old age, and finally reduced to an amount hardly perceptible, when the body worn out by mere exercise of the organs, reaches by the simple operation of natural decay, that state of decrepitude most aptly termed second childhood?"

\* "Soul in Nature," p. 53.

† "Lectures on Man."

“Where shall we find proof of the mind’s independence of the bodily structure? of that mind, which like the corporeal frame is infantile in the child, manly in the adult, sick and debilitated in disease, frenzied or melancholy in the madman, enfeebled in the decline of life, doting in decrepitude, and annihilated by death.”

This looks very much like the expression of a pure materialism, and therein can be in nowise acknowledged here. It speaks of annihilation by death; there is no annihilation in nature—force cannot be annihilated. It is not, therefore, identical with the doctrine of correlation of physical and mental force—very far from it; the latter is, indeed, identical in all but name, with the doctrine of independent mind. For when we speak of mind independently of brain, we have no idea of it, except as of a something—*essence*, perhaps, unmeaning word—which we suppose to exist beneath the manifestations of which we take cognizance, and which constitute individual character. There is no knowledge in such a supposition. Should we not, abjuring all speculation about the nature of mind which never can be knowledge *to us*, gain something by regarding it as a force of nature? Nothing, truly, if we look upon it as a force, special, independent, and unrelated in nature; but the idea of force should be entertained, because it expresses a relation with other forces, and thus, admitting a correlation, we hope to have gained something, and may expect to gain more. Moreover we lose nothing. We have all that is required in mind, and are enabled to recognize man as, what all observation points him out to be, a part of nature. But it may be denied that such a view supplies all that is required in mind. What about consciousness? Here then we have the “*cogito ergo sum*” of Descartes starting up and staring us in the face, as it appears destined to do, as long as the hinges of gravitation keep the world in its orbit. It is this which boasts of annihilating the materialist, by pointing out to him that he loses “the unity of the whole man in the multiplicity of the material organs,” although the materialist replies with some cogency, that the unity of mind is preserved by his adversary, only by “grasping it as a verbal *abstraction*.” One generally finds that one doctrine hits very decidedly the weak point in another; and it may happen, that by bringing together the rival criticisms, and reconciling them through the medium of a third hypothesis, some advance is made in knowledge. We have no intention

of entering the weary labyrinth of a metaphysical disquisition on consciousness; it seems a question never to be settled. Buckle, only a short time since, asserted, that the metaphysical dogma of the supremacy of human consciousness involves two assumptions; one, though possibly true, which has never been proved, the other unquestionably false. These are, that there is an independent faculty, called consciousness, and that its dictates are infallible. But the ablest thinkers, says he, now regard consciousness as merely a state or condition of mind; and the argument, therefore, falls to the ground. Even if it is a faculty, we have the testimony of all history to prove its extreme fallibility. Of course this is not to be admitted without energetic protest, and in the discussion thereupon, such a cloud of dust is raised, that none but those provided with metaphysical spectacles of high power are able to discern anything. For the metaphysical spectacle is wonderful in the power which it possesses, of enabling a man to see things in words. Refraining then from the futile attempt to soar upwards without wings, it will be sufficient to consider consciousness on the basis of physiology—to look upon a state of consciousness as a state of brain. If we are not to do this, what position are we to assign consciousness in a physiological psychology? There is considerable difficulty, indeed, actual impossibility, of understanding how these, who acknowledge that mind can manifest itself only through brain, dispose of consciousness, which they appear to think it incumbent on them, somehow to exempt from the supposed degradation of a material necessity. It is, of course, impossible to doubt that consciousness is the ultimate ground of certainty for the individual; if he is conscious of pain, he must feel pain. But is there not a material change in the organism which is the condition of the excitation of the feeling, and must not consciousness so aroused necessarily certify to it? The effect must infallibly testify to its conditions. Consciousness is infallible, therefore, as to the internal fact, but it is quite a different thing to say that it is infallible as to the external phenomena, that it demonstrates the truth of them. It is the expression of a transmutation of force, and the testimony, therefore, of its own existence; but it is not necessarily an expression of the nature of the affecting force.

Again, there can be no doubt that consciousness irresistibly suggests the *ego*, but this does not appear to be incompatible with its material origin. Inasmuch as it is through

an affection of *my* organism that it is aroused, it is difficult to understand how it could suggest anything else ; the unity of *my* consciousness is the unity of *my* organism ; my *ego* is the *ego* of my body. Amidst the multiplicity of material organs and operations there is ever a unity maintained ; all the parts increase and develop after a definite plan, and work together for a common object ; a certain *type* is preserved. We may speak of it as a type, or we may speak of it as a thought of the creative mind, but that the organism is the realization of such a type or idea, can admit of no doubt. Changing as it is constantly through life, it never loses its type ; it receives experience, and makes it a part of itself ; responds to correlated force, and registers its reply. For all impressions leave in man's organization certain traces, more or less clear of their existence, which, by virtue of the laws of nutrition, are propagated, and thus modify the existing condition, always consistently, however, with the maintenance of an original type. We may justly, therefore, consider the body of a man, aged 30, to be the body of 20, plus the incorporation of 10 years' experience. There will, then, be in mental phenomena a modification, but not radical change of force, through the substratum of a modified, but not radically changed organism ; the typical unity of the latter having been maintained, that of the former is also preserved. Endow this force with the non-essential quality of consciousness (for be it observed the mind may be actively employed without consciousness), and what is it then conscious of ? It is conscious of manifold changes produced by external circumstances, which, by the laws of nutrition, have become part of the organism, but it is conscious also of the preservation of an original type, just as the on-looking physiologist is. And the consciousness of this, what is it but the consciousness of personal identity ? It is the corporeal, and, therefore, mental identity, maintained in the midst of an infinite multitude of changes. Refined by intellectual exercise, scarred by passion, or blunted and dulled by sensuality, the organism preserves unchanged its type ; its unity is unity derived from the same source as the unity of creation. In the assertion that the unity is in consciousness, there is not only an assumption which is not necessary, but which is not equal to the explanation of all the phenomena of mind ; the unity being in the organism, the mind as manifested through it, necessarily contains in itself that unity. Some look upon this type, idea, or creative thought, as the soul. But such a view either annihilates soul by proclaiming

indirectly materialism, or it annihilates it by absorbing it into the Deity, and proclaims Pantheism. The steam-engine is the realization of the thought of Watt, but one would hardly deem it satisfactory to call the thought of that philosopher the soul of the steam engine. And when we remember that all men are formed after a certain type, which is, moreover, common to all vertebrated animals, it is not easy to conceive any idea of type which may conform to the idea which we entertain of soul.

But the weightiest reason which operates in preventing man from recognizing the importance of the body, is the difficulty he experiences in conceiving its immortality. Job must surely have foreseen this when he prefaced his declaration upon that subject with the words—"Oh, that my words were now written! Oh, that they were printed in a book. That they were graven with an iron pen, and with lead in the rock for ever!" And what words were these so important to be remembered? "For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth; and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God." St. Paul also seems to have foreseen the objections that might be made to the resurrection of the body, and to have recognized the necessity of such resurrection. "Thou fool! that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die. All flesh is not the same flesh. There are celestial bodies, and bodies terrestrial. It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power. It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body. We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed." Well then might we add, "O death where is thy sting? O grave where is thy victory?" It is very certain that he who believes in a resurrection of the body, and it is impossible to believe that the Christian can doubt it, cannot, on the ground of a supposed materialism, object to any doctrine which maintains the *essentiality* of the body to individual existence. And there is no reason why he should wish to do so. Is not the construction of so delicate, yet so perfect and wonderful an organism, with such, to us, miraculous powers of transforming force, and developing the highest force in nature, as clear and convincing evidence of a Creator's skill, as any opinion which the ingenuity of man may form about mind? The potentiality which is inherent in the particular cerebral organization, is an expression of the power which mind exercises on the material supplied to



it. Perhaps it is not so flattering a view to man's self-complacency, as that which attributes so special a character to mind, but it will be of some use, if it suggest to us the desirability of ceasing to limit the power of God by our conceptions and fancies. The universe, in all its departments, demonstrates the truth of Leibnitz's axiom, that "the present is pregnant with the future." And "the very analogy of a mundane birth suggests a still higher birth, viz., the entrance of the pre-existent and immortal *ideal*, as trained and developed by human life into new relations; its connexion with a superior organization; and its advancement to a higher and purer individuality. In this view death is but a crisis in our being, the dissolution of the earthly tabernacle; not that we may be unclothed, but clothed upon, which is from above."\*

The doctrine of the correlation of mental and physical force is, at any rate, not amenable to the objection that is brought with some force against the opinion commonly entertained of the soul, viz., "how can that which came into being yesterday be immortal?" If it be said that the force of the objection lies in the imperfection of man, that his idea of soul, so far as he has any, is the representation to him of something existent from God, which he cannot completely comprehend, we may grant that it is so—the fact of actual existence incomprehensible by us, remains the same—and it becomes a question of the best mode of representation of it. Surely the doctrine of correlation as a representation thereof, is, at least, at the present time, most in accordance with man's knowledge, and most in accordance with the analogy of nature.

If there be any weight in the considerations which have been adduced, it is obvious that the supposed necessity of "a different order of things," in order to explain the moral nature, has no real existence. Unfortunate, indeed, would it be if such a necessity existed, for all observation showeth that moral character is as closely dependent on the character and condition of physical structure, as any other phenomenon physical or mental in man.

In conclusion, it may be well to cast a glance at the universe in its gradual evolution, from the formation of the first geological stratum, to the appearance and the last development of man—to note the thousands of years' existence of the earth before the creation of organic beings, the thousands of years more of existence, during which there

\* Morell's "Elements of Psychology," p. 83.

was nothing but barren vegetation, and animals of low organization; the succession of eras up to man's appearance, and the thousands of years which man has required to arrive at his present condition. Is not such a history the disclosure of a succession of gigantic effects—effect following effect—at the proper time and season? the evidence of one mighty cause in operation? And does it not in truth appear monstrous to introduce into the series a new cause, not a new effect, related to, and gradually evolved, as it were, from previous effects, but a new cause unrelated and without cause. Harmonious development suddenly put a stop to, for the introduction of a miracle from the clouds! For how is it possible that this new introduction should act on things to which it has no relation; in fact, for this is the actual question, how should it be related to that to which it has no relation whatever. It might have been predicted that no possible conception could ever be formed of the action of mind on matter, if the “pre-established harmony” of Leibnitz and other such theories had not remained gigantic evidence to prove it. What does the history of the created universe tend to, if not to show that mind has been the gradual resultant of ages on ages of previous operations?

All forces are then but modes of manifestation of one force—the Will of God—manifest in highest form, and with least obscuration in the temple of man's body. “Remark, as illustrative of several things, and more to the purpose here, that man does in strict speech always remain the clearest symbol of the Divinity to man. Friend Novalis, the devoutest heart I knew, and of purest depth, has not scrupled to call man, what the Divine Man is called in Scripture, a ‘Revelation in the Flesh.’ ‘There is but one temple in the world,’ says he, ‘and that is the body of man. Bending before men is a reverence done to this revelation in the flesh. We touch heaven when we lay our hand on a human body.’ In which notable words, a reader that meditates them, may find such meaning and scientific accuracy as will surprise him.”\*

\* Carlyle's *Miscellanies*, vol. iii. “Goethe's Works.”

*On General Paralysis* by Dr. HARRINGTON TUKE.

It is with reluctance that I attempt any definition of the disease that we have agreed to call the "general paralysis of the insane;" definitions are always difficult, and moreover they very frequently involve a *petitio principii*, that renders them practically useless. I have ventured, however, to group together some symptoms that may be taken as signalizing this dread disease, premising that some of my postulates may be questioned, and that I only pretend to offer my views upon the subject, as those of an individual observer, who, holding strong opinions, is willing to submit them to the objections or criticisms of his professional brethren. My object is to draw truly, but in strong relief, the various shapes assumed by the malady, and to sketch vividly its diverse symptoms, even if wrong, in some of my conclusions, or apparently too dogmatical in my propositions. I am satisfied if I can at all assist in fixing the attention of the medical profession outside the pale of my own special department to a form of disease that is so familiar to us, and that they, in the interests of suffering humanity, will do well to study.

Paralytic insanity, the *paralytie générale* of Calmeil, the progressive paralysis of Requin and Rodriguez, the chronic meningitis of Bayle, the "general paralysis" of our own reports and case-books, is an organic disease of the brain or its membranes, usually evidenced by symptoms of congestion, followed by a change of character and disposition, unsoundness of mind, and with peculiar delusions, and synchronously by the more or less rapid approach of an entire muscular paralysis; it is a disorder almost confined to middle life, attacks the male rather than the female sex, and if not checked at its outset, is fatal within three or four years of the first appearance of its symptoms.

I can easily foresee the many objections that the alienist physician, accustomed to see this frightful disorder in all its phases, will at once take to this definition, but I do not intend to convey the impression that I have in this embodied all the various symptoms of general paralysis, I have only fixed upon the type of the disease, as I have myself seen it, and I propose to consider *seriatim* the various symptoms I have here enumerated, giving to each its proper value; the absence of one or other of them in a particular

case, will by no means invalidate the general correctness of my definition, just as in consumption, hæmoptysis may be considered as a grave and almost essential symptom, although there are many cases in which pthisis proceeds to its fatal termination, without the appearance of this significant evidence of the nature of the malady; and, as in fever, the high pulse and fevered tongue, and heat of skin, indicate serious febrile disturbance of the system; it is not because any one of these symptoms is important, but because of their significance taken together, that we are enabled confidently to pronounce upon the nature of the disease.

The progress of general paralysis may be divided into three stages; in the first stage the patient rarely comes under the supervision of the alienist physician, and I have already dwelt upon the danger that he runs of his disorder being misunderstood, from the ignorance of his medical attendant, and the natural unwillingness of his friends to acknowledge the existence of mental derangement. The second stage is that which is to be found in the wards of every asylum, distinct and indubitable evidence is present of mental disorder, and such a case cannot be mistaken. In the third stage the patient becomes helpless and demented, all power of voluntary movement is lost, even that of reflex movement is impaired. I have already described these last symptoms, and they are not practically of importance, as the history of the case will always lead to its correct diagnosis.

I do not know that it is very essential to insist upon the division of general paralysis into various stages, it will be seen that they indicate only progressive intellectual and physical weakening, they usually melt into each other by almost imperceptible gradations; and, although sometimes they are very clearly marked, it is often impossible to make any difference between them, that which I have called the third stage, sometimes appearing as the first, or alternating with the second. The important stage is that of incubation, in which the early symptoms appear, and in which the only opportunity of successful treatment appears to exist. The physician engaged in the treatment of this disease among the middle and upper classes of society, has afforded to him a better opportunity of hearing a more correct and distinct account of the early rise and progress of the disorder in each case than falls to the lot of his professional brethren in the public asylums; but even in the imperfect annals of the lower class, there is abundant evi-

dence of a stage of incubation, which might be susceptible of great and permanent relief, and it is not too much to hope that the precursory symptoms of this disease once understood by the profession at large, its fatal progress may be arrested; that the medical attendants of our charities like Bethlem and St. Luke's may not so often have the pain of sending away applicants for admission as being in the second stage of the disease, and, in their opinion, beyond the hope of cure; and, that it may not always be the painful task of the special physician, to be forced to give an opinion which he knows to be the true one, but at the same time feels must fall with a frightful shock upon the ears of relatives, who, altogether unprepared for the announcement of such a malady, consult him in the confident anticipation that his experience will suggest a remedy for what they consider a merely temporary excitement, their medical attendant has shared in their hopes, and often leaves the consulting room incredulous, even angry. Esquirol has exactly hit this point, which must be in the experience of us all; the case he gives is short, and the lesson it conveys is admirable: "M., had become irritable, and easily excited at the slightest opposition, he had refused all medicine, asserting that he was never so well or so happy. Dr. — a physician, equally talented as esteemed, brought him to Paris, and to me. 'I commit to your treatment, (said he) a most interesting patient, who is suffering only from transient excitement, your care, and separation from scenes that appear to augment his disorder, will speedily restore him to health.' I converse with this patient, (continues Esquirol) he tells me of his projects for the future, of his present happiness, the acquaintances he and his family will gain by their visit to Paris, &c. After half an hour I am asked my opinion; it is, that the patient will not recover, that he is incurable, and that he has not one year to live. At the expiration of seven months, this gentleman sank under a malady, which, at its commencement, appeared so insignificant in its character even to so distinguished and practised a physician as Dr. K—."

In going through the wards of <sup>a</sup>an asylum for the insane, the student will find many cases, which he will soon learn to recognize as those of general paralysis; in these dementia has usually commenced, and the disease may be said to have arrived at its culmination. I propose, before considering the terms of the definition I have suggested, to describe shortly one of many such cases, exactly as I myself saw it

in the wards at Hanwell; it was one of those afterwards mentioned by Dr. Conolly in his Croonian Lectures, as an illustration of this disease, combined with occasional symptoms of depression. W. R., aged 37, a man of powerful frame, nervo-sanguineous temperament, head well shaped, good education; had been employed as a foreman of a fishing company in the North of Ireland. He had had great anxieties in the prosecution of this enterprise, had had alternate fits of excitement and depression; when I saw him he walked with the characteristic gait of general paralysis; his speech was affected: there were tremulous movements of the tongue when protruded. He told me that he had made his fortune; that Ireland would be the mistress of the world; that he was about to marry the Queen, though his own wife was most lovely; that he could sing better than Jenny Lind; that he was the greatest actor of the day; that he had twenty thousand men under his command, and expressed various other delusions of the same nature. Within a few months he had epileptic fits, or rather fits of an epileptic character, his disorder made rapid progress, and he died within two years, paralyzed and demented, but persisting to the last that he was never so well or so strong.

Here then is the type of this disorder, intellectual derangement, paralysis, epileptoid fits, and shortly after inevitable death, a death too of the most distressing kind; true that it is unaccompanied by pain, and the sufferer is unconscious of its approach; but it is not the less terrible to watch the gradual but rapid progress, from excitement to dementia, from that to utter insensibility, and then to dying hours in which the sufferer is unmindful of the presence of his dearest friends, unconscious of their tears, unable to understand the consolation of religion, unsoothed by hopes of another and brighter existence, and passes unthinkingly away, his last words being, perhaps, an expression of his conviction that he is the happiest of men.

In considering the symptoms I have indicated, many important questions arise, and these I will discuss as fully as I can, consistently with the essentially practical character of this essay.

The most important question in the consideration of any case in which mental derangement is a prominent characteristic, is whether the symptoms do, or do not, indicate the existence of organic brain disease. We may have functional disturbance, easily curable, or even temporary disorder, as in delirium tremens, which may be considered to some

extent as organic, although certainly not hopeless ; but if we are called on to treat persistent insanity, and with it there is undoubted evidence of cerebral lesion, we have a very serious form of malady to contend against, and one that will require all the resources of the art and science of medicine. I believe that the form of derangement, which we call general paralysis, is always connected with organic change in the brain structure, that it is not, as so many other nervous affections are, to be reached by moral treatment, or its dangers obviated by anything but direct remedial agents ; and it is partly for this reason, that I think the early symptoms of the disorder should be more generally recognized and studied, and the improbability insisted upon of any treatment in the later stages being likely to do more than postpone a fatal result. In this disease as in phthisis, the initiatory symptoms may be met, and their progress arrested, but the disease once fully established, medicine is unavailing, except to smooth the path to death ; and although it may certainly happen in both maladies that the issue may be less unfortunate, such an event from our present experience, is to be hoped for, rather than expected. To the trained physician, however, the formidable nature of the malady is only a fresh incentive to his efforts to subdue it ; and as in all its stages, medicine and care may do so much to mitigate the severity of the symptoms, and avert their omens, it is not too much to hope that *general paralysis* may cease to be the opprobrium upon our medical treatment that it is at present, partly, as I believe, from the almost universal ignorance of the general profession, as to its symptoms, which allows the moment to pass by, in which remedies may best counteract the disease, and often leads them to treat it erroneously as an affection of the spine or heart.

Very high authorities have declared, I think most unadvisedly, that general paralysis is incurable ; but they have given no reason why, and we can only surmise that it is because they find organic disease of so serious a nature has been established in the brain, as to induce them to believe all treatment hopeless. Now organic disease of brain in its early stage should not be less curable than organic disease of the lungs ; and if in the latter case, we have the valuable aid of the stethoscope, to guide us to correct opinion ; I think the signs afforded by the peculiar paralysis of the insane, conjoined with the special mental symptoms, are hardly less positively diagnostic to the alienist physician, and a correct diagnosis once

arrived at, neither disease should be considered as absolutely hopeless.

Admitting, as every physician must do, the possibility of relieving and even curing organic brain disease, there is another symptom of great importance, whether regarded as a cause or effect of the malady, which reduces in many cases the chances of recovery. I allude to the peculiar "fits" that usher in or follow the early symptoms with either the paralysis or the mental alienation. It is a maxim as old as the school of Hippocrates, that "delirium with convulsion" is incurable; and, Esquirol has followed this dictum in his own well known aphorism: *L' épilepsie compliquée d'alienation mentale ne guérit jamais.*

It will be seen how much resemblance there is in the fits that accompany general paralysis to those that mark epilepsy, and I should be much inclined to apply the same rule to this former disease, and state as my opinion that if the universal organic change in the brain tissue which causes the disease I have defined, be complicated with the severe local cerebral lesion that the epileptoid fits undoubtedly indicate, such a combination is incurable. It may be easily understood how it is that these cerebral lesions may be either the cause or the effect of the organic change; an epileptic fit of a centric character, may act upon and damage the brain tissue in such a way as to cause the peculiar morbid changes, whose results we recognize in the symptoms of general paralysis, in the same way as blows upon the head can frequently be traced to be the agents producing this form of disease; and, on the other hand, the general organic softening, or other alteration of structure, may, and frequently does, lead to fresh mischief, and to the production of epileptoid fits, always followed by an exacerbation of the original malady, and always indicative of a speedily fatal termination.

The consideration of the nature of these cerebral lesions belongs to another part of my subject, but I may shortly sum up the proofs of extensive organic mischief, irrespective of pathological appearances, which strike me as the most conclusive, in demonstrating this disease, to be quite distinct from all other forms of mental derangement, and of a much more serious character.

In the first place, setting aside the doctrine of the invariable hopelessness of general paralysis, it is certain that the disease is usually fatal within a short period, and this does not arise from paralysis alone, because paralysis supervenes



upon other forms of mental disease, and runs its course, much in the same way as it would do in an otherwise healthy brain ; it may pass off, or the patient may live paralyzed for years, while either such issue is most rare in the special disease we are considering. In recent mental aberration, recovery of reason under proper treatment is the rule, in general paralysis it is the exception, by some, its very possibility is denied, although the mental symptoms alone even of the second stage, are so little significant of serious, far less hopeless disorder. Loss of one or more of the special senses is rare in ordinary lunacy, but is not uncommon in general paralysis, and lastly, the almost invariably concomitant convulsions, with long continued loss of consciousness, indicate structural, and taken together, idiopathic morbid change. It is true we may not always be able to demonstrate this by the scalpel or the microscope, nor has chemistry helped us to a solution of the mystery, yet we cannot but feel, that with such symptoms, it is hardly possible that a peculiar organic disease is not present, although it may escape our imperfect means of investigation.

I do not believe that general paralysis ever runs through its course without producing or exhibiting the phenomena of these epileptoid fits ; they may often evade observation if not particularly enquired into, and their nature may be mistaken, but their pathognomonic value when properly understood, is very great, and their presence in the case in their special form is decisive as to the nature of the attack.

I was asked last year to see a patient in the city who had become maniacal, it was supposed from dissipation ; he had cut to pieces the lining of cabs he travelled in, he had attacked strangers in the theatre, &c. ; he told me that he was perfectly well, able to walk ten miles an hour, had never had a fit of any kind ; this his friends confirmed, but at last remembered that about two months previously, he had fallen from the high stool in his counting house in a "faint," was insensible for half-an-hour, and since then, his demeanour had become so "strange." This history, in my opinion, justified my previous suspicion that the case was one of general paralysis in its early stage.

The form of these fits may vary materially, they may be very severe, and, in the latter stage of the malady generally are so. At this period, convulsive movements occur, particularly of the upper extremities, which may continue for hours ; I have been obliged to pad the arm of a patient thus attacked, with soft pillows, to prevent his unconsciously

inflicting injury upon himself ; during this time, the patient will remain perfectly insensible, and may continue so for days, but it rarely happens that death ensues as the immediate effect of the seizure, although it always seriously aggravates the former symptoms.

Although at the very outset of the malady, a very severe fit may occur, they are generally very much slighter, and bear a great resemblance to the *petit mal* of the French writers on Epilepsy.

One such "fit" I find thus recorded in my case book, as having happened in the course of an attack of general paralysis : "While sitting in the garden, Mr. —, became suddenly insensible ; he did not fall ; there were severe convulsive twitchings of the facial muscles, followed by rigor ; the whole seizure lasting about three minutes, and leaving no immediate traces of its visitation. In the same patient, a second, and more severe fit occurred about three months afterwards, and within the year an attack of a still more marked character supervened with convulsions lasting for two hours, and perfect insensibility continuing for ten more. There can be no doubt that all these three seizures were of the same epileptoid character."

I have this day, August 26th, received from a surgeon in the country, who is perfectly unaware of the particular interest his patient's case is to me at this moment, a graphic account of the condition of a patient, in whom I hardly fail to recognize the symptoms of general paralysis. His description of a "fit" he himself has just witnessed, is singularly in unison with the general account I have given.

"A peculiar expression came over his face, then the muscles of both sides of it worked convulsively, and he became evidently quite unconscious ; this lasted two or three seconds, he then stared about him a little, then became quite sensible, and talked, &c., as before."

Slight attacks of this nature frequently occur, and entirely escape the notice of the patient's friends, or if they are noticed, their bearing upon the case is disregarded, even by the medical attendant ; I was able to diagnose special organic mischief in the brain of a gentleman, who died some years afterwards the subject of general paralysis, from the fact that I remarked distinct seizures of this kind of insensibility, while playing whist with him ; the attacks were so transient, as not to have caused the slightest alarm to himself, or his family.

In one case in which I was consulted, the sudden falls of

a patient in an early stage of paralytic insanity, were attributed to weakness of the knee joints, to which he had been subject; his apparent recovery of reason a short time afterwards supported for a time this view of the case, but the more gloomy prognosis as to the nature of these falls, turned out to be correct one.

It is not unreasonable to imagine that these "fits" may frequently make their appearance without becoming known to the patient's family, especially if they happen at night, and the patient sleeps alone, or is absent from home at the time of their occurrence; a sudden change for the worse in a case that presents obscure brain symptoms, should always lead the medical attendant to enquire into the possibility of the existence of what Dr. Marshall Hall has called "hidden seizures." The following case narrated by him, illustrates this point, and to the psychological physician affords an example of "general paralysis," evidently unrecognized as a special form of insanity, although watched by an acute observer of disease.

"I was called," says Dr. Marshall Hall, "to a patient affected with the mildest form of mania. There was merely an erroneous idea about his affairs, and a degree of suspicion. The symptoms subsided, and he appeared recovering. A return of symptoms took place, and now there was for several weeks, violent mania. The patient again recovered, but we were again doomed to be disappointed; he became affected with a sort of *amèntia*, and we suspected effusion. This idea was rendered untenable by a third speedy amendment. The patient again became worse; and now I made the most minute enquiries for some sign of paroxysmal seizure. I found that in walking in the drawing-room, he had experienced a 'shudder.' At length a fourth relapse took place, in the form of a distinct convulsive seizure, followed by a transient paralysis of the lips and of the arm, and still greater *amèntia* than before. This seizure was followed by another, and this by another. The case had plainly been one of hidden seizure. And thus a flood of light was thrown upon one of the most obscure of obscure diseases."

It is to be regretted that Dr. Marshall Hall has given no further account of this patient, but the symptoms clearly point to paralytic insanity, or else to insanity following epilepsy, or insanity in which epilepsy had supervened. The question may be asked as to the difference between the "fits" in epileptic and paralytic insanity, and it may be

one of great importance as bearing upon the treatment, and, as I shall presently mention, upon the probable duration of the patient's life. I do not think that, practically, there is much danger of their being mistaken for each other; still, the resemblance between them in the early stages of general paralysis is great, as their epileptoid character is then very marked. The points of difference, as far as the fit itself is concerned, are, first, the absence of the *aura*, so characteristic of epilepsy. The tongue, too, is seldom wounded in paralytic insanity, and the tendency to sleep after an epileptic fit, is very different from the entire stupor that often follows the fit in general paralysis; the spinal system again is more generally affected in the former, than in the latter form of disease. The convulsions in epilepsy are more universal; in paralysis, the arm or leg is affected as a general rule, only on one side, although this is not constant; but the principal pathognomonic difference appears to be the relation that is found to exist between the mental symptoms and the "fits"; slight epileptic seizures occur for years without materially damaging the intellectual faculties, but in a patient affected with "fits" in combination with paralysis, each seizure, however slight, is generally followed by an exacerbation of the mental derangement, which, from the first, is out of proportion to the amount of disorganization indicated by the "fits" alone.

Epileptic fits usually attack childhood or early life; general paralysis is a disease of middle age; epilepsy is common to both sexes; general paralysis more frequently attacks men than women. The nervo-sanguineous temperament, and well-shaped head of the paralytic, contrast strongly with the frequently mal-formed cranium, and scrofulous diathesis of the epileptic; and the peculiar cry of epilepsy that so mournfully preludes the convulsion, has no parallel in the seizure of general paralysis. Interesting as this question is, its consideration belongs rather to the diagnosis of epilepsy, than to the subject of this essay. And, however much the "fits" of the two diseases may resemble each other, on other points their difference is unmistakeable.

There is one characteristic feature in these fits, that, perhaps, belongs rather to the mental than the physical division of the symptoms of paralytic insanity, but that I may mention here. In epilepsy, the existence of these paroxysms of convulsion is recognized by the patient, and their invasion is anticipated and dreaded; I have never seen a paralytic

patient who seemed conscious of them, or who feared their recurrence. It would appear that the intra cranial mischief, that these "fits" indicate, is so great as to render the patient happily unconscious of its approach, and heedless of the result its fatal march forebodes.

However easy may be the diagnosis between the epileptic and paralytic seizure, when occurring in a case with whose history the physician is acquainted, it is by no means easy to determine what the nature and probable result of a seizure may be, supposing that it is the first-noticed symptom of the malady, as, indeed, it would appear very frequently to be. Congestion of the brain with convulsion may occur in the course of an attack of delirium tremens, and closely simulate general paralysis; slight apoplectic seizure, with resulting paralysis affecting the tongue, may render the diagnosis doubtful, and the prognosis, therefore, more hopeful. Important, therefore, as the study of the nature of these seizures may be, a fit is only one link in the chain of evidence, as to the nature of the disease, and must not be taken at more than its true value. A second or third attack must be watched before a confident opinion can be given as to their exact nature.

There is a common error that appears to me to still cling to the consideration of these paroxysmal seizures, and to cloud their diagnostic importance. It is too often believed and asserted that convulsions specially indicate disease affecting directly the medulla oblongata, or the spinal chord. It is true that they often do, and we see examples of such maladies in the convulsions of teething, and in the various forms of eccentric epilepsy; but the phenomena I have attempted to describe, are very different from these attacks, and are still more separated from the purely spinal symptoms which accompany death from hanging, or follow accidental injury to the chord. I must recur to this subject when entering upon the pathology of paralytic insanity.

The diagnosis of one of these fits from apoplexy, I mean absolute effusion of blood upon the brain, I need only allude to, the symptoms of an apoplectic seizure being too marked to be easily mistaken for anything else. I may mention, as practical hints, that in the insensibility of general paralysis, there is not usually stertorous breathing, nor that peculiar puffing of the cheeks in expiration which marks palsy of the buccinator muscles, so frequent in apoplexy; moreover, the paralyzed limbs are *rigid* as a rule in general paralysis, and often in violent action; the reverse of this

rule obtaining in cases of blood being suddenly poured out upon or into the brain tissue.

Blood poisoning, especially that from disease of the kidney, will produce fits very similar to those I have described. Of course the diagnosis will be easy, even if the appearance of the patient and his previous history is not sufficient; chemical tests will at once demonstrate the true nature of the disorder, and in these cases an examination for the presence of albumen in the urine, should always be made.

Irregular dilatation of the pupils of the eyes is a symptom upon which M. Baillarger lays great stress: he states that a very large proportion of the patients attacked with general paralysis, who have come under his observation, have had the pupil of one of their eyes distinctly larger than the other. M. Baillarger, in his paper on the subject, which is published in the *Annales Médico-Psychologique*, gives the exact number of cases in which he has found this morbid appearance, more, I think, than two thirds of the whole, but I regret I am not able to refer to the article itself. Guislain, who notices M. Baillarger's remarks, will not admit this dilatation of the pupil to be a pathognomonic symptom of general paralysis; and in this view Dr. Bucknill concurs. I have not paid a sufficiently particular attention to this change in the eyes, to be able to give a very positive opinion, but I confess that I think M. Baillarger's statistical statement deserves more attention than it has received. There can be no question that a dilated pupil in one eye only is not uncommon in other forms of cerebral disease, but we cannot doubt the accuracy of so acute an observer as M. Baillarger, and I have myself remarked the existence of this symptom in several cases of paralytic insanity, and if it can be shown to be a frequent concomitant of this affection, it becomes a link in the chain of evidence that should not be neglected. I remember in the case of a patient in a very early stage of the malady, Dr. Sutherland pointed out this symptom to a well-known surgeon, whom he and I met in consultation, as a corroboration of our views as to the specific nature of the disease, and its probable termination. Our diagnosis was not very favourably received, and, indeed, the case was not an easy one to decide; we had no doubt that this symptom, taken in conjunction with others, was the very one that M. Baillarger describes; but as the gentleman, whose case we were considering, had been thrown from his carriage a few days previously, fracturing the bone

of his shoulder, and perhaps injuring his head, we were constrained to admit that the dilated pupil and other symptoms *might* be the result of the direct violence. The progress of the disease in this case has since proved the correctness of our original diagnosis.

Whatever may be the nature of the cerebral lesion indicated by this irregular dilatation of the pupils, there can be no question that when present in general paralysis, it is a symptom of the gravest import, and in those cases in which I have observed it, the disease has always been more than usually severe and rapid in its progress. I am, of course, aware that the pupil of one eye may be dilated from mere inequality of the circulation in the brain; and I know at this moment a patient in whom this symptom may be noticed after the exhibition of morphia, again disappearing as the sedative effect of the medicine ceases. In the early stage of paralytic insanity, as a general rule, the pupils of both eyes are dilated, the intelligible result of the congestion about the brain. In the later stages they are almost invariably dilated, but occasionally contracted, seldom irregular. Their dilatation at the close of the disease, would appear to depend upon the diminution of reflex nervous power, which is then so characteristic of general paralysis. I do not know whether M. Baillarger offers any explanation of this dilatation of the pupil of one eye only in the outset of the malady, but in those cases in which I have seen it, the symptom did not appear so much to depend upon either pupil becoming separately enlarged, as upon one of them absolutely contracting, probably from very slight irritation affecting the third nerve. If this be so, it becomes most important as a delicate and important indication of intracranial disorganization, directly affecting the base of the brain. This view is strengthened by the fact, that convulsive action of the muscles of the eye is common in paralytic insanity, and one may be permanently distorted, strabismus occurring from an exaggerated degree of the same irritation at the origin of the nerve.

A very curious, and as yet unexplained, phenomenon in the progress of these cases of paralysis has been pointed out by Dr. Bucknill. "In many patients," he says, "in spite of the immobility of all the other muscles, there may be noticed a peculiar grinding of the teeth, those of the lower jaw are rubbed against the upper molars, with such force as to produce a noise audible across the room," a sound which Dr. Bucknill aptly compares to that of the corn-crake; examination of the

teeth will sometimes show that their crowns are absolutely worn away by the constant attrition. It would be easy to make a plausible theory to account for this peculiar symptom, but it is practically more useful to simply record it, in the hope that a number of such facts may tend to throw some light on the pathology of this terrible disease. In two cases I have noticed an intermission of the pulse in the early stage of paralytic insanity, as if the innervation of the heart were affected; the twentieth or twenty-first beat intermitting; in one of these two cases, the malady has declared itself in all its intensity, in the other it is still only threatening to approach.

Headache is mentioned by Guislain as an early symptom of paralytic insanity. I have never heard such a complaint at any time from a patient suffering under this malady; indeed, the absence of any recognition of pain or uneasiness is remarkable. It is important, however, to remember, that a sensation of pain in the head may herald these attacks, as well as those of apoplexy and epilepsy.

The most important of all the physical symptoms that mark paralytic insanity, is the peculiar failure of muscular power that attends its progress, and that has given to it a name, which, as I believe, has been the fruitful source of so many erroneous ideas as to the seat and nature of the malady. Before entering upon the consideration of the special form of paralysis that is seen in this disease, it will be well to make a few observations upon that "general paralysis," which is not accompanied by mental derangement, at least until the last hours of life, and which therefore is not under the exclusive treatment of physicians conversant with mental affections.

The systematic writers and lecturers upon the practice of medicine, naturally pay great attention to forms of disease so terrible and fatal as those of which paralysis is a symptom. I need not enter upon the classification, the symptoms, the causes, the morbid anatomy of apoplexy, which are familiar to every ardent student of our art. General paralysis, in their meaning of the term, which is, in fact, the proper one, is thus described: "If the disease is of greater extent than is implied in either of the terms hemiplegia or paraplegia, in that case it receives the name of general paralysis. It may be either sudden or gradual, if the latter it begins in the toes or fingers, and thence extends over the whole body." Again, "general palsy may be viewed as a more extended form of paraplegia." Dr. Copland concludes his account of general paralysis, by the distinct declaration, "sensation and intellectual power are unaffected in general palsy, as well as in paraplegia, and



continue so till the malady terminates" in fatal congestion of the brain or lungs.

A surgeon, attached to one of our large hospitals, told me that he had had recently under his care, a patient in whom gradually the entire muscular power was lost. An analogous case is given by Dr. Watson, and a third by Dr. Abercrombie. All three cases were examples of intra-cranial disease.

It is impossible, therefore, to doubt that general paralysis may exist, at least till within a short period before dissolution, without any symptom of mental derangement. Lead or other poisoning may induce entire and fatal paralysis, and yet leave the intellect perfect. I will carry the supposition still further, and imagine a case, in which all the symptoms are such as I have already described, and the progress of the paralysis precisely that which I am now about to detail; I am moreover willing to accept the explanation given by M. Pinel, as to my ignorance of these cases, which is, "that for obvious reasons they are not found in asylums," and that I have not seen them, because they do not belong to my department of medicine. I might, indeed, answer this, by observing that I and other alienist physicians are not so unacquainted with paraplegia and other forms of paralysis; but the point is not worth disputing. M. Pinel tells us that a general paralysis frequently exists without delusion; which we do not recognize, because it does not come under our observation, but this will not alter the fact, that general paralysis exists *with* delusion, is to be seen every day, is the most fatal form of insanity, and in its early, and perhaps solely curable stage, is still absolutely unknown to the great mass of the medical profession. It would be absurd to lay down any axiom upon this subject, but I feel that I am pursuing, however imperfectly, the right path, in attempting to prove that there is a peculiar and easily recognized form of paralysis, which is only one of the symptoms of an organic brain disease, which is accompanied by derangement of the intellectual or moral faculties, rendering the patient unable to manage himself or his affairs, and from its very commencement irresponsible for his actions, and incapable of reasoning or acting correctly in many important relations of life.

I propose next to consider the progress of the paralysis, and its mode of invasion in particular muscles; the first symptom of the disease usually appearing in those that move the tongue.

(To be Continued.)

*On the State of Lunacy and the Legal Provisions for the Insane.* By J. T. ARLIDGE, M.B., LOND., &c., &c., 8vo. p.p. 213. London : Churchill.

Dr. Arlidge's well known experience and ability in matters relating to the care and treatment of the insane, would at any time claim attention to any work emanating from his pen. At the present important juncture of lunacy affairs, the work before us is particularly acceptable, embodying as it does the results of careful observation and earnest thought. "It is not," the author informs us, "to be reckoned a medical treatise, but as one addressed to all who are interested either in the legislation for lunatics or in their well being and treatment." It is in fact a work on a most important branch of social science.

In his first preliminary chapter on the number of the insane, the author has been the first to prominently notice the number found in prisons, and to show that in the 10 convict prisons, of which an annual return to Parliament is made, 216 insane patients found their way into those establishments during 1857, of whom 150 at least were detained in them very nearly or quite the whole year. It is painful to learn that the Dartmoor Prison Infirmary forms, to all intent and purpose, an asylum for insane criminals, although devoid of every fitting arrangement and organization for their treatment. It gives an increased importance to this unwelcome truth of the presence of large numbers of mentally disordered persons in prisons, to find that, as companions in misfortune with these afflicted individuals, there is a very considerable proportion of epileptic prisoners, in more or fewer of whom mental disturbance is an occasional feature. For example, at Dartmoor there were on the 1st of January, 1857, in the infirmary, 38 epileptics; during the year 22 were admitted, and 13 discharged; and on the 1st January, 1858, 47 remained.

The completion of the criminal asylum must be ardently desired by every well-wisher for the insane; for the imprisonment in gaols of so many mentally afflicted patients, is a circumstance not creditable to the civilization and philanthropy of the country.

The defects in the statistics of lunacy available in this country are well pointed out, and some suggestions to improve them indicated. Dr. Arlidge has attempted an approximative estimate of the number of the insane in England and Wales

on the 1st January, 1859, and has fixed it at 41,000. This estimate is much higher than that usually accorded, and some might suppose it exaggerated. This, however, is not the case, as the 11th annual report of the Poor-Law Board, published since the appearance of the treatise before us, clearly demonstrates; for this report shows, as the result of a much more minute investigation into the number of pauper lunatics than the board had ever previously attempted, that on the 1st of January, 1859, there were 28,410 chargeable paupers within the unions and parishes falling under the jurisdiction of the Poor-Law Commissioners. Dr. Arlidge's estimate is 32,000; an excess, certainly, but explicable, inasmuch as he has rightly calculated on the entire population of England and Wales, which is one million and a half greater than that of which the Poor-Law Board takes cognizance, for it is distributed in parishes not as yet administered by that board.

In examining the question of the increase of insanity in the country, the very proper distinction is drawn between positive increase and the result of accumulation of insane persons. On the question of the positive increase of insanity, or of the comparative number of insane persons added yearly to the community, the author expresses the very consoling opinion, that their multiplication is not in a higher ratio than the increase of population can explain. The increased per centage relative to the population he explains primarily, by the fact of the accumulation of insane lives; and in a secondary manner, by the greater care taken of late years to bring mentally unsound persons under treatment, and by the attention bestowed upon them in asylums, being calculated to prolong life.

The data collected in the two preceding chapters is made use of by the author to examine into the extent of the accommodation at present provided for lunatics, and of that which may be demanded in future. We cannot pursue him through the statistics advanced, but may remark, that after pointing out an error in the estimate arrived at by the Commissioners in Lunacy in their 12th report, he concludes that only one half of the whole number of paupers mentally afflicted and requiring supervision, control, or treatment, are as yet provided for with asylum accommodation.

With this startling fact before him, and after a brief dissertation, showing what universal experience attests, that insanity is a curable disorder, only if brought under treatment in time, he advances to the next section of his work, to inquire into the causes productive of the sad accumulation of the

incurable insane, which has for years past progressed at a rate which calls for the serious consideration, not only of medical men, but also of statesmen. It is, indeed, a great social question at the present day, What shall we do with our lunatics ?

The 5th chapter of the treatise under notice is headed "on the causes diminishing the curability of insanity, and involving the multiplication of chronic lunatics;" a subject certainly of very wide extent, even when, as in the instance before us, its purely medical aspect is omitted. For convenience it is divided under two heads, according as those causes are found in operation ; 1st, external to asylums, or 2nd, within them.

Under the former head are considered the evil results of the detention of insane persons, after the outbreak of their malady, in their own homes, and in the case of the less wealthy classes, the author justly stigmatises the operation of the existing law, requiring the applicants for admission into the county asylums to sue for it in *formâ pauperis*, to the pain and humiliation of their friends. He shows, moreover, this objectionable legal provision is actually inefficacious in protecting the rate-payers.

It is the basis of a scheme, as shown, at variance with the character of the provision made for the insane in every other country ; for it avails to shut the door of the institutions best calculated to succour and cure those many afflicted persons raised in position and education, much above true paupers, and at the same time deficient in such pecuniary means as can secure them suitable and effective treatment.

The author would extend the sphere of usefulness of our county asylums, by throwing them open to those above the grade of paupers, of too limited means to be kept and treated satisfactorily in well ordered private asylums. "If (he writes, p. 35) our public asylums were not branded with the appellation 'pauper;' if access to them were facilitated and the pauperizing clause repealed, many unfortunate insane of the middle class in question would be transmitted to them for treatment ; the public asylum would not be regarded with the same misgivings, and as an evil to be avoided, but it would progressively acquire the character of an hospital, and ought ultimately to be regarded as a place of cure, equivalent in character to a general hospital, and as entailing no disgrace or discredit on its occupants." The means of carrying out this most desirable object are briefly discussed, and the anomalies and defects pointed out in the present legal enactments providing for the utilizing of property found to be in the possession

of lunatics in pauper asylums. However, neither the one nor the other of these topics can be entered on in the limited space at our disposal. We must hurry on to notice, or strictly speaking, to glance at the many most important questions raised in the work under notice.

The detention of lunatics in workhouses forms the subject of the next section, and is very completely handled. It reviews on the one hand the grounds upon which the expediency of detaining pauper insane in those establishments is urged, and demonstrates their complete fallacy; whilst, on the other hand, it exhibits the deplorable condition of those confined in those places, the supplementary report of the Lunacy Commissioners, reviewed in our last number, being specially appealed to in support of the statements put forward. If any of our readers are sceptical respecting the validity of the arguments which have from time to time been advanced in the pages of this *Journal*, in opposition to the prevalent idea of the great economy of workhouses for the custody of the insane poor, we are confident that their doubts would be dissipated by the perusal of the pages in which those arguments are set forth at large, and confirmed by additional facts and considerations.

Having demolished the apologies for work-house detention of lunatics raised on economical considerations, Dr. Arlidge reverses the line of argument, and observes that the plea of economy, even if tenable, (p. 51) "loses all its weight when the well-being of the insane is balanced against it. For if there be any value in the universally accepted opinions of enlightened men, of all countries in Europe, of the requirements of the insane, of the desirability for them of a cheerful site, of ample space for out-door exercise, occupation, and amusement, of in-door arrangements to while away the monotony of their confinement and cheer the mind, of good air, food and regimen, of careful watching and kind nursing, of active and constant medical supervision and control, or to sum up all in two words, of efficient medical and moral treatment, then, assuredly, the wards of a workhouse do not furnish a fitting abode for them."

The author has carefully examined the question of the legality of detaining lunatics in workhouses, and holds it as established, that this proceeding is allowed, although the law affords to such inmates no protection against false imprisonment, and makes no adequate provision to ascertain the treatment they are subjected to. The fallacy also of the fine-drawn distinction between "harmless" and "dangerous"

lunatics, is well exposed, as is also the ambiguity of the law relative to the discovery and transmission to asylums of alleged lunatics.

At p. 73, is a summary of important suggestions for the amendment of the law, which serve as the text for several of the subsequent chapters and sections of the treatise, wherein they are discussed *in extenso*, with reference to the means for carrying them out, and to the ends to be aimed at.

There is a large class of pauper lunatics which has received little consideration either from the Legislature or from the public; viz., that of pauper lunatics not in asylums, but living with relatives or with strangers, partially or wholly supported out of the poor's rate. There is, no doubt, good reason for the belief, that much neglect and ill-treatment is suffered by these poor creatures, and that some plan is imperative for their proper supervision. The proposition is made, that they might be largely collected in cottages within the neighbourhood of asylums, and when this is not practicable, that they should be visited by a specially appointed medical officer. This double proposition is subsequently enlarged upon in the section (p. 145) on the "Distribution of the chronic insane in cottage houses," and in chap. ix. (p. 169) on district medical officers, to which we would direct the careful attention of the reader.

The mischievous policy of workhouse officials appears in the fact so often remarked upon, of the transmission of hopeless, broken-down, and moribund paupers to county asylums, an act dictated by the circumstance, that such cases give them the most trouble. "The question of the recency of the attack is treated as of far less moment; for if the poor sufferer have what are called harmless delusions, or if he be only so much melancholic, that suicide is not constantly apprehended, then, under these and similar conditions, the economical theory of the establishment commonly preponderates over every other consideration, as of the desirability of treatment in the presumed expensive asylum, and the patient is retained" in the workhouse.

This subject and the state of the law with reference to the removal of the insane, are well illustrated in the pages of the work under notice.

The remaining portion of the treatise is replete with suggestions for improving the condition of the insane, and for bringing them under effectual supervision by competent and efficient authorities. These suggestions, and the collateral considerations on which they repose, are so numerous, whilst

the style is so condensed, that it becomes impracticable to discuss them in detail, or even to extract them for the perusal of our readers, within the compass of this review. Those, therefore, who would acquaint themselves with the author's important propositions, need refer to his own statement and illustrations of them; for our part, we must content ourselves with an enumeration of the subjects of the several chapters and sections yet unnoticed.

Hitherto we have been engaged in noticing very cursorily the conditions detrimental to the recovery of lunatics to be found in operation, external to asylums. The author's sixth chapter is devoted to the consideration of the "causes diminishing the curability of insanity, and involving the multiplication of chronic lunatics," to be found within asylums; and among such causes he notes magisterial interference, excessive size of asylums, and insufficient medical supervision. The evils of overgrown asylums are abundantly demonstrated and severely condemned, and then the questions are agitated what limit should be fixed to the size of asylums, and what should be the strength of the medical staff. In dealing with these important topics, the author brings to bear the opinions of the most distinguished writers on insanity of this country, of America, and the continent, who all coincide in condemning the erection of asylums beyond such a magnitude as can be efficiently supervised, and directed by one chief physician, properly assisted.

The future provision for the insane is the subject of the next chapter, and is one which needs no words from us to prove its vast importance to every individual who can reflect upon the present state of the insane, and feel interested in their future lot.

We observe that Dr. Arlidge is an advocate for the foundation of distinct institutions for acute and chronic cases of insanity. He would construct hospitals for the former of limited dimensions, and provide accommodation for the latter on a much more economical scale; and in connection with this proposition, he examines the merits of building separate sections to an asylum, according to the plan so largely followed in France and Germany. The arguments *pro* and *con* on these oft-disputed points are advanced in a clear, practical manner, and ably examined.

The chapter on the future provision for the insane likewise comprehends the consideration of providing for many chronic lunatics in cottage homes, and that of the provision for epileptics and idiots apart from lunatics.

The registration of lunatics is a subject on which the author has entered into much detail ; and it is one, the importance of which will challenge the attention of the reader to the scheme proposed. This scheme, by the way, involves the appointment of special medical officers, whose duties, as proposed district officials, are largely reviewed in the following chapter.

The duties of the Lunacy Commission constitute the subject of chapter x. ; and the proposition is, to divide to a certain extent, the Commission into a deliberative permanent central council, and a board of inspectors. To carry out his views, and to secure an efficient supervision of the welfare of the insane generally, whether in asylums, workhouses, or private houses, the author points out the absolute need of an increased staff.

In conclusion, we very heartily recommend the work to our readers. The amount and accuracy of the information contained in its pages, would alone make its publication important during the present unsettled state of lunacy law ; and, although, on some points the suggestions of the author for the improvement of the law are open to question, they will always be found worthy of attentive consideration, as emanating from an earnest, thoughtful, and highly instructed mind. The work, we observe, is dedicated by permission, to the Right Honorable the Earl of Shaftesbury.

#### APPOINTMENTS.

DR. EATON, late of the Stafford Asylum, to be Resident Physician of the District Asylum, Ballinasloe.

MR. ARTHUR R. HARRISON, M. R. C. S., E., and L. S. A., to be Assistant Medical Officer to the Essex Asylum. (*Not Mr. Richardson as reported in the last No.*)

*Note.*—The following report of a most important Inquisition in Lunacy is a reprint from the *Exeter Gazette*. From the great length of the proceedings it is necessarily condensed.



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VOL. VI.

*Consciousness as a Truth-organ considered, or, Contributions to Logical Psychology*; by the Rev. W. G. DAVIES, Chaplain of County Asylum, Abergavenny.

## INTRODUCTION.

*Nature of these contributions.* What characterizes these contributions is that they are mainly of a logical nature. Placing ourselves on logic as a stand-point, we have endeavoured to take a comprehensive view of the domain around; and have not rested satisfied with merely examining mental processes in their results, but from logic have penetrated wherever we could into the psychology of logic. The consequence has been that the logic and the psychology have not always harmonized. We have had occasion indeed in several cases to reject the ordinary doctrines of logical science, and modify them in such a manner as our psychological researches seemed to us to direct; and we cannot conceive, though the contrary opinion is held by high authorities, that the laws of thought can be fully determined otherwise than by following the method we have here observed, that is, tracing every mental process to its source by a searching and exhaustive analysis. How far we have succeeded in carrying out this undertaking it is not for us to decide. All we dare hope is that we have done enough to justify our plan of inquiry; and that we have contributed in however trifling a degree towards the advancement of that noblest of sciences—the science of mind, and especially that noblest portion of it which affords an answer to the long asked question:—What is Truth?

*Necessity for such a Science.* Philosophers have rarely

discussed high and difficult problems without eventually being forced back upon the fundamental question so clearly stated by Locke:—What is the human mind capable of knowing, and what not? We may as mystics arrogantly assume that the higher faculties have no limit to their capacity, and stand in need of no external aids—that in their lofty flights they leave psychological and logical laws in the clouds far beneath: we may form an exaggerated estimate of the deductive method with Descartes and the German philosophers, and assume that human reason is not dependent for its data on observation and experiment; and when such courses have brought us into a dreamy region of contradiction and unnaturalness, draw back dismayed, and flee into the contrary extreme of cloistral gloom and credulity, and preach the theory of human incompetency; or sceptically secure ourselves in the confined and dreary stronghold of pure sensationalism, and deny to the human mind half its powers, and those its best. But it is evident we must look for something better than this extremely digressive procedure, for in proportion as we deviate from the straight road of progress, in that proportion we are not advancing, though we may be undergoing the preparation necessary for it. And alas! there are too many, with whom the wish is the father of the thought, who are ready to urge from having to witness so much diversity—such bold advances followed by such humiliating retreats—that the true and the false, the good and the evil, are after all very much matters of taste—that there is indeed no absolute truth, no fixed standard of morality.

Now we have been led to believe from a long-continued examination of the matter, that these constant surgings from over confident to over fearful and credulous, or to over contracted and sceptical tendencies, are only possible so long as a true system of logical psychology is yet undiscovered or unrecognized, and that whatever contributes to this end, contributes also to the settlement of all those great questions, now so diversely viewed, entirely because the capacities of the human mind on which their settlement depends are not yet fully and clearly determined, and because those helps are not provided, without which, experience clearly testifies that we may in vain endeavour to find egress from darkness and confusion, to light, beauty, and order.

Some men regard a knowledge of logical science as of mere secondary importance, because, as they think, it can only describe mental processes which take place spontaneously

without requiring to be known ; and maintain that constant practice in reasoning is far preferable for strengthening the mind, to the most careful study of the theory of reasoning. Now there is just about the same amount of truth in this opinion as there would be in that of a savage who pleaded against cultivating the ground, because it produced spontaneously all the sustenance that he required of it. If on every subject men think aright spontaneously—without the external aid of rules or models—why all the perplexity and error which we have indicated in the preceding paragraphs? If they think erroneously on many subjects, and those the most important, why defend such a procedure? The truth is, as we shall have to shew more fully in another place, men reason correctly in a spontaneous manner in the elementary sciences, such as the mathematical only, and in the ordinary affairs of life. When they approach higher and more complicated questions, they require all the help they can obtain from a reflective knowledge of the mind's powers and laws.

The objection therefore, to the utility of this science, founded on the analogy, say, between the possibility of attaining excellence in dancing without the least acquaintance with the anatomy of the limbs, and the possibility of becoming a fine reasoner without being put to the disagreeableness of undergoing a course of Aldrich, presupposes that the two cases are precisely analogous: but are they analogous throughout—that is the question? The eagle and the lark may soar in company as far as the clouds, but there the eagle leaves the lark, and has to proceed on his sunward course all alone in his glory. Reasoning *is* analogous to dancing, in the point mentioned, as far as it develops itself *spontaneously*, but beyond this point the analogy ceases. Granted that Terpsichore has no occasion for being versed in bones, muscles and ligaments, is it equally true that those who are disputing about the method of acquiring the higher truths—according to Mr. Morell, Positivists, Individualists, and Traditionalists—have no need of a further instalment towards the solution of Locke's great question, but will spontaneously crawl along into the light somehow, never doubt?\*

*The physiological method.* Since the introduction of phrenology, great stress has been laid by physiologists on the opinion that no method of investigating mental phenomena

\* As to the objection that minds differ so widely, and that consequently no two minds view the same thing in the same light—if it be true, then there is an end of all science, that of the mind included, and we may at once endorse the lines of our Poet Laureate :—

is calculated to be successful but theirs. We believe the truth to be that no method is likely to succeed which does not acknowledge the physiological to be a necessary and important half. Indeed physiology appears to us to throw great light upon the science of mind; and such a science in its integrity it will be impossible to obtain without the co-operation of those who devote themselves to the study of the nervous system. But we must be careful to distinguish between what nervous physiology does for us, and what it does not. Its office, it is superfluous to state, is to assign to every mental function its organ, to describe each organ, and the laws which affect it; and how mental and cerebral states act upon each other &c.; but it cannot afford us a science of the functions. The function of the stomach, for example, stands in a very different category from that of any cerebral function. The *stomach* is not endowed with consciousness: the *mind* while conscious of other objects is self-conscious—is the observer, or is competent at least by a reflex process, to be the observer, of its own operations. This is the fact on which mental philosophers lay such emphasis when they declare that mental phenomena are not to be sought in the same manner as physical phenomena. In the one case the mind examines itself, which is a reflective process: in the other case it examines something else, and this last is its procedure when following the physiological method.

As to the method of observation on the actions of mankind for the ascertainment of mental functions, it is highly useful as far as it goes, but is not by itself sufficiently searching for the purpose of constructing a science of functions. Actions declare that such and such thoughts are in the mind of the actor. What thoughts? The thoughts that

Much less this dreamer, deaf and blind,  
Named man, may hope some truth to find  
That bears relation to the mind.  
For every worm beneath the moon  
Draws *different* threads, and late and soon  
Spins, toiling out his own cocoon.

No one will deny that minds differ widely from each other, but then they resemble each other widely too, and that—which is the all important point—in the most necessary and fundamental attributes. The more necessary and fundamental an attribute of mind, (indeed of anything: it is a law of nature) the more extensively it is possessed, and the more permanent it is; but the less necessary and fundamental an attribute of mind the more uncertain is its possession, and the more changeable its nature. To contend that because minds differ there can be no mental science is on a par with maintaining that because no two blades of variegated grass can be found to resemble each other perfectly, they have not the least resemblance. This objection then we cannot but deem frivolous and unreasonable.

are in your own mind. Of what character are they? Consult the actions; they are as unintelligible as a book to an infant unless you possess the clue to them in yourself. Well you do possess it. Of what character then are the thoughts? Of such and such a character. But be more minute, give an exhaustive analysis—disclose the science of them: you cannot; you find that external observation cannot aid you, and that if you would know the innermost structure of thought you must examine long and searchingly the only specimen of which you possess a direct knowledge, and that is your own consciousness, for other men's thoughts you know indirectly only. In short you know nothing of another man's consciousness, except what you know of it, through the medium of your own.

But here it becomes necessary to concede that by the method of observation exclusively, it is possible to discover that a man has certain mental phenomena in excess of your own, or in a less degree than your own, or forming combinations different from those which yours usually do, and facts of that character. And such a method is indispensable when your object is, by the comparison of various minds, to ascertain how far they agree with, and differ from each other; and how men are most likely to act in certain circumstances; and the man proficient in such knowledge is said to be well versed in human nature; but it is evident that the *basis* of mental science must be laid by a purely psychological method, to which the method of observation bears about the same relation as history does to the philosophy of history, or sociology.\*

*The psychological method.* In the endeavour to obtain a scientific analysis of consciousness—to acquire a knowledge of those points which are common to all minds—external observation would distract rather than help. The psychologist's aim must be to discover the necessary and universal

\*By external observation we come to know the uniformities of human conduct: by reflection on our own consciousness, and by the study of psychology proper we become able to account for those uniformities, or become possessed of a knowledge of those laws from which we could deduce how men in certain circumstances would be most likely to act, and indeed how men in every circumstance ought to act. External observation can gather from past uniformities only what uniformities are *likely* to occur in future; but psychology can deduce from the laws of the mind how the coming generation can improve on the observances of the past one—can in short *anticipate* the approaching destiny of our race. The mere observer is apt to maintain that nothing *is*, or *s to come*, but that which *has* been: the psychologist cannot avoid inferring that the past and present experience of mankind, in relation to future experience, is but the boy who is to be the father of the man.

truths of the mental world, or the particular instances in which such truths pass from theory into reality. Well—universal truths—you exclaim—these demand for their establishment the very widest induction, consequently if you limit your observation to your own thoughts you cannot possibly procure the results for which you are seeking.

Now whether such truths can be established by a reflective examination of a single mind, or whether they involve a minute inspection of all history, and a wide observation of living characters, this is the question: its answer forms the cardinal principle of inductive logic. Can we then from reflection on our own mental phenomena—with the aid, of course, of the light afforded by the researches of philosophers in the same field †—get possession of those universal truths which constitute a science of the mind's operations? As an attempt to answer this all-important question, a question relating to scientific truth to whatever subject pertaining, we offer the following contributions, which will thus be seen to be an analysis of the intellectual faculties with a view of determining the true method of scientific inquiry.

We may now state another potent reason in favour of cultivating the psychological branch of mental science which is this:—The physiologist cannot assign an organ to a function, unless he knows sufficiently for the purpose what the function is. To possess this adequate acquaintance with the operations of the mind involves, as we think the sequel will prove, a much closer intimacy with the composition of consciousness than it is possible to acquire by mere outward observation. It is quite possible, for instance, for the empirical observer to consider a compound mental process as simple, and consequently to be incapable of establishing a correct system of organology.

The study of mental functions therefore by a reflective examination of them, this is the task we are endeavouring to accomplish. And we feel convinced that a thorough separation of the two cognate departments—the physiological and the psychological, is absolutely demanded in the cultivation of a science in which all we can hope to see accomplished by a mind short of superexcellent, is that it should succeed in shedding some degree of light on one only of those

† We here gratefully acknowledge our obligations to the labours of others in the field of psychology, more especially to the writings of the late Sir Wm. Hamilton, and those of Mr. J. S. Mill, writings of a very opposite character it is true, but on that account more edifying; but our deepest obligations are due, we must maintain, to our own consciousness.

departments. In the course of these investigations, then, we shall carefully abstain from trespassing on a department in which all our knowledge is superficial, and necessarily taken on trust. But while thus confining ourselves to our own field of inquiry, we beg leave to intimate, in deference to the valuable labours of our fellow-workers in the other field, that we have carefully sought from their discoveries as much light as we could obtain from them in the way of suggestion, and of checking our conclusions in our strictly psychological search.

*Vagueness of psychological descriptions.* There are many who regard the teachings of mental philosophers as extremely vague. Intellectual processes, as usually described, seem to the mind long trained in the school of physical philosophy to be almost unknowable. There can be no doubt that there are some men whose mental constitution is of so concrete a character, who by their peculiar habits of investigation find considerable difficulty in realizing as facts those which the internal world of mind exhibits to persons of a more reflective and abstract turn. And we are inclined to concede to the concrete philosophers that psychological doctrines have been exhibited to them in the most general terms—in a manner very dissimilar to what they have been accustomed in their respective sciences—and thus have come to them, even where there was little diversity of view among such doctrines to obstruct the acceptance of them, in a very airy and spectral shape. And we feel convinced that had mental philosophers been able to divide their general views into more particular and comprehensive parts, many points of disagreement would have been cleared up in the process, and many be found to accept their teaching who now will not comprehend it, or doubt its truth. Now whatever system of mental science the future has in store for us, we believe it must be one which will enumerate and describe each distinct faculty contained under the general terms hitherto rested in by psychologists. For instance, besides a general description of perception we must have analyzed for us minutely and fully the various perceptive faculties which such a term denotes. The same with all parts of the mind intellectual and emotional, an effort must be made to descend from the generals so much in vogue, to the particulars contained in them.

Since we have lamented the necessity which compelled mental philosophers to rest in the cloudy region of general description, we must expect to be asked what we

have done to redeem our observations from liability to be similarly regarded, especially since we have emphatically declined assigning to every function its organ, which would be giving it a local habitation, as well as a name, and would render it, some may think, a more appreciable fact to minds of a concrete conformation. But it is not at all likely that this result would follow surely and extensively, for it happens that between thought and its organic condition there is nothing in common which would help you to understand the one through the medium of the other. The mind can know itself only by contemplating itself *in action*. It may ponder over the structure of the brain and nerves, but it discovers in them nothing approaching to the nature of consciousness: it beholds merely its organic accompaniment, which is no more like mind than pain is like the point of the needle which inflicts it. We then study consciousness, as it only admits of being studied, in itself; and are, we believe, enabled to give it a distinct and specific character by exhibiting it in the *forms* in which it expresses itself in articulate language. Intellectual processes, when their spiritual essence is embodied in the forms in which they find their legitimate expression, will be found to be far more distinctive facts than they have hitherto seemed to those whose minds demand a material symbol to enable them to arise from the engrossing world of sense to a clear apprehension of the abstract, the ideal, and the remote.

#### PART I. SECTION i.

*What is consciousness?* Consciousness comprehends every cognitive act, it being that in which all intellectual operations resemble each other. It is the *summum genus* by which all cognitive acts are denoted.

Among such acts there are three which may be called originating acts, because all knowledge takes its commencement from one or the other of them. They are Perception, Conception, and Reason. Other operations, *such as* Memory, Association, Abstraction, Imagination, and Belief, presuppose these, and originate no ideas.

Reflection is the name of no separate Faculty, but merely expresses the act by which the originating powers become cognizant of mental phenomena. In their direct operation these faculties are the origin of all knowledge of objects\*: in their reflex operation they are the origin of all knowledge of the mind's direct or transitive agencies.

\* Whatever the mind is conscious of.



This being an inquiry into the structure of the mind from the logical point of view is concerned chiefly with the originating faculties. The remaining mental operations will be considered only so far as the main object of this inquiry renders such a step absolutely necessary. We shall proceed then in the first place to enumerate:—

*The conditions essential to the originating acts in common with other acts of consciousness.*

I. *A subject or ego.* In a cognitive operation we are not merely conscious of an object, but that the subject or *ego* is conscious of the object. We are constantly realizing our own individuality in every manifestation of consciousness, and without this constant possession of our subjectivity, our thoughts—if it were possible in such a case to have any—would be as much isolated from each other, as if each of them belonged to a separate person. We shall have to discuss this point again at greater length.

II. *Time.* Consciousness when once awakened must have some degree of permanence. Thought is so inconceivably rapid that it can only be realized in connexion with the track that it leaves behind it. This permanence of consciousness after its first flash into existence is memory.

A cognitive act, therefore, without memory to retain it would, from its velocity, be scarcely perceptible—a most rapid succession of most minute disconnected points, instead of an abiding breadth of surface.

But consciousness has no past; its time is a perpetual *now*. The past is thought of by means of a rapid and unbroken flow of ever present consciousness. The future has no existence, but in imagination, which out of past experience invents a time to come.

III. *Attention.* An act of thought, although it may exist in a rudimentary or *passive state* is not consummated until the cognitive power is concentrated on as much of an object as the mind can well embrace at one time. To what extent this power is possessed will have to be determined when we come to treat of the proposition. This concentration of the mental power upon an object by an act of the will, or perhaps some strong impulse, is attention.

We may observe by way of elucidating this point, that it is said that we sometimes have a sensation without being aware of it, as when a clock strikes in a room in which we are sitting, without our observing that it has struck. Now a sensation, in the sense in which we understand the word, must be either painful or pleasant, but

for us to have such a feeling without being conscious of it is what we cannot comprehend. But then *our* consciousness asserts that sound is not a sensation\*—a pleasing or painful feeling—but an unemotional phenomenon. All we can understand therefore in the instance of the clock striking without our being aware of it is this:—The usual effect is caused by the vibrating medium upon the organ of hearing, but it fails to awaken consciousness, because that has its force so much concentrated in a different quarter, that it leaves the organ of hearing in a state analogous to sleep.

But there is another explanation. The mind is capable of various degrees of exertion: it may regard an object carefully and minutely, or it may scarcely notice it at all.

In the first instance the mind concentrates the cognitive power on each point of the object in turn: in the second instance, though conscious of the existence of the object, it does not attend to any part of it in particular. There is then a marked distinction between consciousness when exerted, and when not exerted—between the *attentive* and the *inattentive* mood of mind. We dwell upon this obvious fact in order to prepare the way for stating that these two states of mind co-exist. While we can only well *attend* to one part or one quality of an object at a time, we are nevertheless *inattentively* conscious of its remaining parts or qualities. Or take what we may call the field of thought—although we can only attend to a limited portion of it at once, does it not seem that we are not wholly unconscious of the contiguous points; and that when we attend to them in their turn, it is because we were previously dimly cognizant of them? Every thought has other thoughts linked to it: when we bend the attention therefore to a particular idea, we may have at the same time a faint consciousness of those with which it is associated; and the ease and rapidity with which we pass from one thought to another is perhaps sufficiently

\* We are here anticipating a distinction which we shall be compelled to discuss rather fully as we proceed. We assert that sound is not a sensation, but we are well aware how ambiguous and misleading the term sensation is, and that some persons will insist that the reports of the senses are sensations. But they will insist also that pain and pleasure are sensations, that the disgust attending some tastes and scents, and the pleasure attending others are sensations, so that in fact they make the term sensation perform a variety of offices. Sometimes it has to stand for perception, sometimes for a phenomenon that has no emotion or feeling in its nature, sometimes for a phenomenon which is exclusively of that character. The reader will not be surprized then if we declare that we have almost as great a horror of the word sensation as Reid had of the word idea.

accounted for by saying, that we naturally pass from that portion of the field of thought to which the attention at any one moment is limited, to some other portion of it of which we were previously dimly cognizant.\* It is in sight that this fact is so clearly manifest, in which we only attend to what is in the axis of eye, but see more or less imperfectly the whole field of vision.

Although various faculties of the mind act simultaneously they do not usually attend to their respective objects at the same moment. We may be so engrossed with one deep thought, that we may be scarcely alive to the world around us. While the eye is attracted by fine colours and forms, the ear perhaps may be all but deaf to sounds. While the hand may be delighted with the smoothness of the mole's skin, the eye perhaps may be gazing vacantly into space. Thus it may be when we hear the clock striking, while that event fails to attract attention from something else in which the mind is lost, we may hear it, but only passively or in an indiscriminating manner. We hope we have now elucidated our meaning when we asserted, that an act of consciousness although it may exist in a rudimentary or passive state is not consummated till it becomes an act of attention.

IV. *An asserting force.* Intuitive consciousness when apprehending an object asserts, proclaims, or avers, its existence as possessed of such and such attributes, and that in such a manner that it cannot avoid doing so. Reason however raises questions as to the real nature of the *non ego*, namely as to whether it is in reality what it must invariably appear to be. Thus the rainbow appears to be external to us, and can only be realized in a *positive* sense as it thus appears. But it is *inferred* nevertheless to be a phenomenon of a subjective character. Here the intuitive assurance and the inference do not harmonize, and cannot be brought to do so. Intuitive consciousness or perception *must* continue to aver, after the inference is obtained, as it did before that event, that the rainbow is a distant object much greater in circumference than that of the retina multiplied, who shall say how many times? Reason on the other hand *must* as confidently pronounce that the rainbow, as we know it has, independently of us, no existence.

But in this want of harmony between intuition and reason,

\* Thoughts certainly crowd upon the mind at times faster than we can find the power to attend to them. The practiced speaker while his attention is engaged with the thought he is on the point of uttering, has nevertheless before his mind the thoughts which are immediately to follow

or the impossibility of either abating the asserting force of the other, we see nothing to deplore, but much to admire. Suppose for instance—while we take it for granted that we could not be made aware of the existence of extended objects at a distance but by means of some such mechanism as the eye—that before we had acquired any scientific knowledge of vision we felt confident that a visible object was external, but that after we had done so our assurance vanished, and intuition from that moment regarded what we saw as having no further connexion with the external world? Or that reason yielded to the asserting force of our intuitive assurance, and might as well be non-existent? Can you conceive a state of things to which the poet's words would apply with greater force and truth:—"Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise"? To be possessed of an organ which secures for us a fellowship with the world without, through the medium of a world within, which cannot be *positively* realized as internal, appears to us indeed to be a contrivance admirable in the extreme, and exhibiting the wisdom of the Creator as much as any thing within this cosmical sphere.

V. *Form*. Every cognitive act has a special form in which it expresses itself in speech. Form is that attribute of expressed thought which remains when the matter of a proposition is wholly abstracted, and symbols substituted for it. As we shall have to devote the whole of the second part of this inquiry to the examination of the forms of Perception and Conception, and a great portion of the third part to an examination of the forms of Reason, we shall here conclude our remarks on this head, and proceed to notice a very important condition peculiar to Perception, and that which renders it most strikingly distinct from every other kind of consciousness.

We must beg leave to call this condition—*biunity*, that being the term which most forcibly expresses the attribute which has now to engage your attention.

*Biunity a differential attribute of perception*. A perception is composed of two distinct elements, namely consciousness and an object—C+O. Abstract the object and the perception is destroyed as effectually as if you had abstracted the consciousness. The O element is indispensable to the biune fact C+O.

We use the term object in the most extensive sense, as equivalent to whatever we can be conscious of. We are conscious of two main classes of objects, namely, subjective—that which belongs to *self*; and objective, that which does

not belong to *self*. Subjective or self objects comprise sensibilities or emotions, and muscular actions.\* Objective or not-self objects are divisible into objective, and *quasi-objective*, or that which is † external and that which *seems* to be external.

But we derive another large and highly important class of objects from the reflex activity of the mind. And it seems, which is a fact demanding great attention, that before the mind has by a reflective procedure scrutinized its own processes, it knows nothing whatever of those processes more than is obtrusively patent in their results. Sir William Hamilton insists that there are "acts and affections of mind which, manifesting their existence in their effects, are themselves out of consciousness or *apperception*. The fact of such latent mental modifications is now established beyond all rational doubt, and on the supposition of their reality, we are able to solve various psychological phenomena otherwise inexplicable."‡ And, though philosophers for ages have assiduously sought to discover what it is that really takes place in spontaneous thought, the secret is yet but partly stolen from the mind.

It is in the presence of the object in the perception, and its absence from every other act of consciousness, that we behold the wide difference which there is between it and them; and that on which the universal assurance is grounded that what we perceive is different from what we remember or imagine.

The distinction between perception and memory, for example, if the above be a true description, is easily explained. Memory is the persistence of the C element after

\* We fail to discover in our own consciousness, that muscular action is made known to us as a sensation or emotion. We are cognizant of it as an unemotional object, *sui generis*, which cannot be expressed in simpler terms than muscular action or exertion, because not resolvable into anything else.

The fact that bodily exertion is delightful when muscular energy is in a state of high pressure, but painful when the same energy has become very weak, does not constitute it an object of the sensitive kind, more than the zest and eagerness with which the intellectual faculties work when fresh, and the difficulty and reluctance with which they work when jaded, places them in the category of the mental emotions or sentiments.

† Of course the sensationalists will object to this division, and maintain that *for us* nothing is external, but only appears to be. We shall endeavour to shew by and bye, that what appears to *intuitive consciousness* to be external, but is pronounced by *reason* to be internal, must be called *quasi-objective*; but that what appears to *intuitive consciousness* to be external, and is pronounced by *reason* to be in reality what it is apparently, *must* be called—if we are to distinguish in language what is clearly distinct in fact—objective or external.

‡ Sir W. Hamilton, Edition of Reid's *Works*, p. 551.

the O element has disappeared. Every recollected object is simply C: in no instance have we been able by any amount of effort to make a recollection or an imagination seem a perception or C + O.\*

Yet it is much easier to call up vivid thoughts of some objects than others. Visible objects it has been said possess this aptitude in a high degree. But to us by far the easiest objects to realize in thought are spoken words. Corresponding to the actual utterance of words, there is simply an ideal utterance of them. It is only the merest novice in reading who has to whisper his words when he does not desire to read audibly: almost every educated person peruses a page by a mental articulation of the words. And thus it is that all men, deaf mutes excepted, carry on a train of thought—they mentally speak their thoughts. Now even these objects, though more easily thought of than any others, are far from being in their mental what they are in their actual character. Who will say that a word spoken in thought is a faint attempt at speaking it in reality? this we are positive of—there is no audible sound, and no vibration of the articulating organs to cause such sound. The fact is the audible word is a *biune* fact: the other is not.

The objects most readily and vividly thought of are the unemotional—the objective, *quasi*-objective, and muscular actions (*e. g.* the muscular actions of the articulating organs.) The objects least apt to be realized in thought are the emotional. The reason for this seems to be that when the object of the perception is not a feeling, there is a larger endowment of the cognitive power, and that power has fuller scope for discriminating activity; but when the object is a feeling, there is a smaller amount of cognitive power, and the feeling is so engrossing that consciousness is in a mere passive condition, and does not re-act upon the feeling, and analyze it; and the stronger the feeling, the more unlikely is the mind to do this. But we are again anticipating a principle which can only be clearly discussed in its proper place.

*The two elements in sensible perception are quite distinct.* It is important to observe that in sensible or external perception the cognitive element is not a part of the object, nor that a part of the cognitive element. The cognition is not C + O, and the object especially is not a mere modification of C, or a combination of C with O. The cognitive element knows itself,

\* See Lewes' *Biographical History*, Library Edition, p. 449, and Bain on the *Senses and the Intellect*, p. 337.

as well as the object, and consequently is fully competent to declare which is which; it therefore confidently asserts that the fact of *knowing* the object does not constitute it either in whole or in part, *i. e.* the object is not a modification of consciousness, nor is it a combination of consciousness and something else; but a really distinct, second, element, essential to the very existence of the perception. This is, beyond doubt, what consciousness most emphatically avers. Compare an act of outward perception with an act of memory or imagination, and in the difference which you detect between them, how can you possibly avoid being made aware of the fact here insisted upon? Consciousness declares then that there is a *real*, and not an *apparent* distinction between the C and the O elements in the perception.\*

*Observations.* The object in the perception is known immediately in itself as a present object, and is the only object which exists as present to us.

Being known immediately the object is known as it *is*; but if you say it is not known as it is, but as it *is not*, then the *only* object for us is that which you know as something that the first *is not*; which is therefore for us no object at all.

Every object must<sup>1</sup> in the first place be known immediately. If we know an object mediately, it must be through the resemblance which it bears to something which is already known. Thus according to the "ideal" or, as Sir Wm. Hamilton has named it, the Representationist theory of external perception, the mind possesses an *immediate* knowledge of the "idea" only, but can have no knowledge whatever of the external object except in so far as the "idea" is a copy of it, a fact which we have no possible means of ascertaining, as the sceptical philosophers have most triumphantly proved. But fortunately we do not know an external object through the medium of any thing representing it: we know it *immediately in itself as a present object, and as of a nature perfectly separate from the consciousness which apprehends its existence.*

*Relation of the object to the cognitive element of the perception.* It is to be noticed that the cognitive element reveals the existence of the object; *for us* therefore the object presupposes the cognition—Being presupposes knowing. Consciousness is therefore the *cause* of the existence of objects *ad nos*. Or to state the fact still more definitely

\* In some internal perceptions, we shall have to shew further on, that the object and cognition are confused.

—An object exists *for us*, as present, in the *biuno* fact  $C + O$  only, and then exclusively through the intervention of the  $C$  element, or in any sense, only so far as it is known or thought of. Thus if we contemplate the world as existing independently of us, we are all the while regarding our own thoughts, which of course cannot exist out of the mind which conceives them. Being *for us* is either invariably linked to knowing, or is knowing simply. In the perception it is being + knowing: in memory, imagination, &c., it is simply knowing. Now the question naturally suggested by this doctrine is:—whether consciousness is competent to declare the independent reality of external objects. 1st, Is the object *really* non-egotistical in the perception; 2ndly, Can it exist out of the perception, or as  $O$  minus  $C$ ?

But we think that if the question be put at all it ought to be more broadly stated. Instead of demanding whether external phenomena have a real and independent existence, it should be enquired whether *any* thing which consciousness reveals to us has any reality. We know that *subjective* phenomena have been pronounced far above the reach of scepticism; and that consequently the question as we put it will be deemed preposterously wide; whether it is so or not, perhaps, the following criticism will decide. But we strongly suspect that this is the only complete way of stating it; and thus expressed it carries with it *its own negative*; and the reason why this fact has escaped detection must be because the question has not been proposed in its full proportions.

All Being, including subjective Being, yea, and even that of consciousness itself, only exists *for us* in so far as consciousness, when asserting its existence, asserts truly. Push your inquiries to the very furthest point to which they can go, and you come to an asserting power, as the basis of all existence *ad nos*—yea, as the basis of its own existence.

Now if this asserting power is mendacious, a dark forbidding nihilism is the fearful result; if as is usually taught objectively mendacious, but not subjectively, a scarcely less forbidding idealism. But if this ultimate principle is veracious objectively as well as subjectively, the result is what the common sense of mankind, has, with certain admirable exceptions, led us to expect. Is consciousness veracious? We hope to be able to demonstrate in the proper place (after we have explored the province of Reason) that it is; but this is the dilemma: either it is *objectively* veracious, or we are altogether “the dupes of a perfidious Creator.”



Nihilism, or Realism—choose between them: you have no other choice. For convict the asserting principle of objective falsehood, then its character for subjective truthfulness is also lost. Absolute scepticism triumphs, and proclaims,

“A life of nothings nothing worth.”

But we must guard also in another way against the abuses of this doctrine, and that is by proceeding to discuss the counter doctrine, which forms the natural antidote to its extravagant over-statements.

*Relation of the cognitive element in the perception to the object.* In the perception C+O, if O cannot be *known* to exist without C: on the other hand, C cannot *exist* without O, there could be no consciousness of a given object without that object to awaken it. But as two things cannot presuppose each other in the same sense, for the same thing cannot be the antecedent of another thing, and also its consequent, we must understand that being presupposes knowing in the order of knowledge, but that knowing presupposes being in the order of existence. From the first order springs idealism, from the second realism; which two doctrines are thus perceived to be quite compatible; halves in fact of the same grand system in which the idealistic half proclaims, that the realistic half must be accepted as its counterpoise. But this difficult subject demands all the light which our subsequent investigations may throw upon it, so we shall proceed to shew, that although the object only exists *for us* when *known*, that it must exist, if we are not aware of the contrary, when *unknown*.

We annex the above limitation because there are two classes of objects which differ widely in respect to what we are now inquiring about. Some objects as thoughts, emotions, muscular actions of a certain character, &c., only exist, while we are conscious of them. We know by the most conclusive evidence that these do *not* exist, but when they are perceived. There are other objects, however, which we feel assured have an existence, to which the fact of being known is not in the least essential. Reason cannot avoid concluding from what we perceive of *external* objects, that they have an existence perfectly out of relation to the *contingency* of being perceived by us. For example, first, being and (being+knowing) are distinct facts; for of the first, knowing is no necessary part, of the second it is for eliminate knowing, and you destroy the synthesis (being+knowing), the only being which there is *for us, but not the only being*. Secondly, if being for us pre-

supposes knowing, knowing presupposes being, if the object cannot be *known* to exist without consciousness; on the other hand consciousness cannot *exist*\* without the object: the object, consequently, except when we know the contrary *must* exist independently of us, seeing it *must be prior* in time to the consciousness which it awakens. In the bowels of yonder mountain may be hidden an immense store of iron and coal. If such be the case, it is not lying there unknown. And what about the gems which the "dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear," and the rose that blushes *unseen*, "and wastes its sweetness in the desert air?" Are they mere fictions of the poet? There is nothing in the nature of the external object that would lead us to infer that it cannot exist out of the perception, or apart from us, for it is strictly an *external* object in the perception. Consciousness exists apart from the object which aroused it—why cannot the object exist apart from the consciousness which *it aroused*? Remember, that which exists as a matter of fact, may not exist as a matter of necessity. Of course nothing exists without being open to the eyes of Him with whom we have to do—the Omniscient, but we must conclude that being almighty, He has the power to withdraw his mind from a given object, and that then that object would still exist, though absolutely unknown. The question to be decided is *not* whether any object *does* exist in an unknown condition, but whether it *is possible* for it so to exist? Reason concludes that it is possible, and that the world existed *ages* before man first trod on its surface and realized to himself its varied and wondrous existence. We infer then that we know a real object in the perception—that we know it as it is, or not at all—that we thus know an external object—that this external object must exist apart from perception, and that it then only differs from itself in the perception as *O minus C* differs from *O plus C*.

Having now stated, as far as we are acquainted with them, the general conditions of cognitive acts, and also a special

\* This is the declaration of consciousness. If you ask whether this deliverance is trustworthy, then you raise the further question is consciousness veracious. *Is* consciousness veracious, for every argument which we have advanced is worthless, except the integrity of consciousness is unassailable? We cannot avoid concluding, but this is not the place for stating our reasons, that consciousness *must* be pronounced thoroughly trustworthy, when the conditions of veracity are strictly fulfilled. But it is only when these are *most rigidly* complied with, that we can insist upon the thorough integrity of our intellectual nature. The replies which every tyro or loose thinker draws out from his consciousness, cannot, of course, be deemed infallible. Those replies only which are in strict accordance with the laws of consciousness as a truth organ can be pronounced beyond the reach of question.

condition of perception, the next step is to examine that faculty in detail. But here two courses present themselves; the one is to analyze perception according to the several classes of objects of which it takes note; the other according to the several varieties of its *forms*. Now the same form is common to more than one kind of perception, and consequently does not exhibit certain varieties of that faculty. If we would ascertain, therefore, what these are, we must analyze perception in relation to its objects. This then will be our endeavour in the next section. After that is done we shall have to examine it again relative to its *forms* in conjunction with conception, which faculty, unlike perception, has all its varieties exhibited by its forms alone. The same is true of reason.

(To be continued.)

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*The Causes of Mental Disease*, by DR. E. JARVIS, *Massachusetts*.

The valuable report on the history and condition of the McLean Asylum for the Insane for the year 1858, derives a peculiar importance from the few pages which the Superintendent devotes to the causes of insanity, so far as they were developed and affected by the peculiar circumstances of the year, and were connected with the recent financial crisis and the religious excitements of that period. Dr. Tyler discourses wisely upon these matters, and gives admonitions which, were they heeded, would save many from mental disturbance and more from mental death.

To all things created and grown there are fixed laws and conditions of being and action. To every living organism, whether animal or vegetable, as equally to dead machinery and structures, there is assigned a definite purpose or function, which it is appointed to fulfil or discharge. If it be properly constructed, its parts or elements suitably arranged and harmonized, and all endowed with their due strength, each performs its own work, or bears its own burden. But neither their structure, nor their organization, nor their strength, will permit them to be applied to any other purpose, or to perform any other work, or to bear any other or greater burden, than those which are appointed for them,

without suffering or injury. No machine is strong enough to escape this law ; no vehicle or utensil is rude or coarse enough to exempt from these conditions. The carriage intended for passengers is impaired, if it be used for freight ; the merchandise wagon is injured, if it be loaded with coals. All kinds of vehicles, the lightest pleasure-gig as well as the heaviest dray or stone-cart, are weakened and loosened in their joints, and perhaps broken, if they are made to carry weights, even of their proper kinds, greater than they are intended to bear. The cotton-carding machine does its appropriate work well and without injury. But if wool, or flax, or harder substances, be put into it, it is soon out of order, and perhaps broken. This law as to the appropriate use of all material things, machinery, vehicles, vessels, and utensils, is universally recognised and respected, and no discreet workman or cautious manager ever presumes to disregard it.

The same law is immovably imposed upon everything endowed with life ; upon all animal organs, all that perform the living operations,—the stomach, the muscles, the brain, the nervous system, and even the moral and mental powers, the passions and the affections. Each having its distinct functions to perform and purposes to fulfil, its structure, organization, and endowments are adapted to them. It is supplied with means and strength sufficient for these, and no other. Therefore, in the use of the machinery of life, as well as of that created by human hands, all violations of its conditions of being, all transgressions of the limit of power or the restricted sphere of action, are necessarily followed by injury and disorder. From the beginning until now, in every clime and among every people, this has been shown, by the large proportion of functional disorders, organic diseases, and even general physical derangements, which come upon humanity from the misapplication of the power of some of the organs, or from the excessive expenditure of their strength by over-exertion.

Dyspepsia, with its many phases, is produced in great part by the misuses and abuses of the stomach and digestive system, by errors in the selection of food or mistakes in the quantity that is consumed, or by the neglect of other essential conditions of nutrition. Some of the diseases of the locomotive apparatus arise from violations of the conditions of their being, and of the law appointed for their action. If the muscles are applied to purposes not assigned to them, or exercised beyond their strength, they inevitably suffer, and may be weakened or disordered. The brain is subject to similar

conditions of life and laws of action. It is endowed with certain limited powers, which can be applied only to distinct and definite purposes, and it cannot go beyond its appointed bounds without danger, nor bear burdens exceeding its strength without suffering, nor labor beyond its accustomed energy without weariness.

The mind, while on earth, is necessarily connected with the animal body, by means of the brain; for that is the essential and only agent of all its operations. So long as the immaterial spirit is inseparably associated with the material substance, all its powers of action and endurance are in exact correspondence with those of the physical organ; its strength to labor, its energy, and its range of application, are those which the brain admits, and no more. It is affected by the infirmities and the liabilities of that part of our frame. Considering, then, this intimate connection of the mind with the brain, in its strength and weakness, in its health and sickness, it is reasonable to assume and to speak of cerebral health and cerebral disease as indications of corresponding conditions of the mind.

The brain has several functions to perform. It is not only the organ of the mind and the instrument of the mental operations; it is also the organ of feeling and emotion, of passion, anxiety, and suffering. It superintends the operations of the body. It supplies the several parts with the stimulus of life and action. It seems to be a storehouse of nervous energy, a part of which is used to fulfil and sustain mental and emotional purposes, and a part is distributed to the several organs of the material frame, and enables them to perform their respective functions.

There is sufficient nervous energy in this storehouse to sustain all the other organs in the performance of their several duties, and the mind in doing its own work, and also to quicken all the moral affections, the healthy emotions and passions, the natural appetites and propensities. There is enough for the life and action of all. Each can draw its due proportion from the brain; but none can safely have more, for the supply is limited. If any one takes more than its due share, the others have less than theirs, and consequently they have less life and less active force; they perform their functions feebly, and perhaps some may be suspended. This is a common occurrence, and probably familiar to all. When one eats food that is hard of digestion, or takes a fuller meal than the stomach can master at once with its usual force, it makes a demand upon the brain for

more than its own share of nervous energy to sustain it in its extraordinary work, and consequently less than the due proportion can be given to the other organs or functions. They then act languidly; muscular labor is difficult, the brain refuses to think, or thinks feebly, the whole system craves rest, and perhaps sleep, while the stomach is getting through its excessive and difficult task. On the other hand, the action of the mind may be very powerful, and absorb the nervous energies to such a degree as to interfere with the physical operations. From this cause, deep grief, violent anger, intense anxiety, and other powerful emotions and passions, interrupt the digestive process. Violent muscular exertions also diminish the freedom and fulness of the other functions. While one is running a race, or swinging a sledge-hammer, or working at a fire-engine, he can neither think, nor reason, nor talk upon grave subjects; and the stomach also slackens in its ordinary work, because the muscles demand and use so large a proportion of the nervous energy that enough is not left to sustain the other organs in their usual labor.

Nature has endowed all of the organs with their several powers, and given each its connection with the brain, for the purpose of action. It was not intended that any should pass its life in idleness, but that each should have its opportunity of exercise, both for its own strengthening and for the health of the others. When they are used in obedience to the law of their being, applied to their appropriate purposes, and exerted within their appointed limits, each does its own work easily and successfully, without interfering with the others, and all the voluntary functions are under the control of the will. All the actions of life necessarily imply expenditure of force, and that must be in proportion to its intensity or its duration. Of course, in every case, some weakness or depression of strength follows the exercise of every organ or power. In a healthy person, sufficient means are provided to sustain all appropriate actions, and to restore the force that has been expended. If we work moderately and appropriately with the limbs, they after a while become weary with action, and crave an opportunity to recruit their force. If rest be allowed them, they soon regain their power, and are then as strong as before, and ready for the renewal of labor. But if we work with more than our usual energy, if, for instance, the muscles are compelled to act long or violently, in lifting or straining, beyond their accustomed strength, they are exhausted, become

weakened, and require a much longer period of rest to restore them.

If these great and unfitting exertions are long continued or frequently repeated, the exhaustion is carried so far, that no amount of rest completely restores the strength. The muscular force is then permanently reduced, and the limbs are unable to do their previously accustomed work.

The same results of over-action, weariness, exhaustion, and permanent weakness or disease, are manifested in the digestive organs. The stomach and the other parts of the nutritive apparatus are ordained to convert enough food into chyle to replenish the blood, and to supply it with the means of repairing the waste of the textures. When this organ is in good health, when the food is of a proper kind, and taken in due quantities and at suitable seasons, and all the other circumstances and conditions are properly attended to, the work of digestion goes on easily and satisfactorily, and the wants of the blood are supplied. But if the food be not of a suitable kind, if it be of improper material, if it be badly prepared, if the bread be heavy, if the meat be burned, if the mixture be insoluble in the gastric juice,—if, in any way, the food after eating, be digested with difficulty,—the stomach labors, sometimes in pain, often in weariness, and is consequently fatigued, and perhaps all its strength is exhausted when its work is done. But unless there has been too great an expenditure of strength, it is regained by rest, and then the organ is ready, as before, to do its work. But when this labor is violent and excessive, the vigor is not all restored by rest, and the average or constant digestive power is reduced; and if this exhaustive process is perseveringly repeated, the stomach is weakened more and more, until it performs its work only with difficulty and in pain, and sometimes fails entirely.

Indigestion may be produced by manifold causes. Improper food, of any kind, bad cookery, eating rapidly, at unseasonable hours, or in excessive quantities, imperfect mastication, exhaustion of the nervous energies before eating, or occupation of these energies by great physical or mental labour immediately afterward, want of exercise, too intense study, care or anxiety,—any one of these causes will diminish the gastric force, and, if long continued, will waste the powers of the stomach, and establish disease.

It is not usual for any single cause to act alone and produce indigestion. More commonly two or more causes co-operate to effect the result. It is rare that a man is wise and faith-

ful in all the duties of self-management but one, and in that alone indiscreet and careless. The student may combine excess of mental action with want of physical exercise and hasty eating. The man of business may allow too little time for his meals. He may carry to his table the burden of his commercial transactions upon his mind. He may be careless as to the food he takes. Regarding the convenience of his counting-house rather than the necessities of nutrition, he may be irregular in the hours of eating. He may add to these errors night-suppers of food that disturbs, but does not strengthen him. In the affectionate wife and mother, who is watching over her sick husband or child, the oppressive anxiety, the disregard of her own physical wants, carelessness or even forgetfulness of the hours of eating, absorbing thought at table, want of exercise, fresh air and sleep, all may be brought to bear at the same time. Out of any one, or any number, or all of these, and other coexisting errors, dyspepsia may grow.

It is therefore frequently difficult to refer a disordered or impaired stomach to any single cause, or to determine how much influence each of the several co-operating causes had in producing the disease or disturbance; nor would it be philosophical to assume any one of these as the source whence any present gastric difficulty sprang. Yet it would be safe to say, that each of these coexisting facts or violations of the law of self-management had its due weight in producing the disorder.

The universal law of philosophy, that like causes produce like effects, applies with unvarying force to the management of life, and the production of health and strength. It is not intended by this to say, that any single cause, or combination of causes, will produce like consequences in all circumstances; for these, differing among themselves, and having various kinds and degrees of influence, of course modify, sometimes by increasing and sometimes by diminishing, the effects which the causes tend to produce. Yet it is certain that like causes produce like effects in like constitutions, states of health, and circumstances.

All the animal organs, and all the mental and moral powers that belong to humanity, come under this law. In all the living operations, cause and effect are inseparably connected. There can be no action of life, without its retribution of good or of evil. With every part of our frames, and every faculty and endowment, obedience to the conditions of being is necessarily followed by invigoration,



growth, or comfort, and disobedience by disturbance, pain, or weakness; and these consequences are in strict proportion to the faithfulness to, or the violation of, the law. There need be no mystery in the conditions of health and enjoyment, nor in the events of sickness and suffering. None of these arise or happen without adequate causes. A large proportion of these causes may be ascertained in the present state of science, and many of them are within the control of man, and may be prevented.

Mental derangement and weakness, of every grade and every variety, are produced by errors in the use of the cerebral forces. Much learning is not necessarily a cause of madness; for the strong and disciplined acquire it without suffering. They carry it gracefully, use it skilfully, and gather strength from it, while others fall in the endeavour to acquire it. Nor is a little learning, usually, a dangerous thing; yet there are some to whom even this would be a burden not safely to be borne, for they cannot assume it without sinking, or carry it without staggering.

In the anterior history of some of the patients who are admitted into the asylums for the insane, excessive study, study of metaphysics, phrenology, Fourierism, animal magnetism, Spiritualism, and the Scriptures, or great mental excitement from intense attention to business, care and anxiety,—all the varieties of undue mental application or inappropriate use of the cerebral forces,—are given as the causes of their disorder. In the Reports of eighteen American hospitals for the insane, which state the causes of the disorder of their patients as far as they were supposed to be known, one hundred and seventy-four kinds of events, habits, or circumstances connected with the misuses of the mind in the manifold varieties of mental action, application, and excitement, with the stimulating and the depressing emotions, hope, fear, grief, disappointment, and trouble, and with the malignant passions, are given as the causes of their malady. Among twelve thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight patients, the causes of whose insanity are stated, 22.7 per cent were connected with grief, disappointment, and other depressing emotions, 8.2 with excitements, anxieties, and depressions from religion, 6.9 with property, poverty, and business, and their attendant anxieties, excitements, and losses, and 5.5 per cent from excess of mental action.

These disturbances of mind are not due so much to the amount of the burdens which are assumed, for it is manifest that the large majority of those who gain both the greater

and smaller degrees of learning, and sustain responsibilities of every kind, are sound in mind, and free from every mental obliquity. But they are due rather to the disproportion between the load imposed and the strength to bear it, between the natural and original vigor of mind, or the power developed and established by habitual labor, and the purpose which they attempt to accomplish.

There is every grade of difference in men's powers of mental labor and endurance, from him whose understanding comprehends only the simplest ideas and propositions, to the philosopher to whom the most abstruse propositions and their complications are but as child's play,—from the servant or under-worker, who performs only the plainest processes, without thought, under the direction of another mind, up to the statesman who manages the affairs of a nation, almost those of the world, with undisturbed energy, or the financier who passes through commercial revulsions and sustains his part with unruffled calmness.

All of these, both the extremes and those between, are sound in mind; but they have widely different powers of acquirement, of reason, of accomplishment, and of endurance, and it is plain that they must have equally various powers of sustaining themselves under any definite burden which may be thrown upon them. The same amount of study, responsibility, or care, which would be an unfelt trifle on one, would be a load on the mind of a second, would weary a third, exhaust a fourth, and break down a fifth. It is the want of correlation between the load and the strength of the bearer, between the acting force and the purpose to be effected, that is dangerous, and sometimes destructive.

As in commerce, the extreme desire to make great and sudden gains by bold but injudicious means, or the attempt to carry on extensive plans of business, out of proportion to the capital invested or at command, frequently causes embarrassment, and ends in shipwreck of fortune; so, in education and learning, the undue thirst for knowledge, or the prosecution of study with energy and earnestness disproportioned to the power of the brain and the mental capital, defeats its own purpose, and often ends in a wreck of the understanding, or a confused or weakened mind, instead of available acquirement and mental discipline.

There is a common notion that the mind—the spiritual essence—has no law of limitation, no necessary relation to the corporeal structure, and a merely accidental, yet un-

willing connection with the brain ; but that, on the contrary, it is endowed with infinite expansibility, so that there is no end to its power for labor, or its capacity of acquiring knowledge. The prevalent plans of education have this boundless object in view. Limitless development and acquirement are held out as possible, and no question is raised as to the amount of work which the brain can do, or as to the variety of subjects to which its powers may be applied.

Whosoever believes that food may be taken merely to gratify appetite, without regard to its nutritive wants or digestive powers, and that the sensual desire may be followed as a guide in respect to diet,—or that his stomach has an indefinite capacity, so that he may eat at any and all times, whenever his appetite may invite him to do so, and whatever it may crave,—is in great danger of being led into error in the selection of his food, and in the quantity he may consume ; and if his self-indulgence corresponds to his faith, he will not escape digestive derangement. It is equally certain, that the common belief that the mind will bear indefinite labor shuts men's eyes to the impassable limit of cerebral force, and makes them forget that the mind can work only in connection with the brain. Nevertheless, in the education of early years, in the studies of maturer age, in business, in politics, in the pursuits of public and private life, that involve the necessity of thought, calculation, and care, there is a frequent and even a general pressure upon the mental powers to the full extent of their endurance. From these causes, and from the frequent readiness of persons to endeavour to acquire a degree of knowledge which is great for them, to undertake responsibilities which are large for their mental strength, and to labor with their minds as vigorously as possible, and of course sometimes excessively, it necessarily follows that some must overwork their brains and exhaust their cerebral forces, and that some must become mentally disordered.

Childhood commences its literary and educational life with the notion held out to it, that the mind will bear as much, and can accomplish as much, as it can be induced to attempt, and no thought is given to the brain, nor caution in regard to the use of its powers. Through the school years the same idea prevails ; the same boon of unbounded acquirement is offered to boys and girls, and they are encouraged and urged to make their utmost efforts to go on in the path or join in the race of learning. The opinion that

they may run in the pursuit of knowledge without danger, is almost universal, and although only a few actually enter the heat of the contest, and strive to be among the foremost on the course, yet nearly all believe the doctrine, and few, perhaps none, are prevented from effort by any fear of injury to their cerebral health. The moderate but respectable scholar looks with envy or congratulation, rather than pity, upon those who are overworking their brains in severe but successful study; and these are held up by teachers and parents, by school superintendents and the friends of education and human progress, as examples for the less active to follow.

In this dangerous race of learning, to which all are invited and from which none are warned away, a comparatively small proportion of the children and youth of the schools, as we have said, enter and continue. The *vis inertie* of mind, the want of ambition to excel or of zeal for knowledge, the absence of motive for such vigorous and persevering mental exertion, the activity of other desires, not the fear of danger nor the wish to preserve the cerebral health, not due cautiousness but supposed idleness, not wisdom but imputed folly, prevents others from making the efforts of study that would be injurious to their brains. But the ambitious and the faithful, those who resolve to fulfil the hope of fond parents, and those who are susceptible of influence from teachers and associates, enter this course, and assume burdens which many of them cannot safely bear; and the plans of education, proposed by many zealous instructors, and adopted by many who are of authority in these matters, correspond, in a greater or less degree, with this willingness of parents and children to carry them out.

In a High School now in our view, the teacher proposed to some of his pupils to study the Greek, Latin, French, and German languages, mathematics, grammar, rhetoric, and physiology, all at the same time. The plan was accepted by scholars, approved by parents, and considered as an indication of lofty aim and praiseworthy energy on the part of an accomplished instructor. The pupils have in school seven or eight lessons a day. They are unwilling that the lessons should be short or imperfectly acquired. The brightest and most vigorous minds lead the way, and the others dislike to lag behind. They study earnestly at school in the day, and their evenings at home are given to the same work of acquisition. They are successful in their endeavors to learn much, and are rewarded by the approbation of their own

consciences, and by being recognized as an honor to the school, a joy to their friends, and the hope of the coming age. But it is plain that this high mental action is already made at the cost of physical force ; for more than a usual pallor rests upon the faces, and a languor seems to pervade the physical frames, of these youths whose minds appear to be so vigorous. These are the fixed habits, indeed, of only such as are considered the best schools, such as include a larger proportion of the most ambitious scholars, who accomplish much in youth, and promise to do much more in mature life. But in most schools, there are some who study thus injuriously, and lay the foundation of mental habits which, in the business and competitions of the world, will tend very strongly to break them down.

It must be admitted that there are not many who are made insane, or who even suffer any manifest impairment of mental health, during the ordinary period of pupilage in childhood and youth, by excessive study ; but as all are taught and imbued with the faith, that the mind, being spirit and not matter, is bound by no law of finite beings,—that the highest and worthiest aims are to be accomplished by the greatest study,—that those who learn the most are certain to enjoy the warmest approbation of the wise and good, and the best success in life,—and as they are confidently told that they have taken the surest step toward the most desirable stations, and no voice of warning is lifted up to point out their danger,—it is natural and inevitable that many go away from school ready to apply their minds with the utmost intensity, and to work their brains with unsparing energy and inflexible perseverance, whenever an object sufficiently inviting or a motive strong enough shall present itself to them. These youths go forth to the world, and engage in its interests and affairs, with the same liability to overwork their cerebral powers as they would incur to overtax the powers of their stomach, if they had been taught that the more they ate the more strength would be given them, and the more ability to effect the objects of their being. They then enter upon and labor for their several pursuits with devotion and vigor, proportioned to the motives which their sense of duty, taste, ambition, or prospect of advantage may present to them, and their brains, like the digestive organs of the free liver, are in great danger of being weakened or disordered by over exertion. The consequences are alike in both cases, because the causes are simi

lar ; strength is wasted, and the regularity of action is disturbed.

The strength of all the animal organs is partly original and inherent ; but, to a still greater degree it is a matter of cultivation and development. The strength of the new-born infant is barely enough to enable it to breathe, to cry, and to move its limbs. By slow and gradual training, in progress of time, it grows to be sufficient to perform the labors of manhood. In all the successive stages of growth and maturity, the child, the youth, and the man, can bear a burden precisely in proportion to the power that is developed, and no more. The child can roll about, the boy can play, the youth can do light work, and the man can perform hard labor without faltering, provided each has passed through the preceding and proper stages of training. In all these various stages and conditions, the physical frame can bear a definite amount of exertion, and all attempts to go beyond this not only fail of effecting their purposes, but exhaust the animal forces. Thus, the child cannot do a man's work, the student or the clerk or the tailor cannot perform the labors of the farmer, nor can the inactive lady do the heavy drudgery of the robust servant girl ; and yet, probably, by judicious and persevering training, by commencing with a degree of exertion suited to their present strength, and increasing it from time to time as their power increases, most persons belonging to the weaker classes might develop an amount of force sufficient to enable them to perform the heavier labors of the stronger and more active. By this means, the student and the clerk may become farmers, and even stone layers. But this is not the change of a moment. It is the result of slow growth, a gradual progress from weakness to power, produced by careful cultivation and cautious application of the forces as they are created. In this progress, each stage grows out of its predecessor ; each is larger than that which went before it, and opens the way for a still larger one to follow after.

There is not only this general law of gradual development, by which the usual progress is made from the weakness of infancy to the strength of manhood, but there are special developments produced by special training, by the application of the muscular system to particular purposes, whereby peculiarities of muscular force are established. Thus, the sailor has strong arms and comparatively weak legs ; the rope-dancer and the pedestrian have strong legs and comparatively weak arms. Each of these can do his own usual

work without fatigue or exhaustion ; but they cannot interchange ; the sailor cannot walk with the pedestrian, nor can the walker or the dancer perform the labors of the seaman or the stone-cutter without suffering. The farm-laborer, who works in every variety of posture, uses all his limbs and muscles, in every kind of action, and is therefore endowed with strength in all parts of his locomotive apparatus.

The stomach is subject to similar law of growth and habit. The food of the child and that of the man are very different, and neither would be sustained and made comfortable by that which is suitable for the other. Adults also differ in this respect, according to their different training. One enjoys and is sustained by one kind of diet, and another digests and is strengthened by another kind. The seaman's fare would oppress the delicate scholar, whose diet in turn would be but a meagre support to the sailor. The digestive organs can be trained to new habits, and even to bear that which, in the beginning, is painful. The consumer of tobacco at first is nauseated by its use, while the old and practised chewer and smoker seems to suffer from the want of it. All the powers of life come under this law. They cannot be exerted and applied, with their best success and greatest safety, except in ways in which they have been previously trained ; and all attempts to use them otherwise are followed by results less perfect, by increased fatigue, and sometimes by organic or functional derangement.

This law of gradual growth and development is manifested in the brain and the mind. The child learns his alphabet and reads his picture book ; the man reads of the affairs of the world ; the philosopher studies the mysteries of nature ; and all comprehend their several subjects with the same ease, because each has that measure of cerebral power which enables him to work safely and successfully in his own way.

The ordinary plans of education begin with the lowest and simplest elements, which demand only the slightest exertion of the perceptive faculties and the memory, and the least cerebral force, and proceed gradually from one step to another requiring more and more action of the brain, and developing more and more of its power, so that, if judiciously arranged and pursued until maturity, they create sufficient mental energy to transact the usual business and discharge the common responsibilities of life.

There is no employment which does not require some thought, some degree of self-direction, and, of course, some

action of the brain. Most kinds of business which men manage on their own responsibility, and by which they obtain their support, necessitate some thought for their administration and execution. Every responsibility which any one assumes, every undertaking to accomplish any object, whether by his own exertions or by the instrumentality of others, is, to its extent, a burden upon the brain, the energies and power of which must be given to the work, as surely as the energy and power of the muscles must be given to any physical labor. Therefore, the management of any business or concerns, whether large or small, of general or of private nature, the administration of any affairs, whether simple or complicated, the discharge of the duties of public office, the responsibilities of high and important station, the control and the direction of other men's actions for the execution of any purpose, the superintendence of the common labors of a farm, a manufacturing establishment, or even of a workshop,—all these necessarily demand and make use of the cerebral forces. If one, with sufficient original mental capacity, and appropriate education and training for the purpose, should assume any of these responsibilities, and give to it only the ordinary attention, at no time expending more mental force than has grown out of the power previously developed, he will discharge his duties easily and successfully, and go on the even tenor of his way through life, without mental disturbance or exhaustion. But if the original or developed force be insufficient to meet the demands for mental action, difficulties must be encountered, and disturbance of mind will probably follow. Consequently, some men sink under their loads of care and anxiety, some are confused with the multiplicity and pressure of their responsibilities, and soon become deranged.

Men sometimes leave their accustomed occupations, which required comparatively little mental exertion, or to which capacity, education, and long habit had adapted them, and engage in others which require much more thought and study. Although most persons may do this safely, yet the change is not without danger; when farmers leave their lands and become traders, when country traders on a small scale become city merchants on a large scale, when regular merchants become speculators, when any one goes out of an old and tried sphere of business and enters a new and untried one, which involves greater responsibility, he increases the pressure upon his brain; and unless he has a well-disciplined mind, and is accustomed to severe labors, he incurs some risk of over-working and impairing his cerebral structure.



This is especially the case with those who suddenly change their life from one of quiet ease and irresponsibility to one of great excitement, labor, and duty. Some, unused to mental toil, float carelessly along the smooth stream of time, until, by a sudden turn of fortune or circumstance, they are placed in laborious positions or elevated to important offices, where the weight and care of business, and the necessity of producing results beyond their former experience and endeavors, press too heavily upon their powers of endurance. Sooner or later, they are found inadequate to the charge they have assumed, and unable to sustain themselves in their new relation without suffering. They expend more cerebral force than the brain can spare without wearing upon its strength, they overdraw upon their vital capital; some break down in health, and some sink in death.

Charles Fox, for many years aimed at the Premiership of Great Britain. He was an active man in Parliament, but was not accustomed to assume great responsibilities, or to bear heavy burdens on his brain long and continuously. He had not exact and laborious habits of mind, and when he attained the object of his ambition, and was placed in the highest office, he found that it required a degree of mental discipline and a continuity of intense mental labor to which he had not been used, and which he could not sustain. In a short time he sank beneath the load, which overtasked his cerebral forces and overstrained his powers.

A much greater and more dangerous change of habit occurs, when one goes out of the track which he has trodden for years, perhaps for life, and enters another which requires, not only a much greater degree, but an entirely different kind of cerebral action. When farmers, or mechanics, or laborers, who have been accustomed to work with their hands, and to exert their mental powers only sufficiently to direct their physical processes, suddenly and without proper training undertake to become scholars; when they endeavor to dive into the mysteries of metaphysics, fathom the depths of philosophy, or solve intricate problems of mathematics; when they give their minds intensely to these or to other kinds of study, whether of literature, science, morals, or theology, or when they enter the field of politics, or tread the mazy paths of law,—when in any way they set the brain, which had been previously inactive, into vigorous action, or impose upon it new and large burdens out of proportion to its power,—there is danger of exhausting its forces, and of having the mind bewildered, and even disordered.

New subjects of interest are occasionally presented to the world, and old subjects sometimes attract extraordinary attention from individuals or the community. Religious doctrines, moral questions, political movements, measures of reform, scientific matters at certain seasons, assume an unusual importance to the world, and to some they are of absorbing moment. This last class take hold of their with earnestness, and pursue them even with vehement zeal. They give their minds and their hearts to them, and endeavour with intense application, to understand them. The more enthusiastic converts, desirous that their new doctrines should be believed by all, labor for their diffusion. They become propagandists, and embrace every opportunity to impress their views and their feelings upon others; they talk, they lecture, they preach and they write, as long as their strength lasts. There is a degree of contagious influence connected with some of these matters, which encourages their diffusion, and enlists many to engage in them, and even some to become devotees in their behalf. But while this community of interest increases the zeal of the votaries and their willingness even to sacrifice themselves for the matter they have at heart, it does not increase their power of cerebral action, or of enduring the weight which they take upon their minds. Absorbed in their purpose, they are carried away by the sympathy of associates, and seem to think, that, as there is no apparent limit to the value of the subjects that engross them, there is also no measure to their power to study and to teach them.

Any of the vital actions may be made so intensely powerful as to concentrate, within a short period, the energy that should have been expended through a long time, and to produce at once the mischief that is usually the slower growth, through months or years of continued over-exertion. One great excess in eating, a single surfeit, especially if the food be indigestible, as well as excessive, may oppress and disturb the stomach, and at once create and leave behind functional disorder, perhaps organic disease, that may be long protracted and difficult to be removed. A violent exertion of the muscles, one great effort, may in a few minutes do the evil work of months of hard labor; as when a porter takes upon his shoulders and attempts to carry double or treble his usual burden, or when one works with great violence on an engine at a fire, or in an amateur boat-race, or in a struggle for life. In these cases, a strain or

weakness of the muscles and impairment of the locomotive apparatus are sometimes produced, which are not easily removed and may remain permanently. So the brain, by intense excitement, or concentrated labor, becomes unbalanced, and its actions disturbed. In a state of overwhelming anxiety, in very deep study, in some overpowering effort of public speaking, in the almost agonizing excitement of some religious meeting, in the endeavor to fathom the infinite, to search into the mysteries of unseen worlds, to hold communion with spirits, in the absorbing interest of some kind or some stage of business, in a financial crisis or commercial panic, in a scene of gambling, in any great struggle, where much depends upon the turn of a moment,—in these conditions, and such as these, the mind is violently agitated, there is great exaltation of the feelings and powerful cerebral action, the brain is given up to the absorbing interest of the present subject, and, for the moment, its attention cannot be diverted nor its energies directed at will, for the maddening power of the ruling idea or emotion controls all its forces. This violently energetic action of the brain is never without danger. In some, the organ may be left merely in a state of fatigue, from which a period of rest will recover it; in others it may be exhausted and indisposed to labor, for a considerable time; and in others of a more delicate or weaker organization, or less mental discipline, this great agitation may leave the head disordered, and the mind deranged.

The instances of insanity from this class of causes are manifold. They come from many a field whence other issues are expected. The religious revivals, in which the feelings of men and women are vehemently agitated, and the exciting eloquence of some earnest and powerful preachers, have had their victims of disordered mind. In other and less hopeful circumstances, the brain loses its balance. In scenes of disaster, as shipwrecks, fires, railroad crashes, steamboat-explosions, where distress and destruction are spread abroad, in dangers and threatened evils, when men are crushed down with overwhelming apprehension, many lose their self-control, and become bewildered. Their reason is, for the time, overthrown; and although most regain their self-possession when the trouble and the peril are over, yet in others the confusion remains, and in some, mental derangement is established. Among those who think that they can avail themselves of animal magnetism

to search into things not revealed, who believe themselves endowed with power to perceive what human eyes cannot see, who profess to be mediums between the spirits of the departed and the minds of the living, or who endeavor to hold communication with dead men's souls, especially among those who associate together for any of these purposes, and increase each other's excitability by mutual sympathy and encouragement, there is necessarily much unnatural and unhealthy excitement, the brains of many are agitated beyond their power of healthy endurance, and of these some become insane.

In like manner, the brain is overworked in the zealous pursuit of public objects. Some give themselves up to the interests and labor of a political campaign. They rush to the contest with all their heart and their intellect; they think of little beside, and care for nothing else: they come to believe and act as if the great interests of the world hung upon the issue of the struggle then going on; their nights and their days are devoted to effecting this great object, their brains are overwrought, their minds know no rest, they are agitated beyond due measure, and their mental health is in danger of suffering from these destructive influences. In national revolutions, the same absorbing excitement lays hold upon people, and grapples them with more power than in political struggles; for here is more to be gained and more to be lost. Here are agonizing fears and exhilarating hopes, and the brain is oppressed with the doubt of the issue and the endeavor to make it successful. Many are disturbed by this state, some sink under it. In some severe commercial crisis, when great prosperity is followed by great adversity, in the transition from supposed and apparent wealth to real bankruptcy, when men struggle to save themselves from sinking, and all their cerebral forces are bent upon their own safety, in doubts, fears, and despair, the mind may wander, the brain lose its balance and become disordered. In public manias, when the world runs mad after great phantoms, as in the South Sea Bubble and Law's magnificent scheme, in lottery-dealing, in land speculations, in these and such as these, the brain is unnaturally excited and agitated. For the time, men lose their ordinary principles of reasoning, they believe too much where their feelings prompt, and too little where their feelings oppose, and their mental balance is suspended, in some permanently lost.

Any structure or vehicle, however rude or strong, will be broken down by a weight, if thrown upon it with precipitate violence, which it would have borne and carried, if carefully placed upon it. Any sudden interruption of action always gives a shock to, and often injures, a body in motion, and the injury is in proportion to the velocity of the arrested movement. Thus, when a stone falls among the rapidly moving wheels of a fixed machine, or when a railway train runs swiftly upon an obstacle, the wheels and the engine, the frame and the cars, are injured, and may be destroyed, by the violence of the shock. Likewise, when any one running at his utmost speed strikes against a wall, he is sure to receive a severe blow upon the part which meets the obstacle, a shock to his whole frame, and perhaps serious injury. In the same manner, in any sudden interruption to the mental actions or the emotions in a high state of excitement, as when ardent hopes or earnest and fond expectations are instantaneously cut off, or when one is disappointed in love, in ambition, or in the confident anticipation of fortune or success, there is depression and disturbance. Likewise, when any unexpected burden is thrown at once upon the brain, as when terrible danger, whether real or imagined, suddenly presents itself and causes fright, or when distressing tidings are communicated, as of the death of friends who were supposed to be in good health, or of some other great calamity which had not been anticipated, the violent sorrow sometimes leaves the mental actions in a state of protracted or permanent disorder. In these cases, the mental disturbance comes not from the weight of the distress, but from the suddenness of the impression. Its swift impulse gives it power more than its due. Whereas if the brain had been prepared by anticipation for the painful event, if the mourners had watched over their friend through days and weeks of sickness, and the catastrophe had been foreseen and expected, if death had visibly approached, through the gradual increase of disease and danger, they would have been ready to meet the affliction, if not with less sorrow, at least with greater power to bear it, and the mind would not have been overthrown.

From errors in the use of both the physical and the intellectual powers there proceed all grades of disorder, from the slightest languor or irregularity to positive and severe exhaustion and disease. All the organs and their functions are subject to these gradations of disturbance, and none

more than the digestive and the nervous systems. The Protæan forms of dyspepsia, almost infinitely varied, and their numberless degrees of intensity, are equalled by the manifold phases and degrees of mental unsoundness and perversity.

Between the well-balanced and healthy mind and recognized insanity, there is a broad middle ground which neither occupies exclusively, but in every part of which the elements of both, in various proportions and complications, may be found. Here is every grade of mental obliquity and defect, resulting from perversion, or excessive labor, or neglect. Between the mind of average power and dementia, there are those who have every measure of weakness,—the dull, the simple, and the imbecile. Between intellectual soundness and mania, there are all the varieties and degrees of vagary, perversity, and disproportioned and inharmonious qualities and powers. In some, one faculty or element is too active or too sluggish, and in others a different one is exuberant, or comparatively or positively dormant. Some are unbalanced, some are easily excited or disturbed, others are passionate; some, without ordinary motive or reason, adopt new opinions, or engage in new projects; others are odd, eccentric, whimsical, or capricious. In the formation of their principles, and in the conduct of their lives, some are governed by their impulses or by their first impressions rather than by reflection or reason. Some are volatile in their habits, fickle in their affections, untrustworthy in their judgment, wild in forming their schemes, or unstable in the execution of their plans. Others are victims of indecision of character, and come to their conclusions with various degrees of hesitancy and difficulty, if they reach them at all. Some lack firmness of purpose, and are irresolute in action. Others, on the contrary, are wilful and obstinate, and adhere to opinions and purposes once adopted, whatever new reasons or circumstances may be presented for a different course. In some, self-esteem is so large and powerful as to make them disregard the usual common sense of mankind, and to prevent their harmonizing with their fellows and profiting by the wisdom of the world. Through all these and many others there runs a vein of unsoundness, of greater or less extent, due to the measure of the misappropriation of their cerebral forces, the mistakes in the use of their mental and moral powers, and their indulgence in, and cultivation of, unhealthy and perverse habits of mind or of action.

As in the administration of financial affairs every wrong appropriation of funds or credit, every wrong purchase or sale, is attended with loss, and every excess of expenditure, however small, over the income, however large, is charged to the pecuniary capital; so in the management of life and its powers, every waste through misappropriation of vital force, however slight, every over-draft and excess of expenditure, is charged to vital capital.

In both business and life the consequences of repeated errors, of the waste or loss of money and of living power, are cumulative. The effect of each, be it ever so small, is added to that of the preceding, and the loss, injury, or impairment gathers weight with each successive transgression. This accumulation of weakness, or disorder, is often very slow and imperceptible in its progress, and it may be long before the evil is recognized. A man may indulge his appetite with food of such kinds, or in such quantities, as require but a little more than his usual and average digestive power to convert it into chyle. He may repeat this through months, perhaps through years, before the over-draft upon his gastric force produces a sensible weakness or pain, and even then the cause of the digestive trouble, the waste of power, and the accumulated disorder are overlooked; for it is not easy to understand or believe, that an article of diet or gastronomic indulgence, which had been so long not only harmless, but, on the contrary, comfortable, should at length become injurious. A man may labor daily somewhat beyond his average muscular strength, and yet make so small an inroad upon his constitutional vigor, and so small an excess in the expenditure of force, that it may be years before he becomes conscious of the depreciation of power; but the effect of persevering waste ultimately manifests itself, and if not then arrested by change of habit and more moderate exertion, the waste goes on, and the weakness increases, until decrepitude is prematurely established. The same law holds in regard to the brain. It is seen in the growing effect of repeated waste and perversion of the cerebral forces, in the increasing consequences of continued neglect or misuse of the moral and intellectual powers. The evil result of each individual error may be extremely small and imperceptible; yet each, however minute, is charged to, and deducted from, the mental capital, and all of the same kind that come after are added to those that have gone before, until their accumulated weight becomes manifest in some weakness, or fixed peculiarity or perversity, or even grave disease of the mind.

Any error or mistake in self-management once committed, opens the way for another of the same character to follow, more easily ; and the consequent loss of power lessens the means of resistance. The temptation and the facility of commission increase, while the protective and recuperative force diminishes with the repetition. Whoever allows in himself any excessive expenditure or misappropriation of mental force, or any indulgence in passion, caprice, oddity, impulse, or perversity, and takes but a single step from the path of discipline, propriety, or reason, finds the second step easier than the first, the third easier than the second, and each succeeding one less difficult than that which went before. Whatever of wrong or loss is established by the first, is treasured up and increased by the second and the third, and this, if not resisted, may go on, slowly but surely, until it becomes strong enough to influence, perhaps to control, the mental actions of the emotions. Whatever any one may sow within himself, whether it be good or whether it be evil, will grow almost insensibly, by repeated indulgence and persevering cultivation, and sooner or later become, in greater or less degree, an element of his character. Ever-watchful Nature, although generous in her provisions for and bountiful in her gifts to her children, is yet inflexibly just and rigorous in her dealings with them. She requires of every one the complete fulfilment of the conditions of life. She gives to each his due and sure reward for every instance of faithfulness, and exacts from each the penalty corresponding to every disobedience, in the use of all the organs, and all the powers, whether of body or of mind, that are bestowed upon man. There is no forgiveness in these matters. All the consequences of neglect and violations of the law are gathered, in every instance, and charged to the vital capital ; and their sum, in every succeeding period, may be found, according to its extent, in mental or physical disorder, in reduction of strength, in the vitiated constitution.



*Thirteenth Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy to the Lord Chancellor. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed: 12 August, 1859.*

At such a period as the present, when lunacy and lunatic affairs claim so large an amount of attention and interest on the part of the general public, a report from the Lunacy Commissioners will, in all probability, attract more attention than at ordinary times, notwithstanding its appearance in the category of blue books, a division of English literature rather remarkable for its ponderous dimensions and its costliness, than for its attractiveness or its value.

The present volume however, departs from the prevailing features of others of its class, for it is neither bulky nor deficient in value, yet it is, withal, a larger book than is commonly issued from the office of the Lunacy Commissioners. While the Lunacy Commissioners contrive by this channel to get a hearing for their statements and opinions from the competent State authorities; the public at large reap the benefit of a report on the condition and prospects of the insane population of the kingdom. Happily for this country the final appeal in all public affairs is to public opinion, and although the documents now before us, like others of their class, are formally, or by a sort of legal fiction, addressed especially to the Lord Chancellor, yet is it really an account rendered to the public of the performances of a government office by which its sphere of operation may be measured, its utility tested and its opinions and practices judged. Hence in the pages before us, we find the Lunacy Commissioners endeavour to meet the prevalent inquiry respecting the extent and character of the present legal provision for the insane, whilst they at the same time enter into explanations concerning their plans of action, and the principles whereby they have been guided in making their official recommendations whether to private individuals or to public bodies.

Thus, for example, at the outset of their report the Commissioners introduce to notice some of the excellent principles which have guided them in their recommendations. At p. 2 they write, "All our recommendations have had as their ob-

ject the improvement of the treatment, comfort, and general condition of the Insane. Some of these, minute and apparently trivial in detail, are in effect important, as tending to awaken intelligence, to prevent depression, or to promote activity and self-respect. In the aggregate they constitute essential parts of the treatment of the disease, such as have been adopted or recognized by experienced medical men; and if some of them seem scarcely applicable to persons of mature age, it will be remembered that the instances of actual idiocy and imbecility in lunatic establishments are very numerous, and that even in cases of mania and otherwise, the mind of the insane patient has become enfeebled or distorted, is disposed to accept occupation or amusement of a very inferior character, and is altogether disabled from dealing with subjects which require any severe or sustained exertion of the intellect.

“Suggestions for the improvement of diet, and the allowance of other comforts to the patients, however these may exceed what such patients have been accustomed to, when at home and in good mental health, are also important if considered as part of a well-established system of treating their peculiar disease.”

So again, when they urge the provision of additional accommodation in public asylums, they at the same time point out some of the evils of delay, p. 2, “It is (they write) too frequently not until the existing asylum is overcrowded, and patients have repeatedly been refused admission, that active steps are taken to make the necessary enlargement. Meanwhile the patient who by early treatment might, perhaps, in a short time have been restored to mental health, is kept in the workhouse or farmed out with strangers, where his malady gradually assumes a chronic and incurable character; and even when sent to a licensed house, he is generally placed at a distance from his friends or relations, and his maintenance becomes a heavy charge upon his parish. It is this want of public accommodation which renders almost necessary the existence of licensed houses for paupers, and they are thus permitted to supersede the public asylum, which the law has directed to be provided for pauper lunatics.”

Lastly, to give reason for their recommendation to erect detached buildings in lieu of additions to the main structure, they observe “That additions must generally partake of the character of the original building, and thus often entail the necessity of erecting new wards of too expansive a construction. Such wards are, as we think, quite unnecessary for many of

the chronic and idiotic cases which accumulate in all large asylums, and are not required for those patients who can be regularly employed in active occupations. Above all, we have invariably found that patients removed from the long galleries of an asylum, to the more home-like apartments of a detached building, have not only presented a more cheerful and comfortable appearance, but have themselves expressed their satisfaction at the change."

A large portion of the Report is occupied with a notice of the accommodation for the insane poor, at present in existence, or in progress, and with remarks on the management pursued in the several English County Asylums. In performing this portion of their task the Commissioners in Lunacy have put themselves in the position of judges and proceeded *ex-cathedrá* to pronounce judgment upon the several places and persons passed under review. Each Superintendent and each Committee of Visitors of an asylum may now learn what position he or it occupies in the estimate of the Lunacy Board, and may likewise gather what that is of other similar institutions, and of their managers. Some few are weighed in the official balances and found wanting; yet, on the whole, our English official estimate of our English asylums is gratifying. The terms of commendation awarded are decidedly mild; being limited to the several variations and combinations of the adjectives, 'creditable,' 'judicious,' and 'careful.' Happily this diffusion of mild compliment has the advantage of leaving no superintendent unrewarded; and if one medical officer is disappointed of the eulogy which his own opinions of his own merits may suggest as deserved, yet he has the satisfaction of observing that his confrères elsewhere are not more elaborately commended. Indeed, it is well the Commissioners have not attempted a more marked discrimination, and that they have been enabled to distribute their commendations so widely, that no superintendent can consider his merits wholly unappreciated or those of another unduly extolled.

The character of the review in question, of the nature and extent of public asylum accommodation now existing, forbids an analysis in these pages. Indeed, the attempt to make one is moreover unnecessary, since the Report is, or should be in the possession of our readers. Still a few comments on two or three of the English asylums are called for by reason of special circumstances detailed in the Report.

The Middlesex County Asylums have for some years figured largely in official reports. As it is the era for great ships and

big guns, so it is that for gigantic lunatic asylums, foremost among the promoters of which are the Visiting Justices of Middlesex. These gentlemen, in spite of the opposition of the Lunacy Commissioners, and in antagonism to the decided opinions of all medical men conversant with the insane and their wants, have triumphed over all opposition, and at length succeeded in carrying out their pet object, the construction of two lunatic colonies, most cunningly organised for impeding the treatment of the curable insane and for multiplying chronic lunatics. This success has brought another in its train; for since the grandeur of the establishments and the magisterial arrangements have provided the principal elements for making acute cases chronic, and as a consequence nearly every one of their 3000 occupants in all probability, incurable, the economical result follows that medical men are little required. Such officers indeed are ornamental, and, to a certain extent, useful as capitals to the column of officials, but in their medical capacity, how insignificant is their purpose amidst a healthy population of chronic lunatics, wherein no occasion offers for their professional skill in treating and curing insanity, and where their administrative capacity is so little required on account of the diligent supervision and management of the Visitors in hebdomadal boards assembled, or engaged in daily perambulations of the wards.

But, alas! the Visiting Justices are not allowed to repose on their laurels. Their opponents, though vanquished, like the obstinate Englishmen at Waterloo and elsewhere, do not know when they are beaten, but return to the attack and harass the victors. The Lunacy Commissioners again appear on the field, and with well worn weapons renew the fight where there is yet hope some advantage may be gained. They will not succumb to the magisterial dictum that doctors are next to useless in an asylum, if only there is a good matron, a good steward, and above all an officious Committee; or that one medical man to a thousand patients represents the proper proportion between the medical element and the asylum population. No, the Commissioners are obstinate in their convictions that medical treatment ought to be afforded to the lunatics sent for treatment to the County Asylum. They remark in their notes on Colney Hatch Asylum, that "the medical staff at this large Asylum at present consists only of two Medical Superintendents, each of whom has an assistant, who acts as Dispenser. These gentlemen have the entire medical and moral control and care of 1,285 patients. It is

manifest that anything like individual treatment must be limited to a very small proportion of the cases, and we fear that with the mass of the patients the superintendents must necessarily depend mainly upon the good conduct and trustworthiness of the attendants. Moreover, the chance of cure must, as we apprehend, be greatly reduced ; such chance being still further diminished by the fact, that during the last six months there has been no Medical Assistant on the male side.

The Hanwell Asylum might be substituted for Colney Hatch in the above quotation, for there, as in the latter institution there are only two medical superintendents with one assistant, and an apothecary who has no other duty than to dispense the medicines and help in book-keeping.

Further, as might be predicated, *de naturâ rerum*, these extraordinary establishments develop peculiar results. The rule of the Committees and the trifling importance of the Superintendents, as so called, have originated a "peculiarity" say the Commissioners, "desirable to notice . . . which does not exist in any other asylum, and which, in our opinion, (in the mildest of terms) is not convenient. We understand that the Visitors have directed their clerk not to allow the medical officers to peruse reports made by the Commissioners, and thus these gentlemen are prevented from becoming acquainted with the tenor of our observations, many of which have immediate reference to their special department, and are in fact, written for their particular consideration." So we likewise in our lamentable ignorance should have supposed, taking not only precedent, and the usage of other similar institutions, but also the clear intent as well as the language of the act in establishing relations which shall subsist between the medical superintendents of asylums, their committees and the patients ; in defining generally the duties of the first-named official, and in ordering the books kept as public documents in such institutions, to be public to any rate-payer who contributes to their support.

A policy which withholds from the inspection of the medical superintendents the written opinions of the Lunacy Commissioners respecting the asylum visited, is indicative of a sensitiveness on the part of the Visitors to criticism, and a desire that their medical employés should not possess an opportunity to record any propositions or opinions they may be bold enough to obtrude before the Committee, by an appeal to the written suggestions or unfavourable reflections expressed by the Commissioners. Moreover, such a policy is not only distinguished by a peculiar littleness of mind, but also by a

remarkable short-sightedness. The Commissioners have a right by law to a copy of every entry they make in the visitors' book of an asylum, and can therefore at will, supply them with a copy, if otherwise they do not choose to contend for the privilege of the superintendents to read it in that particular book.

Of the few Borough Asylums—of which, by the way, we hope to see more, instead of ever-growing county refuges,—several are old foundations, with old buildings in bad position, and are still discreditable to the country. Far surpassing all others is the oft-mentioned one at Haverfordwest, in Wales. It resists all attempts at amelioration. One impracticable superintendent being after repeated efforts displaced, is replaced by another with whom the Commissioners cannot further prevail. Yet what can be expected of this officer considering his position and remuneration, and what can be anticipated from the labors of the other members of the staff of the establishment, paid the following sums in discharge of their services. But before quoting the paragraph, we would ask, is there no authority which can reach this institution, and which can either insist on reforms, or close its portals, and save some poor lunatics from a lifelong of neglect and wretchedness?

“As respects the management and establishment, we have to report as follows :

“The Medical Officer, not resident, receives £30 a year, and finds medicines.

“The Master, whose wife resides in the town, who has the entire charge of the male Patients, has a salary of £20, with rations the same as the patients.

“The Matron receives £10 a year and rations.”

“A servant girl, who is employed in washing, cleaning, or assisting in the care of the female patients, is allowed £3 18s. per annum as wages ; and the cook, who also occasionally assists in the Asylum, is paid £4 10s. per annum.

“A washerwoman helps on a Monday, for which she receives sixpence and her food.

“Such is the staff of officers and servants.

“There are no arrangements for religious services or any prayers. No clergyman, or other minister of religion ever visits the asylum.

“The Master and Matron go to Church alternately on Sundays, and sometimes take a patient with them.

“With few and rare exceptions, the Patients never quit the

asylum for exercise. They have no means of amusement, and the men generally have no occupation.

“In conclusion, we have to state that there are no rules or regulations for the management of the asylum or the guidance of the officers and servants.”

The condition of ‘licensed houses’ has progressively improved, with some few exceptions, among which are Plympton House, Devon, and Portland House, Whitchurch, Herefordshire. The latter of these two houses is especially tawdry and discreditable, and owing to the circumstance of the Visiting Justices having put themselves in opposition to the Commissioners in Lunacy, no hope of a sufficient improvement in its condition can be yet hoped for.

The following, and as we are happy to say, singular features in the construction and organization of this receptacle for private patients, are mentioned in the report, with the special intent “that some other means may be devised to obtain the necessary improvements,” the suggestions of the Commissioners having proved completely nugatory. “Many of the rooms have no windows, and are entirely dark. Some are lined with sheet-iron. The windows are guarded with heavy iron-bars, and these with the iron gates and railings, give the place a most gaol-like appearance. Some of the sitting-rooms are without furniture, except fixed forms, and boards against the walls for tables. In these the floors are flagged, and the windows placed high up near the ceiling. There are out-buildings, where patients are placed without attendants, and where no means for warming exist. The airing-court walls are high, and obstruct the view of the surrounding country.” Mechanical restraint is frequent, heavy fire-guards defend the fire-places, the privies were offensive, books and papers are very scarce, and so far as the Commissioners “can learn, there is only one female attendant, at a salary of £9 a year, and one male attendant, who is assisted by a criminal patient, now recovered, who is confined under warrant of the Secretary of State.”

The repeated recommendations of the Commissioners resulted in the appointment of an additional male attendant, and of a domestic servant to assist the nurse; in the laying down of cocoa-nut fibre matting in the sitting-rooms; in the introduction of glasses, and knives and forks, and in the multiplication of washing basins and jugs. Still the principal defects in the fittings and management of the house remained unimproved. The proprietor, evidently a believer in the merits of the dog-kennel Asylums of fifty and a hundred

years since, was not prepared to admit the desirability of adopting the all but universal method of dealing with the insane, and he found staunch supporters in the magisterial visitors of his house. Their report after inquiry was very favorable to the place. "The visitors state their opinion that the Asylum is in a cheerful and healthy situation, and that a comparison of the result of treatment therein, with that adopted in other asylums, is highly favourable to Portland House. That the supply of books and papers is sufficient and proper. That the number of attendants is sufficient. That the fire-guards are 'absolutely necessary,' and that the iron gratings and window bars are 'absolutely necessary;' and, in addition, they recommend that all the rooms not already provided with bars be supplied with them.

"The Visitors see no objection to the fixed seats and tables. Nor do they think the licence is for too large a number of patients. They find the bedding good and clean, and the privies 'without fault.'"

Consequently, when the Commissioners again found themselves in Portland House, they were greeted by the sight of additional bars, "added, as directed by the visitors," and had to witness the inefficacy of official recommendations, when not backed by official power to enforce them. In this contest, therefore, of Commissioners in Lunacy *versus* the Visiting Justices of the licensed house in question, the former have for the nonce been worsted, and have only open to them an appeal to the Lord Chancellor, who by a legal myth is supposed to be a better judge than the members of the Lunacy Commission of what are the requirements of insane people.

The above is one of not a few instances of the prejudicial results of the divided rule exercised by Visitors and Commissioners in the case of provincial asylums. For, curiously enough, there is one law for the metropolis and its vicinity, and another for the rest of the country; an anomaly countenanced by no sufficient reasons either of utility or of expediency. But this matter cannot be discussed here at the present time.

To proceed with our analysis of the contents of the Report. At p. 58 the Commissioners enter on record the proceedings they are accustomed to adopt on granting a new licence, or rather on an application being made to them for one. The string of questions proposed to a would-be Licensee is doubtless familiar to many of our readers and contains none to which an objection can be taken. These queries being satisfactorily answered, the premises to be licensed are inspected



by one or more Commissioners, and if approved, the licence is accorded, "subject, if necessary, to such stipulations as the case may require."

The following paragraphs set forth some of the principles whereby the Board is guided :—

"On granting licences for new houses, or promoting changes in houses already existing, we endeavour to secure for the inmates free intercourse within doors, and a ready access to the open air. These advantages being often curtailed when patients of both sexes are placed in dwellings of an ordinary size, standing in limited grounds or gardens, we have generally required that the proprietor of such houses should admit only one sex.

"The result of the progressive change thus effected by means of the foregoing requisitions and stipulations, will be made evident by stating that out of the forty Metropolitan houses, only seventeen are now licensed for the admission of both sexes; and in order that the most competent parties only should be allowed to act as Superintendents of the Insane, we have had it under serious consideration whether it might not be expedient, as a general rule, to grant new licences only to medical men.

"We have reason to believe that the greater caution which has been exercised by ourselves and the magistrates, has led to a diminution in the number of private asylums in England and Wales, which in the course of ten years have been reduced from 146 to 114."

The proposition "to grant new licenses only to medical men" will be approved of by most persons who have the well-being of the insane at heart. When a non-medical person opens a house for the reception of the insane, it is unmistakeably a mere commercial transaction, whereby he looks, as a boarding-house keeper, to obtain a livelihood, and an amount of profit on his time and capital. His inmates are boarders not patients; they must be treated with a certain degree of consideration, sufficient at least to satisfy their friends and their official visitors, but their curative treatment can scarcely be put forward by an unprofessional man as the primary object of their residence in his house. The longer they live with him the better for his income, from which the attendance and charges of a medical man are an unwelcome set off, and therefore dispensed with as far as practicable.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that even in the case of medical men, the question of profit must weigh as much as in the case of other human beings who undertake a

charge or a duty on the well recognized principle that 'the labourer is worthy of his hire'; and it appears to us that whilst human nature is what it is, the matter of profit cannot entirely be eliminated either in instances of individual exertion or of associations of individuals, even when banded together for philanthropic purposes. A well-paying inmate is as acceptable in a public institution as in a private one, and no human being interested in its financial prosperity can be indifferent to the advantages accruing from his residence. The members of a religious fraternity can most religiously abrogate to themselves the riches of the world, and as individuals vow profoundly perpetual poverty, yet are they delighted to welcome a novice who has not only the call to a religious life, but also the recommendation of wealth to gladden the hearts of all well-wishers of the establishment.

Yet, granting that there is such an all-pervading love of profit, that medical practitioners can no more be supposed devoid of it than other folk, there is good common sense in the principle which would restrict the licence to receive insane persons to those, who by medical education and by special experience, have qualified themselves to treat such patients—and who, if they are honest men, will make it their duty so to do. It would be thought a very absurd proceeding to hand over the intricate affairs of a Chancery suitor to a blacksmith, or to an association of philanthropic blacksmiths, to relieve him from his difficulties, because of the suspicion that his attorney and counsel had an interest, by reason of the profit they made, in prolonging the hearing and adjudication of his case. Yet it is an every-day matter to consign lunatics, with a view to their recovery, to the charge of persons whose only qualification is that they have accommodation for an inmate in their homes, which can be most profitably occupied by a quasi 'nervous' invalid.

In the Lunacy Act submitted to Parliament last session, it will be remembered that one clause in it required a return to be made by proprietors of licenced houses and others receiving insane persons, of the sums paid for the maintenance of their inmates. The result of various inquiries, instituted from time to time by the Commissioners, afford indeed some apology for this requirement, on account of the abuses revealed, and of the remarkable indifference of relatives and others to the condition and treatment of those they have had placed in seclusion. Yet the proposition will appear objectionable to many advocates of personal liberty, who will oppose the institution of another court of equity in the members of the Lunacy Board;

and will be most unwilling to permit the meddling of Government officials in private arrangements. Such persons will find it difficult to recognise in the Lunacy Board an infallible authority which shall decide,—without a legal appeal against its decisions, what accommodation and what kind of treatment shall be considered commensurate with the payments made ; and they will utterly repudiate as inquisitorial the proposal that the Commissioners shall in any effective manner institute an inquiry into the resources of the friends, in order to make an equitable assessment of the sum which they ought to devote to the care and maintenance of their afflicted relatives.

Leaving, however, these knotty points to lawyers and political economists, we would make a passing remark upon a subordinate clause of the 64th section of the 8th and 9th Victoria, chap. 100, whereby the Lunacy Board assumed the competency “to inquire as to the payments made by or on account of patients.” This clause authorises the Visiting Commissioners to “make such other inquiries as to such Visiting Commissioners shall seem expedient ;”—a most elastic authority assuredly, limited only by the sense of propriety or expediency felt by the individual visitors.

The practice of paying commission, or a per centage to the procurers of private patients, is very justly reprobated ; so should be also the low-class proceeding, adopted by a few feasting medical men, at entertainments professedly held for the patients, but really intended to advertise the host and his house, and to win the good will of the guests through the medium of their stomachs.

The Commissioners have come to the conclusion to discountenance the sale of licensed houses ; and they have, particularly of late, directed much attention to the condition, duties, and payments of attendants on the insane. The following quotation is well worth a place in these pages, as containing some excellent remarks on the duties of attendants.

“Having made ourselves acquainted with the rates of remuneration usually paid to them, we have very frequently suggested a considerable increase of wages, and that such wages should be on a gradually ascending scale, as the best mode of obtaining the services of competent persons, and of ensuring the continuance of such as were already secured.

“For to the frequent change of attendants, the recurrence of bad habits, and a retrogression in the general condition of the patient, may often be attributed. The effect of ignorance in some, and of inactivity in others, cannot be duly estimated,

unless by observing the gradual deterioration of the patients under their care. As to the greater number of these servants, their efforts appear to consist mainly in keeping the insane person out of harm or mischief, and in remedying any accident or neglect of dress. But it is the duty of a good attendant also to lead his patient by advice and example into habits of occupying and amusing himself; to encourage him when timid; to soothe him when irritable; to supply his wants, however imperfectly expressed; to prevent all bad habits; and finally, to bring him back gradually to the recollection of a former rational state, and stimulate his intellect when dormant, until it recovers its original tone and power. To effect all this, there should be intelligent, judicious, industrious, and active attendants; and to obtain persons of this quality, good wages must be offered. At present, the general rate of wages given to them falls considerably below that which is required by ordinary servants in gentlemen's families."

"The subject appeared to us to be so important that we thought it advisable to issue the circular (Appendix D.) annexed to this report, in which the qualifications of this class of attendants in licensed houses are enumerated. It is, we think, especially necessary (in reference to one point) that their time should not be occupied and their minds distracted, as is far too often the case, by menial labour, which should at all times be performed by the servants hired for such purpose. In all the larger establishments a head attendant (as stated in our circular) is necessary; and night attendants are indispensable, in order to diminish the bad habits of the patients, to prevent their recurrence, and to guard against accidents. In infirmaries and wards occupied by elderly male patients of the imbecile and harmless classes, the services of female nurses have been found to be of the greatest use. Their previous mode of life has generally prepared them for this species of occupation; and their habits and manner adapt them to solace the sick and infirm, who are frequently controlled or persuaded by them more readily than by the more abrupt authority of male attendants."

We would in addition willingly make some extracts from the extended remarks made by the Commissioners on night attendance and night-nurses, but the space already taken up by this notice warns us to forbear.

Seclusion is, we are happy to find, much less resorted to than it was a few years ago, when certainly the extent and degree in which it was practised at some places, justified the animadversion of most French physicians, and of others who

advocated mechanical coercion, as a more merciful and rational expedient in refractory cases.

The "kind of separation of individual patients from all other persons which constitutes seclusion within the meaning of the Act," is held by the Commissioners to be "any amount of compulsory isolation in the day-time, whereby a patient is confined in a room and separated from all associates." Such separation is to "be considered as seclusion, and recorded accordingly."

The Earl's Wood Idiot Institution, near Reigate, as ever since its opening called forth the animadversions of the Lunacy Commissioners, and this is the first report wherein they are able to state it to be in a very creditable state, the result of satisfactory changes in its management. The purpose of this much-needed establishment must challenge for it the good wishes and the aid of all, and it is therefore with great pleasure that we are able to direct attention to the report that it is now fulfilling satisfactorily its philanthropic objects.

The military asylum, it would appear, has become well nigh strangled in the meshes of red-tape; the high-military authorities being evidently indifferent to the condition of insane soldiers, and most desirous to wash their hands of the annoyance of them, as the semi-barbarian act, very recently committed by them at Rochester, of turning the poor insane soldiers from the hospital into the streets to fare as best they might, abundantly proves.

The Commissioners, not without cause, object to "being suddenly subpoenaed upon trials, and detained for several days" to the great prejudice of their functions as public servants, in order to give oral evidence of the mental condition of individuals, concerning whom they have made entries in the "Patients' Books," at their official visits. In consequence they submit "whether in certain cases, after due notice, entries in 'Patients Books' of Licensed Houses and Hospitals, and special reports might not be receivable as containing the opinions and conclusions of the Commissioners signing the same, without the necessity, as at present, of their personal attendance."

They further urgently press upon the Chancellor's "attention, with a view to early legislation, the great hardship and injustice entailed upon a large number of the insane and their families by the present dilatory and expensive provisions of the law for the administration of the property and income of insane persons of very limited means, more especially those

whose mental malady is of a temporary, and probably curable character."

"The 120th section of the Lunacy Regulation Act, which was specially designed to meet the cases referred to, has proved practically inoperative, by reason of the large and ruinous expense attending the necessary proceedings. We are informed by the Registrar in Lunacy that in no case can the requisite authority to represent the lunatic be obtained at a less cost than £75. The provision is therefore illusory, and inapplicable as respects that large class, peculiarly objects of compassion, whose families are, as a first result of the disorder which has afflicted themselves, overwhelmed with misery, and frequently reduced to pauperism."

It will indeed be a just cause of congratulation if an amendment of the law affecting the property of lunatics, and the responsibility of debtors to their estates can be soon enacted.

The condition of lunatics in Jersey, in which island the Commissioners have (owing to the peculiar relations in which it is allowed to stand with this country, as a self-governing state) no direct jurisdiction, is most lamentable, but through the diligence of the Board, a local committee has been appointed to make regulations and provisional arrangements for the insane of the Island until an asylum is built for their reception.

The returns of the pauper insane whether placed in asylums or workhouses, or boarded with relatives and others, have been amended, a very necessary proceeding considering the discrepancies existing heretofore between the statistics of the Lunacy Commissioners and those of the Poor Law Board, as remarked in our notice of the Twelfth Report.

There are other topics touched on in the Report before us, but we must hasten to a conclusion of this notice of its contents, referring our readers' attention particularly to the record of the state of patients living singly in the charge of private persons, from which we learn how wretched it frequently is, and how neglected they often are by those of their own kin, whose sympathies and watchfulness over their welfare might be expected on the score of natural affection.

A welcome and much needed addition to the many benevolent institutions of this country has become developed in Whitehall place under the auspices of the Lunacy Commissioners, in the form of a 'Relief Fund for Pauper Patients discharged from Licensed Houses,' on the principle of the Queen Adelaide Fund existing at Hanwell and Colney Hatch.

The origin of this fund is thus detailed :—“ It happened opportunely that the chairman of this commission, having been consulted by the trustees under the will of a benevolent lady as to the choice of desirable objects for assistance in the distribution of her charity, was able to obtain a gift of £300 as a nucleus of such a subscription. Upon this being communicated to our board, the further sum of £100 was added by the subscriptions of the commissioners present, and of the secretary.”

We wish every success to this benevolent fund and that it may receive such donations as to give it a permanent character and increased usefulness.

The thirteenth Report contains other besides the usual matters tabulated, and shews in an Appendix (E) the number of patients in each Union, and how disposed of. Moreover, the particulars heretofore tabulated in two separate Appendices (viz. Appendix A and Appendix D) are now brought together into a single one, so that the whole history, so to speak, of each Asylum, may be read off at once, without turning from one page to another. This is an improvement for which the compilers employed in the office of the Board deserve the thanks of all those who are interested in the statistics of Insanity. In Appendix (F) the provisions of the law relative to single patients are abstracted from the several acts, and set forth in order, the Commissioners having determined to enforce those provisions much more vigorously and widely than hitherto ; a determination not arrived at any too soon for the welfare of the very indifferently protected subjects of insanity concerned, though one we apprehend difficult to carry out in the present state of the law, and with the existing number of Commissioners. According to the Summary of Appendix (E) the Pauper Lunatics in England and Wales, reported as chargeable to parishes, number 29,858. The summary, as usually given by the Lunacy Commissioners of Lunatics found in Asylums, Hospitals, and Licensed Houses, exhibits a total of 22,013, among whom 17,420 are paupers. This goes to prove that there are 12,438 pauper lunatics and idiots not provided with Asylum accommodation, and most of whom are to be found in Workhouses. We subjoin the “ Summary ” of the distribution of Private and Pauper Lunatics found in Asylums, Lunatic Hospitals, and Licensed Houses.

In conclusion, we have to thank the Commissioners for the very interesting and valuable report of which a sketch has been attempted in the preceding pages.

J. T. A.

# SUMMARY.

	Number of Patients, January 1, 1859						Admissions during the Year 1858						Discharges during 1858						Deaths during 1858														
	Private.			Pauper.			Total Lunatics			M.			F.			Tot.			Total Number			No. Recovered			Total No.			From Suicide committed in Asylum.			From Accidents or Violence incurred in Asylum.		
	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.			
County & Borough Asylums	134	97	231	6777	8112	14889	15120	2413	2372	4985	1187	1427	2614	887	1078	1965	888	761	1649	1	3	4	6	6	12	2	8						
Hospitals	762	730	1492	95	79	174	1666	431	473	904	253	354	607	134	207	341	64	41	105	..	3	3	1	..	1	..	1	..	1	..			
Metropolitan Licensed Houses	675	630	1305	491	827	1318	2623	561	605	1166	422	494	916	157	203	360	178	144	322	1	..	1	3	1	..	1	..	1	..	4			
Provincial Licensed Houses	719	720	1439	550	489	1039	2478	598	454	1052	393	397	790	208	192	400	131	86	217	3	1	4	..	4	..	4	..	4	..	4			
Royal Naval Hospital	2290	2117	4407	7913	9507	17420	21887	4003	4104	8107	2255	2672	4927	1386	1680	3066	1261	1032	2293	5	7	12	10	10	7	17	..	..	..	..			
	126	..	126	..	..	..	126	39	..	39	15	..	15	13	..	13	13	..	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..			
	2416	2177	4593	7913	9507	17420	22013	4042	4104	8146	2270	2672	4942	1399	1680	3079	1274	1032	2306	5	7	12	10	10	7	17	..	..	..	..			

## Patients Remaining 1st January 1859

	Private.			Pauper.			Total Lunatics			No. deemed Curable			Found Lunatic by Inquisition			Criminals.			Chargeable to Counties or Boroughs			
	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.	M.	F.	Tot.	
	County & Borough Asylums.	122	105	227	7127	8488	15615	15842	879	794	1673	8	3	11	242	84	326	644	710	1354		
Hospitals.	874	766	1640	109	109	218	1858	137	202	339	22	12	34	122	18	140	..	..	..	..	..	..
Metropolitan Licensed Houses.	663	624	1287	464	800	1264	2551	140	191	331	69	63	132	31	5	36	35	84	119			
Provincial Licensed Houses.	862	736	1598	469	456	925	2523	209	204	413	79	44	123	137	43	180	70	109	179			
Royal Naval Hospital.	2521	2231	4752	8169	9853	18022	22774	1365	1391	2756	178	122	300	532	150	682	749	903	1652			
	137	..	137	..	..	..	137	17	..	17	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	2658	2231	4889	8169	9853	18022	22911	1382	1391	2773	178	122	300	532	150	682	749	903	1652			



*The Jamaica Lunatic Asylum.*

Medical men and the non-professional members of the community interested in the welfare of the insane of this country, have, after many years' labor in the cause, succeeded in bringing about a comparatively satisfactory condition of the public and private asylums, and they may be forgiven the exhibition of a certain spirit of repose and self-gratulation. The mass of abuses has been hurled aside and the reformers of British lunatic asylums have only minor peccadilloes to seize upon, and the only prospect of more exciting work for them is to be found in an exploration of the condition of patients *not* in asylums. A Lunacy Commission armed with considerable and very elastic powers is likewise in full operation, which, although too small for all the functions rightly devolving upon it, can at least so supervise public asylums and licensed houses that irregularities of any magnitude can have but a short-lived existence.

English doctors and other folk, moreover, travel abroad on the continent of Europe, and report on their return, the rapid improvements they witness in the provision made for the insane, in the treatment they are subjected to, and in the state of public opinion respecting them and their malady. Hence the notes of rejoicing over the happy change everywhere brought about in the condition of the insane;—over the happy era ushered in by the labours of Pinel and perfected by those of Charlesworth, Conolly and others whose names appear in every history of the development of the modern system of treating lunatics.

However, setting aside half-civilized lands as Turkey and Egypt, and taking into consideration only those states or colonies admitted within the pale of civilization, it may be asked, have we evidence that the lauded improvements in the treatment of mental disorder have been realized in all of them? How are the insane treated in our own colonies and dependencies? What are the lunacy laws in force in those dependencies and who are their administrators? We fear indeed that there are few medical and non-medical philanthropists who can give an answer at all full and satisfactory to these questions. To one or two individuals something may be known of the asylums in this or in that colony, but of the state of the insane in the colonies generally, next to nothing is understood in the parent country.

Canada is known to have two asylums of good reputation, at Quebec and Toronto; in Malta an excellent new asylum has been recently built, which we had the satisfaction of visiting, but when we have enumerated these and the Indian asylums noted by Dr. Wise, we have arrived at the end of the list of colonial asylums of which we have even a very moderate share of information. Of the asylums in Hindostan indeed little can be said in their favor. On the other hand, what information does transpire respecting the insane, and the institutions for them in other dependencies of Great Britain, is certainly of a character which reflects discredit both upon Colonial Legislatures and the Home Government. Gibraltar is truly a small dependency, yet it undoubtedly has its proportion of lunatics, who, if we have not been misinformed have no other lodging than the prison cells of the Tower. If we come nearer home and look to dependencies which ought to form an integral part of the United Kingdom, assimilated in constitution and laws to the parent state as much as the Isle of Wight, viz—the Channel Islands, we discover from official records, the miserable condition of their insane population and the absence of asylum provision, although the dignitaries of these little self-governing states have had the necessity of making such provision pressed upon them for the last ten years, and have besides, actually had the proposition to supply it under their distinguished consideration for a similar period. Something may perhaps be shortly effected as the Lunacy Commissioners inform us in their last (13th) Report that they have succeeded in getting a local commission of inquiry appointed in Jersey. Then again, if we look to one immediate dependency of the Colonial Office, viz—Ceylon, what do we find except an illustration of the gross neglect which may thrive under the fostering care of red-tape and the “circumlocution office.” Dr. Davy will tell the history of the what-was-to-be Ceylon Asylum, which has never got beyond its rudimentary existence in official papers and plans. Australia again, is growing into a mighty empire, but the only account one can get at, respecting its insane colonists is, that they are farmed out to private individuals, and that public asylums for their proper care and treatment are yet unprovided. We have been led to pen these remarks from having before us several papers and books referring to the state of the insane in one of the oldest Colonies of Great Britain, viz., Jamaica. Accepting the statements in these papers with ever so large an allowance for individual enthusiasm and local party feeling,

and taking chiefly those borne out by official reports, there yet remains ample evidence of a state of things disgraceful to the authorities of the Island, and reflecting disgrace upon the parent country, however helpless the latter may be in obviating it when called upon to deal with a colony proud of the privilege of self-government. Already public attention has been drawn to the state of the Jamaica Asylum by several writers in the *Times*, and it will be a great satisfaction to ourselves if, by any remarks in these pages, we can extend the public interest in the matter, and in any degree contribute to bring about a reform of the gross abuses and cruelties of which we read with so much pain and regret.

The building occupied by lunatics, or as it claims to be called the Lunatic Asylum of Jamaica, constitutes a section of the Kingston General Hospital, and is under the same management. When it is stated that this so-called asylum has been built half-a-century, the presumption will be *à priori* that it is at best a very indifferent place for the treatment of the insane according to modern notions on the subject. In its design it has certainly the merit of simplicity, and needs no diagram to illustrate it; a few words will explain its structural peculiarities to the least architecturally disposed mind. Suppose a small space of ground, 150 feet square, surrounded by a high wall, and divided into two by a lower fence, and suppose a one-story block of building placed in each half, parallel the one to the other, 120 feet in length, 16 in width, divided into twelve rooms or cells, and having a piazza about eight feet wide extending its whole length; if the reader can realize the resultant sort of building, he will have a clear apprehension of the general plan of the Jamaica Asylum. A slight extension in the form of a few rooms in a detached wing or outbuilding on one side of the two rows of cells, is also, we believe, reckoned a portion of the asylum, though we are not clear, from the accounts we have, whether this third section, is as a rule, appropriated to patients. If we look into the interior of this interesting institution, the same Spartan simplicity prevails. Bare whitewashed walls, a stone floor, a sufficiently strong door, with an open barred window by its side, thoughtfully furnished with a shutter; such are the few structural details to notice. An innovation, in the shape of iron-bedsteads, has, we believe, been allowed to supersede, in some cells, the good old-fashioned sort of sloping stout wooden shelf, which afforded a pleasing incline to the weary limbs reposing upon it. If any reader has a difficulty in

picturing to his mind the sort of bedstead referred to, he may see, or at least might have seen a little while since, the model of it in our military guard-houses. Having described the bedstead, the account of the fittings is about complete, except that it omits from the list the tub supplied for a urinal, and one or more mats, or perhaps a quilt or two. The roof of the buildings is covered by those little flat pieces of wood seen on châteaux in Switzerland and elsewhere, known as 'shingle,' one unfortunate property of which is its proclivity to decay, an evil from which the roof in question is not exempt; moreover, it is affirmed, that besides the bad state of repair of the roof of the asylum, the courts or yards are ill-paved, ill-drained, often redolent with exhalations from the cess-pools, of which several are in the precincts of the institution, and overlooked by neighbouring houses.

Having thus far sketched the building, let us now look to its inmates. These belong to the different classes of Jamaica society, for the island possesses no private asylum, and, therefore, all that can be done for a patient of the wealthier and better-nurtured classes, is to give him a cell to himself, with what few extra fittings in it are thought necessary. So far well, the best thing is done for the afflicted individual which the place admits of. But what of the other inmates, how many are they: and does this appropriation of a room to one individual curtail their comforts? Here will arise a little difficulty to persuade the reader the accommodation is satisfactory, however satisfied he may be with the general details of the structure. Allowing that there are six patients in the establishment (a number within the average) occupying six of the twenty-four cells) that one other room is occupied by an attendant) there then remain only seventeen rooms for the rest of the inmates, the total of whom varies between 90 and 100. Consequently, 100 lunatics had to be disposed of in these seventeen rooms, and supposing them equally distributed, six would have to be shut in each; but according to the management followed, there are in some cells more, in others, less than that number of inmates. The majority of the cells are of equal dimensions, measuring  $13\frac{1}{2}$  feet by 9 feet, but a few, it appears, are rather larger.

The Government engineer who gave in a report on the building, states that some two or three rooms, occupied by three patients, had a cubic capacity of 1,492 feet, giving 497 cubic feet of air to each inmate. In what is described as a middle row, the cells contain only 1,215 cubic feet, or 405

feet each for three patients. On the female side, he refers to rooms containing respectively twelve and four patients, so as to afford only 214 cubic feet in the one case, and 287 cubic feet in the other ; the cubic capacity of the two classes of rooms being respectively 2,570 feet and 1,147 feet.

Passing on to matters relating to the government and internal management, we may note that the Governor of the Island is the Patron of the Institution, and can exercise great power. Under him there was a commission composed of seven members, but this body was abolished in 1858, and a director appointed, subject to a sort of visiting committee, which presides over the General Hospital adjoining, as well as the lunatic wards. The medical care of the lunatics devolves on the House Surgeon of the General Hospital who resides in the town, at some distance from the institution, and is not indifferent to private practice. Respecting the attendants, our information is conflicting, owing it seems to one party calling every sort of employé on the premises by that name, whilst the other esteems those only as attendants who are constantly concerned in tending the inmates. The real state of things appears however to be, that there is a so-called male and female superintendent, non-resident officers, having very slender pay, who live in the town some distance off, and retire to their homes about six o'clock in the evening ; some four day laborers, engaged on the premises during the usual hours of labor ; a couple of old watchmen, who are supposed to afford security to the compound establishment of General Hospital and Asylum, and to attend to the wants of the sick in the former ; and lastly, a woman lodged on the female side, and receiving a small pittance, who is dignified with the name of an attendant, and specially charged with the care of the female lunatics at night. The watchmen can enter either division of the asylum, and visit those patients, or groups of patients, whom they may conceive to require their kind services.

Some of the female lunatic patients are employed in the laundry, common both to the hospital and asylum, and there mingle with other women, and with male servants of the establishment. Many of the male lunatics are also employed and some few of them away from the asylum ; but except manual labor, no other of the several details of asylum management, comprehended under the term of moral treatment, appear to be put into operation either for the male or female inmates.

Such is, in outline, the Jamaica Lunatic Asylum ; but

brief as that outline is, and deficient as it is in details respecting the management and treatment pursued, no very lively powers of imagination or of reflection, are needed for the deduction that it is a totally unfit habitation for lunatics. Leaving out of the question the positive statements made by some inhabitants of the island, as though they could be gainsayed—(which, by the way, they do not seem to be to a material extent), that the grossest irregularities and many cruelties have occurred among the insane occupants of those horrid cells, there is ample reason for denouncing the institution in its position, its structure, and management, as a receptacle for the insane. It is contended that it is an unhealthy situation : but if local doctors disagree on this point, there can be no denying the great disadvantages entailed on it as an appanage of a general hospital, situated in a densely populated town, abutting upon streets, and overlooked by adjacent dwellings. Nor will there be many persons found at the present day who would sanction the enclosure of such an institution within high walls, who would tolerate a building which rendered classification impossible, or who would approve of the short distance and the imperfect division between the section devoted to males and that to females ; a degree of division so slight as to offer no sufficient obstacle to the communication of the two sexes, and no impediment to the transmission of sound from one side to the other, whether by way of uproar or lamentation.

Who again would be the apologist for the wretched rooms, their stone floors, and unglazed windows ; and what can be said of the crowding of half-a-dozen,—nay, a dozen, as is admitted, of human beings, disordered in mind and it may be in body also, in one such wretched cell, some 14 feet by 10 feet square, and this too in a tropical climate ; what can be said, we repeat, except that such a proceeding is a barbarity to be paralleled only in Algiers in its worst times. It is painful to the human mind to contemplate the condition of the poor sufferers during the ten or eleven hours they are thus shut up together, virtually without any supervision, or any security from the moral depravity or mad fury of some of their fellow prisoners. Whether the particular statements made relative to accidents, injuries, quarrels, fights, and various crimes are proved to the satisfaction of those in the island, who will see nothing wrong in the establishment, or whether they are not, every person of common sense will say that nothing is more probable than that irregularities and crimes of all sorts should transpire in the company of

several lunatics, imprisoned in such miserable dens that space to sleep and air to breathe is not to be had by all of them.

It would be positively a reflection upon the good sense of our readers, to enter into details respecting the medical and moral management of this execrable receptacle for the insane, with the intent of showing wherein they are defective and laden with abuses and wrongs. We shall, therefore, willingly avoid them, and proceed to some notes on proposed reforms, and on the doings of the authorities in Jamaica and England, in reference to asylum provision. Those who are conversant with Dr. Conolly's *Treatise on the Construction and Management of Asylums*, will remember that it contains a plan of a proposed Lunatic Asylum for Jamaica, designed by Mr. Harris, who has acted as architect to the Hanwell Asylum, and to one or two others in this country. But they will be surprised to learn that this plan, although adopted by the Colonial Legislature, has never yet been completed. Dr. Conolly's book bears the date 1847 in its title page; for thirteen years, therefore, has the erection of the asylum been delayed, and the much-to-be-pitied lunatics of the island have been let drag on for those many years a wretched existence, in one of the vilest buildings bearing the title of an asylum.

It should, however, be noticed, in justice to many of the medical men attached to the General Hospital, that the total unfitness of the asylum for its purpose, and the miserable condition, and often barbarous treatment of the inmates, have been reported on for a long series of years. In truth, the local authorities appear to have been convinced of the same facts, for we find a vote of £20,000 granted by the legislature for the erection of a proper asylum, so long ago as 1843, and that in 1847 the building designed by Mr. Harris was actually commenced. Between that period and the year 1851, £20,659 were expended on the structure, besides convict labor, valued at £10,000; that is, above £30,000. This was certainly a handsome sum contributed to ameliorate the condition of the insane, and indicative of an earnestness, on the part of some at least, to effect that object. It will, therefore, appear well nigh inexplicable, that this large sum has for all practical purposes been thrown away; all that was accomplished by it was the erection of the carcasses of three of the six wards or sections designed by the architect, or less than one-half of the entire edifice. By the plan, accommodation was proposed for 250 patients,

but the portion carried out being only one-half of it, minus the official residence and general offices, all that was attained for £30,000 was bare living space for 125 inmates, at the rate of £250 per head.

But this remarkable story of an attempt to build an asylum does not end here. Having proceeded thus far, the managers began to discover that the structure they had taken in hand was not exactly what was wanted for the lunatics in that tropical climate; and being both alarmed at the cost already incurred, and annoyed by the objections of assembly men and tax-payers, to the yearly repeated demand for votes for an edifice which it seemed was never to be completed, and threatened a perpetual drain upon the finances,—the sagacious resolution was taken to stop the works, and leave the incomplete structure to moulder into ruins, as another monumental example of foolish builders, who do not first sit down and count the cost of their plan.

We cannot stay to inquire the reason of these extraordinary proceedings and of the expenditure of so princely a sum of money upon so inadequate a result. They speak ill of the results of committing to small colonies their own government, and indicate strongly the atmosphere of corruption and jobbery which must prevail in the Island of Jamaica. And what can be urged in extenuation of the folly and apathy which has let the new asylum so far as completed, remain unoccupied for 10 years, except for the period of a month or six weeks, on two occasions, when cholera devastated the town and carried off five-sixths of those attacked by it in the purlieu of the general hospital. Even the unfinished wards of the new building, notwithstanding any discovered defects in their ventilation, or in the adaptation of their arrangements to the climate, would have afforded a very far superior residence for the unfortunate lunatics than the prison house in which they are confined. But this provisional occupation of the new asylum, pending the completion of the whole structure, has been from some inexplicable reason, neglected, and the small additional sum of money which some years since would have sufficed to render its occupation practicable, would be far from sufficient now that much *matériel* once collected and purchased towards completing and fitting the building has been recklessly dispersed and sold, and that the once partially cleared and drained site has relapsed, as neglected land will soon do in a moist, tropical climate, into a swampy plot overgrown with under-wood.



The wretchedness and entire unfitness of the present so-called asylum, the extravagance and jobbery which have distinguished the attempt to erect a proper asylum, and the singular folly that has presided over all the proceedings relative to the desertion of the already erected portions, have not, as would be naturally expected on the supposition that humanity and common sense had some admirers in Jamaica, failed to raise protests from many inhabitants of the island. Agitation of the whole matter in the pages of the press, by pamphlets, and by discussions in the House of Assembly has proceeded for several years, but hitherto without effect. In the Houses of Legislature motions have been fruitlessly made for a committee or a commission to inquire into the whole matter of the state and condition of the asylum and the lunatics of the island, for they have been opposed by members of the administration several of whom are likewise members of the governing body of the general hospital and asylum. Contradictory statements have been put forward in the House of Assembly; at one time, it has oddly enough been represented that the Assembly had not the power to appoint a Committee of Inquiry, but that the proposition must come from the Governor, who, on his part, has declared it was not for him to take the initiative; at another it has been stated that the whole matter has been referred to the Colonial Board of the parent country, which would command an investigation and direct the Governor in the course to be pursued; and lastly, when it was proposed that a Commissioner should be sent for from England, the free and independent spirits in the island were indignant at the interference of the old country, whilst those of the more servile class raised the question whether the costs were to fall on the tax-payers of England, or to come from their own pockets, in which latter case, the only wish was that no inquiry should be proceeded with.

Such is, on a brief review, the perplexing and unpromising state of the question respecting the care and treatment of the insane in Jamaica, and, as may well be imagined, such it bids fair to remain under the auspices of a free constitution in a colony, a very small proportion of whose population is at all fitted for self-government. It is a party question, and the party in power, headed by the Governor is opposed to an investigation, and manifests a staunch conservatism in behalf of the old lunatic wards, and, when a better provision for their unhappy inmates is demanded, finds an

excellent argument against it in the straitened resources of the island.

Under these circumstances it is difficult to suggest a remedy. It would be well could the Colonial Government interfere, and bring the machinery of the English Lunatic Commission to bear upon the whole matter, and through its agency conduct a thorough investigation into the state of lunatics, and of the receptacles for them, not only in Jamaica, but in all the West India colonies; for undoubtedly, such an extended inquiry is much needed. There are only three small asylums to serve for the insane population of the whole of our West India possessions, and there is no organization for ascertaining the condition of that population, or for bringing it under the cognizance and care of any responsible board or commission. For the credit of humanity we should fear the results of a strict search into the state of lunatics in the colonies referred to where the insane and their institutions have been little thought of or wholly neglected, from our knowledge of what similar investigations have revealed in this country, in which the social condition of the whole population has in comparison been so well attended to, and the social state of the people of a much higher order.

The chief impediment to the direct action of the Home Government in lunacy matters, both in Jamaica and the other colonies adjacent, is their possession of self-government, whereby they can constitutionally object to any interference in their internal affairs; and under the circumstances, the right of resistance to schemes concocted in the Colonial Office, for the management of such matters as the public provision for their lunatics, must be held sacred. Yet withal, the English Government has very considerable indirect power, and can so propound measures of domestic policy, by medium of the Governor as the Queen's representative, that only a very refractory colonial legislature would attempt to resist them, particularly when designed for the prosperity and happiness of the inhabitants. Moreover, the royal prerogative was asserted and acceded to only a few years since, (in 1843), when Dr. Milroy acted as her Majesty's Inspector for the West Indies, and was invested with considerable powers to inquire into the prevalence of cholera and to prescribe sanitary measures; and it would only be a parallel proceeding to appoint Lunacy Inspectors for these same colonies, with a view of removing those blemishes in their moral condition and reputation, which

we have had occasion to notice in one at least of their most important members. It is evidently useless to leave the reform of the abuses denounced in the Jamaica Asylum, in the hands of the island authorities. For thirteen years the lunatics have been allowed to languish in an institution, declared totally unfit for their occupation some years antecedently ; and the only guarantee that they will not be let remain there for as many years more, is to be looked for from the Home Government. Lastly, what is done, must be done energetically and speedily. Deference to the position of the Governor of the colony, or to the circumstance of his being a partisan in the matter agitated, must not be suffered to stand in the way of a complete investigation, which to be just and satisfactory, must be conducted chiefly by persons perfectly unprejudiced, unmixed in island politics, and acquainted with the nature of insanity and the wants of the insane ; and such individuals, it is no unfair reflection on the colonists to say, are not to be found in the island. Where can English philanthropists find a better field for their activity than in promoting measures for the relief, and urging them upon the Government, in behalf of the neglected and maltreated lunatics in our West India Colonies.

J. T. A.

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*The Work and the Counterwork ; or the Religious Revival in Belfast. With an explanation of the Physical Phenomena.*  
By EDWARD A. STOPFORD, Archdeacon of Meath. Sixth Edition. Dublin : Hodges, Smith, & Co. 1859.

Every day convinces us more clearly of the intimate connexion between Psychology and Religion. The fact now seems to have become recognised even by those who have ever been most unwilling to admit it. The history of the various outbursts of enthusiasm or fanaticism by which mankind have been harassed, have had but small effect in producing this admission, upon a large class of minds, who have viewed them as special visitations of the Almighty, for the punishment of the guilty and the purification of the faithful.

During the last quarter of a century, however, the Science

of Mind has been so greatly studied in reference to morbid phenomena, not only by alienist physicians, but by the clergy and the laity, that it is becoming pretty generally a recognised fact, that a healthy religion is not to be engrafted upon a nature which is not in a state of physical and moral integrity. A statement of this kind is liable to some perversion. It is necessary, therefore, to be more explicit. What it is intended to assert is this : The connexion between our physical, moral, and spiritual natures is so intimate, that the least disturbance in the one may affect (and commonly does affect) the others. The balance is unhinged; the beautiful equipoise which constitutes perfect symmetry of character is destroyed. The factors of this symmetrical condition being unhealthy, their compound result is of necessity unhealthy likewise. Hence one of the great difficulties of religious progress—hence the great trials (of their own creation) of religious teachers, who have not learned the threefold nature of the work which they have to do, and the machinery which they have to handle—hence the mischief which they beget, sustain, and perpetuate. They must learn to recognise the influences of mind and body, ere they can see clearly, and appreciate duly, the influences of the Holy Spirit. The Clergy, as a body, have not done this. Indeed our observation is to the effect that there is no other class of men in this country who have been so well educated, and yet, at the same time, have acquired so little of that perception of the real wants of others, so limited a power of adapting themselves to the people among whom their lot is cast. The consequence is that, having the best intentions, and the most solemn view of the responsibilities of their calling, they fail in the highest duties; and they attribute their want of success either to the stupidity of the people, or their own want of earnestness; whereas, in point of fact, their want of success is due to neither the one or the other. It is to be said, in excuse for these failures, that though the general education of the clergy is good, it is not the education required for their peculiar mission. It fits them, indeed, to go out into the world to *learn*: but it does not fit them to go out into the world to *teach*. Nine out of ten of our young clergy, on leaving their Universities, become for twelve months diligent students of Divinity. During that time they mould themselves into the form of the particular theological school to which, either by individual choice, or by hereditary reception, they have already attached themselves. Gifted, at the expiration of this period, with the Apostolic mantle, they go

forth to evangelize the limited or extensive sphere (as the case may be) of their parochial settlement. But what have they learned of the science of the mind? What do they know of the intimate connexion between mind and body? What knowledge have they of physiology? What of physiognomy? What of the various idiosyncracies of individual men and peoples? And, not knowing these things, how comparatively fruitless and powerless in their hands must be the system which they unwittingly acquire a tendency to pervert, though it has its origin direct from God.

These remarks are by no means foreign to our specialty, and may well serve to introduce the very important subject of which the pamphlet at the head of this article treats. For that subject with its miserable details, is one of the self-evident results of that deficiency of education, that lack of sympathy, that want of adaptive power, on the part of the clergy, which we are endeavouring to point out, and which will, we hope, eventually be removed. It is not every man who has the discernment of Archdeacon Stopford: it is not every man who has his courage. We recommend both to the notice of our brethren. It would appear, that startled by the conflicting testimony which he received from various quarters as to the workings of the "Religious Revival in Belfast," our author determined upon visiting the scene of the extraordinary operations which he has discussed so forcibly in the present monograph. And he has arrived at the conclusion, that though it is impossible for a work of this mixed and momentous character to be set in operation, without producing *some* beneficial results, it is yet certain that a vast amount of ignorance and misapprehension is current, as to the real progress of religion in the North of Ireland. This conviction commends itself to us at once, by the circumstance that the Archdeacon's antecedents are of a nature to entitle his opinion to the highest respect and consideration. For not only was he familiar with similar phenomena to those now obtaining at Belfast, during the great Irvingite movement, which is fresh in the recollection of many; but he appears to have recognised the importance of some acquaintance with psychology, and other collateral influences, in carrying on that spiritual work which is the specialty of his profession.

At the very first the Archdeacon appears to have learned the important fact, that the boasted "conversions" of the Revival movement have been among a class of persons—chiefly women—of a peculiar but well-known physical and

mental temperament. He knew all the morbid manifestations of a condition so terrible as, once seen, ever to leave its impression upon an observant and educated individual.

“On reading the earliest accounts of the bodily affections, I found nothing but what I had previously been familiar with in cases of illness of which, in the course of professional duty or at the call of personal friendship, I had had the management, under medical direction. The same observation applies to the accounts which I have since read.

“By personal observation I have satisfied myself of the similarity of the cases now occurring at Belfast with those which I had formerly attended. The movements of the hands, arms, head, &c., in these cases—the expression of the countenance—the sound of the voice, cries, screams, moans, coughs, &c., have each a peculiar character, unlike to anything else. Once duly noticed, these can never be mistaken. To ascertain whether these indescribable, yet unmistakeable signs of the disease which I suspected, did really exist, was one purpose of my visit. I was accompanied by a friend who had never heard the sound, but who is capable of observing and dealing with these things. . . . My first acquaintance with the peculiar character of that cry was singular. Nearly thirty years ago, in Mr. Irving’s chapel in London, I heard Miss —— speak in an unknown tongue. That produced on me one of the most permanent impressions I have received in life. I never for a moment believed in it as inspired ; yet I *felt* it as a sound such as I never had heard before. Long years passed away, and that sound still dwelt upon my memory as something unearthly and unaccountable. Many years after, in the first serious case of this kind that I had to attend, a physician told me at the very outset to mark the peculiar character of the cry. That moment it flashed upon my memory ; it was, with some slight modification, but in its character essentially the same, the unmistakeable cry of Irving’s prophetic—a sound that while I live I never again can mistake or misinterpret.

“That cry I have now recognised in its most unmistakeable form in Belfast. I have also recognised every other symptom and phenomenon as what I have formerly witnessed, and I have seen or heard of none beside. All the ‘cases’ I saw in Belfast were clearly and unmistakeably hysterical ; and, as far as it is possible to judge from description, so was every case which has been described to me.” p.p. 19-20.

There is something truly appalling in the fact that religion is liable to such terrible perversion in the hands of some of

her well-meaning but ignorant ministers. The use which they make, under the impression that they are divinely influenced, of the power which they have acquired over a particular class of minds, is hardly to be credited by those who have had no previous experiences of a similar character. We ourselves have seen this sort of thing too frequently before, to be startled at anything but the wholesale character of the present movement, and the delight with which the doers of these deeds appear to contemplate their destructive operations. So little do these men know of human nature; so largely are they impressed with their own importance, and with a conviction that through their mediate instrumentality the Spirit is working for good upon the unhappy creatures brought within the sphere of their influence, that, in proportion to the prevalence of the morbid phenomena, is their own belief in the excellence of their work, and in the triumphant character of their proceedings.

Our author alludes to the fact that the fanaticism of these Revival preachers chiefly shows itself in the use which they make of *Fear*, in producing the most dreadful agony of mind in weak and timorous temperaments. "Hell, hell, is the one cry," he says; "physical and metaphysical fire" is the favourite motto. The wretched victims who "sit under" these men, have become so impressed with the necessity of an individual experience of the bodily symptoms which they observe in others, of their own class, that they "pray to be struck," a term synonymous, as they believe, with conversion. The consequence is that what should be places of prayer and praise offer scenes of depraved excitement, presided over by men who claim to be the ambassadors of God. Preparations are made for the treatment of "cases," by the office-bearers of the churches, and a prurient curiosity is excited in the uninitiated, while they witness the treatment to which the stricken are subjected. The following is a specimen:

"The preacher, before giving out his text, requested that if any cases occurred the congregation would be quiet, and leave it to the office-bearers of the Church, who had made full preparation for their reception. While the preacher was urging, with the peculiar pointing of the hand before described, 'Your case is as bad as hell can make it,' a poor girl cried and fell. In reproving the excitement which followed, the preacher said, 'God is doing His work in that individual.' When the sermon closed, I obtained admission to the room to which this girl had been carried, pursuant to the arrangements announced by the preacher. The room was small, and

very narrow, and stifling—no air, no water, was there. A more pitiable sight I never saw. This girl was about fifteen years of age, or perhaps a year or two older ; her frame was weak and thin, her small hands stained and ground with hard work, her skin delicate and transparent, her hair and eye-lashes long and dark, her neck marked with scrofula, with a highly intellectual face seldom seen in her class of life, except in weakly girls, and now made painfully interesting by the unearthly expression of cataleptic hysteria ; every movement of the head and hands, every expression of the countenance, every moan, was markedly hysterical. She had previously been struggling and screaming ; she was now quiet, her lips sometimes moving, but inaudibly ; she had spoken of the devil catching souls to throw them into hell, crying ‘ Away ! thou shalt have mine : ’ just the last impression made upon her failing mind.” pp. 55-6.

It appears, moreover, that this was the third attack from which this young woman had suffered, each succeeding one being more severe than its predecessor. The process of restoration consists in these poor girls reclining in the arms of “ coarse young men,” who relate, with glee, to the bystanders, the difficulties of restraining the physical struggles produced by the inward workings of the Spirit, and recount the details of their previous experiences. The effect of this upon weak and ignorant females is not to be questioned. The very *selfishness* of the malady invites them. They force themselves by a continuous mental introversion into the very condition which they witness in others, and these distempered and unholy workings are dignified with a religious name. They listen to the observations which are made about *themselves* ; their morbid sensibility is heightened ; their power to control their emotions is diminished ; the only outlet for these pent-up feelings lies in hysteric screams, and muscular contortions. It should be here observed, that the morbid results produced by this fanatical preaching, bears an as yet undetermined ratio to the existence of certain temperaments : these temperaments, of course, being of the hysteric and excito-motory class. These symptoms are unquestionably largely co-existent with the Revival movement, though not co-extensive with it.

“ How far the two co-extend is very difficult to ascertain. A clergyman in Belfast, who takes a more favourable view than I do of the physical phenomena, gave me his opinion that these cases are more numerous than the cases of conversion without such phenomena ; at the same time, he



expressed his decided conviction that cases of true conversion without any bodily affection, are far more numerous than real cases of conversion accompanied by the bodily affections." pp. 15-16.

This indeed may well be. But the inquiry for us to institute is this: Would these morbid phenomena obtain at all in connexion with religion if the clergy knew their duty, and if their victims were correctly educated, and under proper parental surveillance? And further: does the history of religious revivals justify us in believing that God ever deals with his creatures through a depraving, rather than through a lofty, instrumentality? We believe firmly that he does not. No well-sustained and healthy religious feeling can be built upon Fear. Love is the divine essence upon which to found all that is ennobling and beautiful. For the Love changes not: it is ever serene and equable; it leaves room for no depressions; it generates that cheerfulness which is "an habit of the mind" (as Addison expresses it), and gifts us with "a perpetual sunshine." "True religion (it has been beautifully said) is never spasmodic: it is calm as the existence of God. I know of nothing more shocking than such attempts to substitute rockets and blue-lights for heaven's eternal sunshine."\*

And it seems to us, that Archdeacon Stopford, by his interesting narrative, clearly establishes the propositions with which he sets out; which are—*first*, that the usual bodily and mental affections in this movement are only the ordinary phenomena of a well-known form of disease, which, though it seldom prevails to its present extent, is yet quite capable in its nature of such extension; *secondly*, that in its very nature it is antagonistic, and not favourable, to true religion; *thirdly*, that the present results of this disease and its natural consequences are injurious to woman's nature, and subversive of the Word of God as the sole foundation of our faith; *fourthly*, that this affection is only accidentally, and not properly, connected with true conversion; and that religious revivals can be, and ought to be, wholly disconnected from it.

The fact of the extensive prevalence of hysteria, and of its frequent coexistence with religious excitement, and religious insanity, are too well known to render it necessary for us to dwell upon them. It may suffice to remark that hysteric temperaments have been most prodigiously and unnaturally cultivated by the religious Revival in the North of Ireland, and that about one case in twenty occurs in the male sex, the

\* Bayard Taylor.

sufferer always being weak and feminine in his appearance and habits.\* Moreover, it should be added (and this is a sufficient reason why God should not through such a channel transmit the blessings of His grace), that there is no disease known to us the moral character of which is so abominably *selfish and unsympathising* as that of hysteria. It is a malady of a purely centric character. "I submit it for consideration (says our author) whether this be a proper preparation of our moral constitution for the reception of the Gospel of Christ." It has not the least affinity to that healthful self-communion which is inculcated by our holy religion, and which our intuitive perceptions tell us to be sometimes, and in proper measure, necessary. For the latter has a standard by which to gauge itself, and finds its most legitimate improvement in the outlet of active duties, and the various forms of objective charity towards *others*. The former is only concerned with *itself*; the intensity of the entire being is concentrated upon its own miserable individuality. Herein lies its peril and its poison.

And if the character of this disease is so selfish, and so inimical thereby to the proper cultivation of religious virtue, it is obvious how injurious must be its effects, upon young and docile, and susceptible natures. It unfits for duty. It brings neither immediate nor prospective peace. It has no necessary connexion with what is termed "conversion," with godly sorrow for sin, and a lofty determination to amend the waywardness of the natural man. There is a circumstance, too, in connexion with this vitiated condition, which we deem it right to allude to incidentally, in the hope that it may come to the knowledge (if it has not already done so) of those members of the clerical profession, who have been so instrumental in the production and sustentation of this pseudo-religious movement, which threatens us here in London. And that is, that the victims upon whom they operate are ordinarily girls of strong sexual passions, and who frequently have given those passions indulgencies through a most depraved and unnatural medium. Are these the temperaments which should be given over to the unholy handling of the office-bearers of church or chapel? Are these they who should be

\* "When men are attacked by genuine hysterical fits (globus hystericus, &c.) which certainly does occur, they are, for the most part, effeminate men."---*Feuchtersleben*.

"It is difficult to ascertain the proportion of male cases in Belfast, &c. ; some have stated it to me as one in ten ; others as one in twenty ; I have heard no higher estimate of male cases. The authority for one in twenty appeared to me to be the best I met with." p. 27.

suffered to be restimulated into life by "coarse young men," under the plea that they have the power of "repelling satan?" No. —And we exclaim indignantly with Mr. Stopford :

"Ladies of Belfast—wives and mothers—is it nothing to you that your sex is dishonoured by its utmost weakness being produced and exposed as a spectacle in public assemblies and in presence of the male sex? Ladies, wives, and mothers, I know what hysteria is, and I tell you I was ashamed as a man to witness, as I have done, the exposure of your sex. Have you no right or power to demand that this shall cease? Is not your silence its encouragement? Men and brethren, have you no voices to be raised in arresting it? Should not the man who deliberately produces hysteria in woman (as many do now seek to produce it) be denounced as an outrage upon one sex and a disgrace on the other? Has righteous indignation lost its power? Must we all be content to write upon our graves, 'Ubi sæva indignatio ulterius cor lacerare nequit?'" pp. 50-51.

But there is a worse feature behind, which it is indeed our specialty to notice. Not only has this "Religious Revival" been the means of leading many into the dreadful mazes of hysteria and catalepsy, but it has driven not a few into a state of absolute insanity. Hear the Archdeacon's own words :

"Among the fruits of hysteria as a means of religious revival, I must notice the insanity which it has already produced. In a very brief space of time, and in a very limited circle of enquiry I saw or heard of more than twenty cases. I fear a little more enquiry would have extended it largely. Some of these cases were of a shocking character." p. 60.

After detailing two or three cases the question is asked, "Are these the fruits of of the right preaching of the Gospel of Him who said, 'Come unto me all ye who are weary and heavy laden and I will give you rest?'" There can be but one answer to such a question. They are the combined results of the most unpardonable ignorance on the part of preachers; the most grievous weakness on the part of listeners, generated, in a measure, by the artificial state of society—by the overstraining and deficient nourishment of the body, and the imperfect culture of the mind. All the invigorating and healthy influences of life these unhappy young women are taught to ignore, in order that they may the more thoroughly sustain that morbid condition which has become the curse of many once comparatively happy homes. It is to be deplored that there is no legitimate tribunal to which the authors and instigators of this wide spread mischief

can be made amenable. We can but do our duty in pointing out, with Mr. Stopford, that which he has laboured so earnestly to subdue. And we do ask the people of this country, as of the sister isle, to stand up and resist this profanation of all the sacredness of nature and revelation, carried on under the specious name of "Religious Revival."

The proper means of prevention lie in placing the mind and body within the sphere of various coacting influences, which we proceed to notice.

*Firstly*: The bodily system should not be overtaxed; and it should be sustained by nutritious diet of a variable character. The importance of this in young girls cannot be overestimated. All the animal functions should act rhythmically and harmoniously. Fresh air and fresh water should be an object of primary solicitude. This constitutes a healthy foundation on which to build a healthy religion, which Grace will not fail to appreciate. "God is a good-worker (says the proverb) but He loves to be helped." We cannot give better help than the above, and God will be sure to bless it.

*Secondly*: The cultivation of the intellect should be regarded as a religious duty of as much importance as that of going to church or chapel.\* Habitual cheerfulness should be also inculcated as a religious duty of equal significance. All the pictures placed before young and impressible minds should be cheerful. Above all, said the good Mrs. Fry, who had bitterly experienced what an *uncheerful* religion was,—above all, "give young children cheerful views of religion. First teach them the love and mercy of God in Jesus Christ." Again: let no encouragement be given to an emotional religion, beyond that healthy emotion which prompts to active duty, and discourages *selfish feeling*. *Active duty is the only legitimate culmination of religious thought*. That is practical Christianity.

*Thirdly*: Avoid *talking religion*. Be good. There is no better theology than a virtuous life. Avoid all kinds of religious excitement, especially popular preachers, than whom (as a general rule) no men are so self-satisfied, and therefore,

\* There is abundance of truth and wisdom in the following remark, by one of the ablest men of our times:—"I much fear that by attempting to form the mind and feelings on an exclusively religious type, and discarding those secular standards (as for want of a better name they may be called) which heretofore co-existed with and supplemented the Christian ethics, receiving some of its spirit, and infusing into it some of theirs, there will result, and is even now resulting, a low, abject, servile type of character, which, submit itself as it may to what it deems the Supreme Will, is incapable of rising to or sympathizing in the conception of Supreme Goodness."—*On Liberty*, by J. S. Mill, p. 92. London, 1859.

so unfit for the observation and contemplation of young girls. They *are* popular, because of the undue (that is morbid) development of some feature of character.

*Fourthly*: It behoves all educated adult persons to place before the clergy the serious evils which arise from giving an undue importance to oral excitement (we do not call it "teaching") from the pulpit and platform. Preaching is but a very subordinate means of energizing people into practical virtue; and it is a monstrous evil when used for the purpose of producing hysteria, or any kind of excito-motory disturbance. It behoves also all parents and guardians to discourage in the young an intensifying and emotional religion, by finding a fitting outlet for inward monitions, in the active practical duties of life. Any other religion than one based upon this principle, is (what Isaac Taylor calls) "a flimsy and fictitious pietism."

In conclusion, strongly commending the pamphlet of Archdeacon Stopford to the perusal of our readers, we will allude to the great and obvious importance, of securing for the inmates of our asylums that healthy sort of religious teaching which is based upon a varied educational training, upon much general observation of mankind, upon an acute perception of idiosyncracies of character, upon the culture of a large and abundant sympathy, on the part of those who are elected to the office of chaplains. We have reason to know that in many instances, either by interest, or by that fallacious system of testimonials, without any reference whatever to that individual tact and adaptive power, which might at once point out to a committee of educated gentlemen the fitness of a clerical candidate, many of our asylums have become burdened with the heavy drag of pastoral incompetency, bound up with the unassailable companionship of spiritual earnestness. The blame does not lie with the chaplains, who probably have been educated by the "despotism of custom," in a narrow and traditional mould. But a grievous responsibility attaches to the elective body which can choose a man, so educated rather than one of tact and observation, who happens to be "afflicted with the malady of thought," and thereby betrays symptoms which might hereafter develope themselves into obstructiveness to the mandates of a "Visiting Committee."

We happen ourselves to be one of the Governors of a large General Hospital in London, which some time ago elected a chaplain by an overwhelming majority, in consequence of the superior character of his testimonials. We declined

to give him our support because we saw that these testimonials were of a *school* and of a *type* which (as far as we have observed) do not commonly furnish practical, sympathising, and adaptive ministers. In fact, the testimonials were *too good*. The great ambition, and at the same time the great difficulty, which now besets the governors is to displace this gentleman, who evidences the fallacy of that testimonial system which we have alluded to and condemned.

We cannot but sincerely hope and believe, that as the importance of a mixed education for the Clergy becomes more recognized, and they are grounded in many of those collateral sciences which sensibly affect the usefulness of theological teaching, and minister to the consistency of religious life, we shall see less and less of those fearful forms of insanity, which are based upon the miserable perversions of that great scheme which was meant only for our consolation. Religion will then be a sustained and continuous progress, recognized by all ; and not a spasmodic "Revival" of the most depraved and fictitious character.

E. S.

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*Ulster Revivalism; a Retrospect, by the Rev. W. M. ILWAINE, A.M., Incumbent of St. George's, Belfast.*

The excitement attendant on the "*Ulster Revival*" was at its height, in the town of Belfast, during the month of July in the year 1859 : it is in itself, a significant fact that a person taking up his pen to discuss the subject in the month of December, of the same year, is permitted to treat of it historically. The excitement is over ; it has utterly collapsed : no amount of human effort, (and such has not been spared) has availed to perpetuate it. At the time above referred to, no day in the week, it might be said with truth no hour in the day, passed without some occurrence so strange as to attract the observation of the most listless and inattentive. In certain localities of the town at almost every hour, but especially in the afternoon and evening, or during the breakfast and dinner hour of the working classes, groups were to be seen standing or kneeling at the corners of the streets joining in the devo-

tions or listening to the exhortations of preachers of all ages, and of all classes and denominations, from the boy, and even the girl of twelve or 14 years of age, to the gray-headed minister, layman, class-leader or deacon. From morning until midnight jaunting cars were to be seen, conveying to their homes young females, generally supported in the arms of a friend, or of a young man, an improvised "church office bearer," insensible or frantic, uttering screams and cries, and with dishevelled hair, and the wildest or most deathlike aspect, from the church or meeting house or prayer meeting where they had been "struck." At all hours of the day the streets and neighbourhoods where the "converts" or "*convicts*" (the latter was and is the favourite designation of the class) resided were traversed by the "agents" of the revival, most usually with a Bible in their hands, or beneath their arms; and in these localities every second or third house was the scene of a daily, or weekly, or bi-weekly prayer-meeting: at almost all of which, persons were "struck;" and the resort became a favourite one in proportion to the number of cases so produced. The Revival then had (indeed still has) its literature, periodical and stated. Under the former head may be classed some local journals, in the columns of which, as regularly as the "leader" or "special correspondence" appears in the *Times*, was the daily column headed "Religious Revival in Belfast." These "daily readings" served as most effectual fuel to the revival excitement, and indeed might, of themselves, have gone far, with any well-judging and reflecting person, to reveal the true character of the human element at work in that remarkable movement. Suffice it to say that such journalism was characterized by the most unprincipled exaggeration and indeed unscrupulous mis-statement imaginable. These, of course, were in a great measure concealed and unknown to readers at a distance, but to those on the spot, who were cognizant of the real facts of the case, the spirit of lying which prevailed (for it amounted to nothing short of this), became disgusting in the extreme. Nor was this the only sample of laxity in morals which the revival organs presented. "Anger, wrath, malice," vituperation, misrepresentation and "all uncharitableness" were the weapons of their warfare, wielded with all the energy imaginable in the case, against any who differed from Revivalism. Some of the instruments, too, employed in the production of this species of literature were curiously characteristic; for example—detailed histories of the movement have appeared from the pens of individuals whose habits notoriously oscillated between drunkenness and

sobriety. "Penny-a-liners" and sub-editors of professedly religious and respectable papers, executed their daily and weekly tasks in the same spirit, and with the same results, as regards veracity.

Enough, however, of the state of things in this town during the summer and commencing autumn months: I return to the observation that all this has, to a great extent, if not entirely ceased. The working classes have returned to their ordinary habits. Religious worship and other religious observances have reverted nearly to their ordinary seasons and places. The ebb and flow of worshippers, through the streets and thoroughfares on the Lord's day are just as before the revival excitement began, while a silent, but a steady and potent current of public opinion has set in, the evident bearing of which is to the effect that the sooner the mad-excitement of Revivalism is sent into oblivion, the better for society, for morality and for true religion. It may, therefore, be presumed that we have arrived at the time when "the Ulster Revival" may be considered *retrospectively*, nor will such a retrospect, I am persuaded, be either uninteresting or unprofitable.

It is apparent that the matter before us, has, like most others, its several points of view. There are, for instance, the theologico-religious aspect (an all important one), the psychological, the physical, and the social. Each and all of these are interesting, while other aspects of the same remarkable movement may suggest themselves to other minds. I would, as briefly as possible, review it in some of those above indicated. The first of them, although most in consonance with the studies, the experience, and the calling of the writer, must be very briefly dismissed, as not exactly suitable to the pages of the serial in which these observations make their appearance. I may, however, be permitted, even here, to observe, that from a very early stage in the history of this singular movement, I for one was led, viewing it as a Christian teacher, to take a very jealous and cautious, if not a decidedly unfavourable view of its character and probable results. Holding the Sacred Scriptures, the written Word of God, to be my only guide and standard in the case, I very soon perceived elements at work in Revivalism, concerning which it required no extraordinary amount of common sagacity, to say nothing of spiritual enlightenment, to foresee that they were most likely to land their followers in conclusions and practical results very far indeed from Bible-Christianity, and "the faith once delivered to the saints." I perceived new modes of conversion set on foot and endorsed, if not in entire opposition



to the same process, as revealed in Scripture, at least entirely beside it. The species of *faith* which was commended, and in many cases insisted on, was not either "the substance of things hoped for," or "the evidence of things not seen," but a gross and carnal substitution for that spiritual reality, leading its poor dupes to make their conversion, and their very salvation, to depend on beholding visions, and receiving revelations of the unseen, often so vain, contradictory, absurd, and even blasphemous, that a mind imbued with Scriptural truth in its due proportions, could not contemplate these its perversions without alarm and disgust. Neither could I omit to notice, that these alleged conversions were, I may truly say almost without exception, confined to a single class, and that the very lowest in education and intelligence. This, too, appeared to me directly at variance with the New Testament model. In its earliest day, as in our own day, the Gospel was preached to the poor, but its saving effects are at no time, assuredly, confined to the poorest. I therefore, on these and other accounts which need not be mentioned, felt warranted in waiting to see whither this strange movement would tend; nor had I long to wait. Others joined in it, for the purpose as they said, of "directing the movement," although they did not, and could not, approve of all its adjuncts. I did not feel at liberty so to do: as well, it occurred to me, might any one think of directing a rolling, muddy torrent, by plunging into its midst. I preferred to remain on the bank, nor do I regret having done so.

Not to dwell unduly on this phase of the movement, it may here be briefly stated, that nearly all the error existing in the minds of some well-meaning, and I would hope, Christian persons, who were led astray by this human imitation of what is from above, may be traced to one or two main sources. First and chief, the revealed facts of Scripture, and one of these especially, appear to me not to have been duly appreciated by the parties referred to. The main fact to which I here allude, is the transaction recorded in the Acts of the Apostles—the descent of the Spirit of God, on the day of Pentecost. Numbers of well-meaning, but ill-judging persons, are even now praying for, and expecting another descent of that Divine Being—another Pentecost: hence we have such crude notions and expressions as "a Pentecost in Pennsylvania,"—"at New York, at Belfast," &c. It will be seen, if attention be properly directed to the Divine record, and to these virtual abrogations of its literal and correct meaning, that neither the *personality* nor the *Divine nature* of the Spirit, who

then indeed descended, and who has since abode in the Church, is duly regarded. A second confusion of ideas is largely perceptible in the expectation of a renewal of miraculous gifts and occurrences in the church of the present day. The very nature of a miracle—what it is—when, how, and for what purpose wrought ;—the fact of the entire cessation of miracles ;—the inutility of their restoration, as far as man can judge ;—their real value in connexion with a Divine Revelation ;—and the absurdity of either desiring or expecting their reappearance in our day—these and many other kindred topics, in connexion with miraculous agency, seem to have been either most grievously misunderstood, or lost sight of by many, even Christian teachers, during the late fearful excitement connected with the “Ulster Revival.” Hence the errors into which so many, even good people, have fallen.

Before dismissing these references to the religious and theological department of my subject, I claim permission to re-state, what I have felt constrained on other occasions strongly to declare, viz. :—That it is the duty of all Christian persons interested in such discussions, to draw as broad and clear a line as possible between what is now most lamentably and palpably proved to be the work of man, and that which we have every reason to look upon as the work of God. That a really great and blessed revival of true religion has been in progress throughout not only these lands, but several parts of the continent of Europe, as well as of the New World, and that for some two or three years back, if not longer, it would be as dangerous as ungrateful for any Christian man to gainsay or to deny. Let this work of God, into whose details I mean not now to enter, be thankfully acknowledged. We may truly and reverently call it a *Revival* ; but let it not be for a moment confounded with man’s vain and evil imitation of it, which I have elsewhere ventured to designate, in contra-distinction from the genuine work, under the term of *Revivalism*. It is to the latter, I need hardly add, my reprobatory observations apply.

Viewed in the light reflected by psychological science, the “Ulster Revival” appears in an aspect at once instructive and melancholy. During the height of its dog-day excitement (in the summer months) a whole population presented the appearance of running after, and, in a sense, worshipping an idol, on whose temples and altars might be truly inscribed “to the unknown God.” Any person conversant with the habits of thought and peculiarities of action incident to a semi-Celtic race would feel little surprise at this. “The Re-

vival" became to these a something of which they knew little, but yet felt bound to pursue and absolutely worship. Some unknown and undiscovered properties of good were connected with "taking the Revival." It went by various names. It was in some places "the sickness," in others "the troubles," but known to all as the mysterious "IT" which set a whole population in motion; how or to what end few could say, only that there prevailed an indistinct notion of its being beneficial, and to multitudes a matter absolutely necessary to salvation. IT was to be seen here, and found there, and exhibited elsewhere. Parties endowed with a supernatural power brought it with them, carried it from county to county and from parish to parish. On one occasion IT was brought, as a clerical friend informed me, from a parish neighbouring to his own in a boat, and across a lough, or sea-inlet, but brought back again, as no one in the locality to which its visit was paid was good enough to take it. The common questions were "have you taken it?" or "has *so and so* taken it?" And the replies "not yet, but please God, we hope we shall soon have it." To persons whose minds were prepared for such an exhibition of popular delusion, these sights and sounds though painful, would not prove either wholly unexpected or unaccountable. There was nothing whatever new in all this: it had occurred, again and again, in nearly all periods of the world, its civilization and its religion, and its history was on record in authentic forms, from the earliest periods to those of the middle ages; the Crusades, the Reformation, and later, even until our own day. So far, then, as the multitude was concerned, all this was of easy account; but when persons of superior understanding, although themselves, as already noticed, apart from the influence at work, whatever it might be, not only looked on all this if not approvingly and hopefully, yet with somewhat kindred feelings, expressing their opinion that a divine and heaven-sent influence was, in some mysterious manner at work, and that good would ultimately result from all this mass of bewilderment and corrupt moral commotion, the scenes presented in consequence became painful in the extreme. The *laissez faire* principle was applied to an incredible extent, even by those who could not but perceive the evil palpably emergent from the stream of popular excitement flowing by them. A change for the better, as it was alleged, became suddenly apparent in popular morality. Vice was sensibly diminished; drunkenness and profligacy were vastly on the decrease, and forthwith the conclusion was arrived at that all was right. It never occurred to those who so ruled that the

test of time ought of necessity to be applied : that there was such a phenomenon to be expected as one form of excitement temporarily expelling another, while the substratum of character, in the case either of the individual or the community might remain essentially unchanged. A judge here, and a bench of magistrates there, a synod in this place, a presbytery or a general assembly in another, a dignitary of the establishment or a roving Incumbent elsewhere pronounced the whole movement marvellous, and moreover of divine origin—therefore it was so. All this was extremely trying to the sober-minded observer and thoughtful Christian. Nor was it alone in secret that such trials were found : if any one dared to doubt or deny that a new era in christianity had dawned—that the Revival (in the popular sense of the term) was divine or directly from above, he was instantly denounced as an unbeliever, in the very worst sense of the term, as having committed the unpardonable sin and therefore beyond the pale of salvation, while with singular inconsistency his denouncers offered up public prayers for his conversion. Nor must the reader suppose that all this is imaginative hyperbole : on more than one occasion it has been my own lot to have been made the subject of public announcements, in crowded religious congregations, and my “conversion as a heathen” publicly prayed for, in company with a brother minister of the Establishment from a southern diocese ; and certain editors of public journals, who were pronounced infidels by the parties who offered up their united supplications for their conversion and my own. The reader will pardon this personal allusion, but the matter is really too illustrative of the subject in hand to be omitted.

To do justice in this rapid sketch to the psychical phase of such a movement as that before us, some details, in the way of filling in, ought to be added ; the limits, however, of a paper like the present prevent this. A specimen or two can merely be offered. As in all such epidemic mental phenomena, love for the marvellous, and credulousness to an almost unlimited amount prevailed in the localities where “the Revival” was most fully developed, and not the least so in this town (Belfast), which soon rose into a sort of centre for the whole. Let the following be considered in the sense of “*ex pede Herculem.*” During the earlier part of the excitement a Scottish gentleman, well known as an ardent religionist, and a marvellously extensive publisher of religious tracts in his native land, visited the scene of the Ulster Revival. This gentleman (Mr. Peter Drummond, of Stirling), on his return

to Scotland, not only put into extra circulation a journal avowedly as an organ of revivalism, but travelled to many places giving *vivâ voce* accounts of what he had seen and heard in Ulster. Speaking at a large public meeting in the city of Glasgow, of "the striking down," in terms of approval and thankfulness, Mr. Drummond thus proceeds, as reported in the *Glasgow Herald* :—

"Some of the convicted see in their visions a black horse, others see a black man; others see Jesus Christ on the one side and the Devil on the other, and they cry 'Oh Jesus Christ save me from the Devil.' I do not say that all these people are converted, but I say that such a state is hopeful. We have no right to find fault with the way in which the Lord may be pleased to work. It is very foolish and daring for any, good people or others, to quarrel with such things as these." —

It is perfectly needless to say to what lengths these visions and revelations proceeded, when thus not only believed in by the mad multitude, but fostered and approved by persons of reputed intelligence. It would be difficult to parallel the state of the locality whence I now write during the height of the revival-mania (for such it actually became) in the whole history of similar popular delusions. Every day the town and country teemed with the most marvellous accounts of the supernatural. Music was heard in the air, angels were seen hovering over congregations, and attending the converts as they sang on their way home, after midnight, through the roads and streets. A butterfly hovers over the congregation in a Presbyterian meeting-house, and it is believed to be the embodiment of the Holy Spirit. Large crowds are drawn together, nightly, to witness a man who had come to preach to them "with a blue hand." He does appear, and his hand is blue (whether from the process of dyeing or not it makes no matter), he raises this marvellous member, and girls fall, scream, are carried out, sung and prayed over, and so pronounced converts.

To fill a volume with such disgusting details were but too easy a task.\* To do so might be perhaps instructive, how-

\* Some idea of the lengths to which imposture and superstition attained, may be formed from the following few particulars. In one of the local prints (the *Belfast News-Letter*), which may be considered (as already stated) an accredited organ of Revivalism, under the date of August 18, the following occurs :

"It is worthy of remark, that whilst, apparently, the movement is by no means decreasing in intensity or power, some new features

ever painful ; but now, in the retrospect, to enquire how many are developing, which must prove interesting, and which are in a great measure inexplicable. We refer to what are usually termed 'visions' and 'trances.' The cases of physical prostration are not of so frequent occurrence now as at first ; but some few of those who have professed conversion, have relapsed into a dormant or insensible state, in which they in many instances remain for days together without tasting food or nourishment of any kind. The symptoms vary in the different cases ; but in the majority they have a striking similarity. To convey an idea of these cases, can be best done by referring to one of them. The subject was a poor factory girl about twenty years of age, who resided with her parents, and who some weeks before had been brought under conviction, resulting in a complete change of life and conduct. Subsequently, she had been again stricken, and had since been confined to bed in a state of apparent unconsciousness, with but brief intervals when she could see and converse with her friends. On entering her apartment she was found lying quite still, her eyes firmly closed, and a peculiarly pleasing and happy expression beaming on her countenance. Beside her lay two books—a Bible and a copy of Wesley's Hymns. She began groping for the Bible, and, as soon as she found it, she hurriedly searched for a particular passage, her eyes all the time quite closed. At length she placed her finger upon the 10th verse of the second chapter of 2nd Kings—'And he said, Thou hast asked a hard thing : nevertheless, if thou see me when I am taken from thee it shall be so unto thee ; but if not, it shall not be so.' Again, after a short space, she lifted the hymn-book, and, in like manner, having pointed out a hymn, she allowed the book to be taken out of her hand by a friend, who read the hymn. This she did several times, the passages of Scripture or hymns, as the case might be, being always very appropriate ; and what is still more remarkable, if she happened to lift the book with the top of the page downwards, she instantly turned it and held it correctly, though her eyes were closed. A little time after her face became clouded, as though she were beholding some pitiful or touching spectacle ; then she raised her hands, and pointed to the palm of each, to indicate the prints of the nails in the hands of Christ. She also placed her hand upon her side, and then indicated, as clearly as signs could, the crown of thorns, with the drops of blood trickling down the face from the wounds. The look of horror, and almost anguish on her face, was well calculated to lead to the impression that she was actually witnessing the Crucifixion, and that she felt it was all for her. In a moment after, she brightened up, a smile of inexpressible beauty lightened her countenance, she stretched out her arms, as if to embrace a friend, and then pressed them to her bosom. Betimes her fingers would move as if along the strings of a harp, but all the time not a sound escaped her lips. In her moments of consciousness, she relates strange accounts of visions she had seen—of Christ, of

professing Christian pastors raised their voices in denunciation of these delusions, or rather how many by passivity and a angels, and even of other converts who were then in precisely the same state, though that was unknown to her. Before relapsing into the 'trance,' she told how long she would be 'away,' and at what hour she would return, and always awoke punctually at the moment. On one occasion, some persons, to prove that there could be no deception, laid on the bed a number of books similarly bound, and amongst them a Bible, and narrowly watched the girl's eyes. She lifted some of the books, but instantly dropped them, until she found the Bible. Many remarkable things could be told about such cases; but the foregoing is sufficient to show the nature of them." And again, in the same organ, under date September 5:—

"Events and circumstances of a most extraordinary character are occurring every day in this town and in those adjacent to it, as well as throughout the province. Amongst these are cases of a sort of trance which have become very frequent. There is much about these which is to a great extent unaccountable, yet, worthy of attention. Saturday evening last, a young woman named Anne Devlin, residing in Hunter's Row, off Pinkerton's Row, fell off in this state at eleven o'clock, as she had previously stated she would do. There was no clock or other time-piece in the house by which she could be in anywise guided; and yet, at the hour which she had named, she fell over into a state of unconsciousness to all around, although not of inertion. She was to all appearance quite lighted up with a glow of joy and radiant smiles which baffle description. Her Bible and hymn-book lay on her bed, and with her eyes perfectly closed, she turned over the leaves of these books with a rapidity which could not be approached by any one in a conscious state, and in them pointed out the most appropriate passages and hymns. As for instance she signed with her hand the crowning of the Saviour with a crown of thorns, and quick as thought she turned over the leaves of the Bible, and marked with her finger the passage—"They platted a crown of thorns and put it about his head," &c. This and many other portions of Scripture she turned to just as she required to refer to them, although she could see nothing. She also invariably selected a hymn to suit the portion of Scripture. Before falling into this state, she stated she would recover at eleven o'clock on Sunday night. At that hour last night her poor, miserable residence was filled with all classes. At that hour she began to give signs of returning to her usual state, and at about half-past eleven she was quite restored to consciousness and the use of her speech. Before recovering, she pointed out Zech. vi. 2—8 inclusive. The reader will readily see the appropriateness of the passage by referring to "the Book." She also pointed out the hymn by Charles Wesley, beginning:—

'Glory to God, whose sovereign grace has animated senseless stones.'

The force of these verses, and their applicability to the present revival, will at once be seen by any who will refer to the hymn.

species of blameworthy connivance, permitted the evil to proceed to maturity unchecked, would be perhaps equally instructive, and certainly not less painful. Doubtless to have exposed the evil, if detected (and who might fail to detect what was perfectly patent ?) would have cost something. The penalty would have been persecution and libel in its most debasing and demoralizing form, namely, the being made the

These portions of the Word of God and of the hymn-book she turned to while wholly destitute of the power or use of sight. On recovering, her first act was to pray that God might make her useful in bringing others to the Saviour, and might preserve herself from ever becoming 'a castaway.' *This girl is in great poverty, and is an object of christian charity.*

Thus encouraged superstition attained its height and ended in the most blasphemous attempts at delusion. In Belfast and its neighbourhood were to be seen wretched females, on whose breasts and arms appeared *stigmata*, marked in blue and other colors, alleged to have been placed there miraculously, and exhibiting crowns of thorns, texts of scriptures, and the name of the Redeemer, &c., &c. In some cases these unhappy persons exhibited themselves for money, and crowds went not only to see but to believe! The clumsiness as well as the wickedness of such exhibitions were apparent, and yet they got admirers and approvers, and when need was, apologists. In more than one case the sacred name was spelled "*Jeasus*," yet it was asserted to have been so inscribed by the hand of God Himself.

Even while I write, this state of things has not entirely ceased. In the same revivalist organ the *Belfast News Letter*, under date November 24, the following marvel is related, and attested by the signatures of two Presbyterian ministers—

The date is Drum, Co. Monaghan. "At our ordinary prayer meeting on yesterday evening we had upwards of 1000 people present. Well may we say 'what hath God wrought!' It was true the report you heard. At one of our meetings for prayer, at which there were a number of convictions, a dark cloud formed in the ceiling, and, in course of a few minutes a number of forms bursted out. One in particular was of human appearance, which passed and repassed across all the lights, and descended to the pew in which a young woman was rejoicing. The appearance lasted three minutes or more, produced no terror but joy, especially among all the converts. Perhaps 300 saw it and could testify to the reality. I cannot tell what it was; the substance is in heaven, and will not be visible until the time when every eye shall see Him. We live however in strange times. Individuals see, or think they see SOMETHING, through which a sense of peace is imparted: &c., &c., &c."

Such are the teachings of the spiritual guides of the deluded and self-deluding people. Need it be wondered at that revivalism is producing results which cause intelligent christians to blush?



subject of public prayers, in order that the parties so prayed for might be converted. But the question remains, ought not such evils to have been exposed? Some certainly did so, from among the Ministers of the Establishment, while the general body of the clergy of that church, with thankfulness it must be added, stood aloof from "the madness of the people," in silent, and it may be believed, prayerful surprise and disgust: but it must also be added that some, even of the body referred to, were found to "join the revival" as it was called, and in so doing, unconsciously it must be hoped, aid the miserable design of those who turned it into selfish and sectarian capital, of the very worst description.\*

It is time, however, that we come to the physical aspect, and thus to what, after all, has proved the leading feature of the Ulster Revival. One observation here demands especial attention, which is this: whatever was said or thought at the time, it cannot now be denied that the physical features in the case, were not merely an accompaniment or an accident, as some would have them to be, but a main, important, and, in truth, inseparable part of this singular movement. In so saying, I would be understood as characterizing that spasmodic, human imitation of what is Divine, and therefore blessed, which was imported into this town and neighbourhood, visibly and tangibly, by the leaders of Revivalism. The fact, which cannot be denied, that the entire of these physical seizures, which afterwards assumed the form of an epidemic, and raged in Belfast for some two or three months, were actually and visibly commenced by the instrumentality of some "converts" from the neighbourhood of Ballymena, goes far to illustrate this portion of my subject. These manifestations appeared to a large extent, and accompanied by unparalleled excitement, during the spring of the year, in the locality just referred to. It was found that a sort of mesmeric influence (for such it has actually proved), attended the presence and addresses of some three or four peasants, who had for several preceding months been exercising the office of preachers in and about Ballymena. Some of these persons

\* Among other useful pamphlets and tracts, on the subject of the Ulster Revival, published during the time of its extreme excitement by ministers or members of the Established Church, the following may be specified: *Sermon*, by the Rev. G. Salmon, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin; *The Work and the Counter Work*, by E. A. Stopford, Archdn. of Meath; *Sermon*, by Rev. E. Hincks, D.D., Rector of Killybegh, Diocese of Down; *Words of Caution and Counsel*, by Rev. T. Mac Neece, D.D., Rector of Arboe, Diocese of Armagh, Abp. King's Lecturer, T.C.D. A most valuable reply to the letters of two medical practitioners in the town of Coleraine, and in refutation of certain most erroneous views of theirs has more recently appeared from the pen of Stephen Gwynn, jr., A.B., Coleraine.

visited Belfast, at the invitation of certain Presbyterian ministers, in the month of June. Immediately, the same results followed here. Young women began to be "struck," and I shall give the description of the manner in which they, as well as others, were affected, in the words of one of the leaders of Revivalism, the Rev. S. J. Moore, Presbyterian Minister of Ballymena. His words are :

"*The physical features.* When the conviction as to its mental process reaches its crisis, the person, through weakness, is unable to sit or stand, and either kneels or lies down. A great number of converts in this town (Ballymena) and neighbourhood, and now, I believe in all directions in the north, where the Revival prevails, are "*smitten down*" as suddenly, and they fall as nerveless and paralyzed, and powerless, as if killed by a gun shot. They fall with a deep groan, some with a wild cry of horror, the greater number with the intensely earnest plea, "Lord Jesus, have mercy on my soul!" The whole frame trembles like an aspen leaf, an intolerable weight is felt upon the chest, a choking sensation is experienced, and relief from this found only in the loud earnest prayer for deliverance," &c.

The intelligent reader will at once perceive in the above extract, the singular mixture of the physical with the psychical, or, as its author would prefer to call it with the spiritual. This is as striking as it is suggestive, and really affords a special clue to unravel the entire apparent mystery of Ulster Revivalism. It may well and easily be imagined what effect recitals, in still more minute detail, such as the above would have, when given to over-crowded assemblies, mostly of females, in over-heated atmospheres, during the hottest days of the late unusually close summer. Wherever the process was put into operation, it marvelously succeeded. Thus the revival was imported into Belfast, and with those physical accompaniments it spread, until the whole population was affected—the stronger nerved, better fed, and less nervously susceptible with a species of "reign of terror" feeling—the poor, weakly, susceptible, and over wrought, as well as least instructed, with that mysterious visitation, in all its forms and degrees from simple hysteria to catalepsy, and mentally, from amazement and bewilderment, to theomania and insanity, in its other and most intense forms.

It may seem unsuitable that one, not professionally qualified, such as the writer, should enter into details respecting the physical features of this singular epidemic affection, and yielding to such a feeling, I shall make my observations under this head as briefly as possible. At the same time,

it is but just to remark that, while every resident physician of note and competence with whom I have conversed on the subject entirely agrees on the *diagnosis* (so to speak), which from an early stage of its prevalence, I was led to take of the matter in question, but few of that profession had seen many cases, some not a single one of the persons affected. This is a highly significant fact, and will at once go far to characterize the movement, and to account for the comparative silence of many of the able and highly respectable medical practitioners of Belfast in this regard. From the first it was accounted something like blasphemy and impiety, that medical aid should be sought for any of the "cases." It was believed to be a strictly Divine and supernatural malady, to be treated by the ministers of religion and church officers only. When a young woman dropped "as if by a gun shot," and "screached" (that is the word), instantly these church officers, generally young men, rushed to the spot, in the assembly, carried her out, convulsed and quivering in every feature and limb, and conveyed her to the still more heated session room, vestry, or school room, where the process of praying and singing over her was commenced and carried on "until she had got peace." When this state was not attained to in the crowded rooms just mentioned, the sufferer was carried home, generally through the streets, screaming or swooning, on a public conveyance, and in her own often close and stifling dwelling, thronged by the whole neighbourhood, the same process was continued until the desired result, as above indicated, followed. The convert was then employed as an agent of the revival; indeed, as a matter of course, she (or he, as the case might be), set forth on the avowed errand of bringing as many others as possible, to the same condition, and by the same means. It is needless to pause here, in order to point out the resemblances between all this, supposing it to be human and imitative of what is really spiritual, and the reality counterfeited; neither will it be needful to dwell on the consequences, but too certain to result from such an imitation; and, assuredly, results the most lamentable have followed. The natural and providentially appointed means for meeting the case were set aside; not a drop of water or a particle of fresh air was allowed to the "converts." The physician of the body was rudely and ignorantly thrust from his legitimate position, while ill-informed and enthusiastic, not to say *blind* spiritual guides, assumed his place, as well as abused their own; and we are, even already, in a fair position to judge what have been the consequences.

Under the circumstances just noticed, I may be permitted to give expression to my convictions as to the physical malady or maladies, which have been but lately prevalent here, in an epidemic form. At an early stage of its development, I felt myself obliged publicly, to state my opinion, that an epidemic disease, whose seat was in the nervous system, had appeared, and was progressing in this locality. To this opinion I felt justified in adhering all through ; and there are, I may add, few whose authority is worth quoting, cognizant of the facts of the case, who will now deny its correctness.

Even from what has been above stated, respecting the movement, the assertion will hardly be contravened that the physical affections under consideration must be regarded as an essential part of it. Let this be distinctly borne in mind. If so, it will materially aid in the necessary discrimination between the silent, real, and spiritual movement, more than once referred to in these remarks, which many of devout minds and sober judgment, thankfully recognize as in progress, not only in these lands, but elsewhere, and that dangerous imitation of the same, if not of human origin certainly promoted and extended by human, and most questionable means.

That bodily affections of an unusual type were prevalent in Ulster during the months of June, July, and August, in almost every instance, accompanying what was called the revival movement, and connected with the same more or less directly and immediately, none could or can deny. Under sermons, at prayer meetings, and in their own houses, people of both sexes and of all ages fell, as though shot by a gun. Then followed the accustomed cries and subsequent weakness or faintness, sometimes loss of one or more senses ; and, by degrees, restoration of bodily ease and mental possession. In almost every case the entire process was marked by the religious character. The words uttered, the sights alleged to have been seen in vision, and the peace which followed, were of a perfectly stereotyped character. The persons affected were, notoriously, in the proportion of nineteen to twenty, of the same sex ; females, of the same age, from ten and twelve, to twenty or twenty-five, of similar habits, most generally from the manufacturing class, and almost universally of the very lowest order of mental culture. Here, then, were certainly conditions of this mental or spiritual epidemic, engrafted on the physical one, which invited investigation, and admitted of generalization.

I may be permitted to state, that while in certain country and outlying districts, and among a rural population, generally well taught in the letter of scripture, the movement assumed a mixed, and in some instances, a quiet, and as far as religious impressions went, a really hopeful character, when it reached this town, the capital, as it may be styled, of manufacture in Ireland, and inhabited by a strangely mixed population, the movement assumed a very different, and I regret to add, a much more objectionable form.

As to the character, however, of the physical element, I must confess that almost from the first, no doubts rested on my own mind: *Hysteria* was largely developed. This will be (or at least was) pronounced an irreverent, perhaps a profane assertion; but let it be denied if possible. One had but to consult any standard medical work on the subject, at once to perceive the close resemblance, amounting indeed to identity, between the then prevalent affections, and those generally and properly named, hysterical. I am quite aware that some few gentlemen of the medical profession have denied this position, and in a large measure, staked their professional character on this denial; nevertheless, I am thoroughly satisfied that, had the numerous cases of the persons "struck" during the revival movement, been submitted to competent medical treatment, instead of being handed over to ministers and "church officers," the all but universal opinion pronounced would have been in accordance with what I here venture to assert. In illustration of it, I would just quote from the work of a physician of eminence, one extract. I allude to the "*Treatise on the Nervous Diseases of Women*," by Thomas Laycock, M.D., (London, 1840.) My readers will not require to be reminded that in this extract we have almost a counterpart of what has taken place in Belfast, at the time referred to.

Under the general head of hysterical affections Dr. Laycock thus writes—p. 179.

"The propensity to imitate has been considered as a simple faculty of the mind, but it is in reality a very complex operation, accordingly as circumstances vary. In most instances there must be first a susceptibility of excitement developed, and this may be either local or general. All local, spasmodical or rythmical movements are also more readily excited in proportion to their frequency; or in other words the susceptibility is increased by repetition. \* \*

"Hence females and children are more liable than men, indeed are alone liable to epidemic and endemic convulsions. The mind, however, may be so excited by oratory, or by religious exercises,

that a temporary susceptibility is developed. The orator who weeps or laments with the purpose of infecting his hearers, first prepares them by appealing to their feelings or passions. By a stranger who came in unprepared to be moved to tears the orator would be considered rather an object for ridicule than imitation. The infectious mirth of the social is very analagous; let an individual suddenly join a laughing party—he will be disposed to be rather morose than gay, and will perhaps surlily remark, that they are amused at little cost of wit.

“It is in the convulsions of popular assemblies thus excited, that we have an illustration of the effects of fearful attention, and the type of those extraordinary epidemic and endemic choreas and odd muscular movements which have, from time to time, caused so much wonder. The most remarkable of these epidemics is that which occurred in 1374, and followed the “black death.” It found men’s minds excited by the dreadful scenes they had witnessed, and by the ardent religious exercises they performed, with the hope of escaping the desolating plague. In Aix la Chapelle, at that time the focus of German superstition, the people formed circles hand in hand, and appearing to have lost all control over their senses, continued dancing for hours together in wild delirium, regardless of the by-standers, until at length they fell to the ground in a state of sheer exhaustion. They then complained of extreme oppression, and groaned as if in the agonies of death until they were swathed, or clothes tightly bound about their waists, on which they recovered. They were swathed to relieve the tympanitis from which they suffered. When the disease was completely developed, the attack commenced with epileptic convulsions. According to Mezeray, as quoted by Sauvages, in Holland it was called St. John’s dance, and the people crowned with flowers, and naked, went dancing and singing through the streets and churches.” \* \* \* \*

“Many similar instances might be mentioned. In Lanarkshire, in 1742, convulsions resembling the preceding, that is, accompanied by a religious mania, spread epidemically; and the same occurred more recently in Tennessee and Kentucky. Sometimes little or no religious feeling was complicated with the epidemic; as in Zetland, in 1744; in Angus-shire, under the name of the leaping ague; and in Wales, in 1796, as described by Dr. Haygarth. Wherever, in fact, a number of females or children assemble together, and two or three become affected by convulsions, it is exceedingly likely many others will be affected also, and hence the numerous histories in which they are described as attacking the female and juvenile inmates of factories, schools, congregations, hospitals and families.”

Another testimony of even more practical value may be adduced. During the height of the then prevailing excitement Belfast was visited by a gentleman, eminent for sagacity and intelligence, and although not of the medical

profession, one who had, owing to peculiar circumstances, made hysterical complaints his special study, and who was known as a writer and lecturer on the subject. I allude to the Ven. E. A. Stopford, Archdn. of Meath. The result of his personal investigations, accurately and painfully conducted, is given in a pamphlet, entitled, *The Work and the Counter-work*, published shortly afterwards. This pamphlet ought to be in the hands of any person anxious to form an accurate opinion on the late movement in Ulster. A movement of a similar kind is already commencing in England; and, although it may not, in that country, where the Saxon element prevails, be productive of effects similar to those by which it was marked in its course among our Celtic population, I cannot forbear a most solemn warning to all concerned, and especially to my brethren, the clergy, should it come amongst themselves and their flocks unprepared for its visitation.

While on the subject of warning, I cannot avoid giving utterance to another, respecting a perfect deluge of small publications at present making their appearance from the English, and especially the London press. I have already glanced at some of these, and laid them down with feelings of the deepest regret. They are generally from the pens of well-meaning and doubtless religious, but in almost every case most enthusiastic persons,—including Ministers of various denominations, military officers, and even lady-tourists. The *couleur de rose* which glows on the pages of these brochures may be, and no doubt is, highly attractive to those parties, at a distance, for whose benefit and information these little publications have been sent forth; while to one conversant with the Irish character, born and living among its population, the impressions produced by the conviction that these English, and even Scottish visitors, have been totally misguided in their impressions, and have erred in their conclusions and expectations, approaches to regretful certainty.

To return, however, to Archdeacon Stopford: that gentleman's deliberate conclusion respecting "all the cases" seen by him in Belfast was, that they were "clearly and unmistakeably hysterical." As before observed, the value of this conclusion can only be appreciated by a perusal of his tract, and I again venture to urge this on all concerned. In explaining some of the phenomena witnessed by him, this writer goes on to observe—(p. 23)

"The prevalence of hysteria in connection with religious revival, is by no means so unaccountable as it may at first

sight appear. It is of the nature of the disease (1) To attach to any idea connected with itself ; (2) To be propagated by sympathy ; (3) To imitate any form of hysteric action seen or heard of."

With such corroborative testimony, I may well be permitted to reiterate the assertion that nearly all the phenomena, some of them of a most painful kind, exhibited here during the revival excitement, were due to the existence and prevalence of this terrible complaint. One objection, frequently urged to this statement, is that males were so affected ; and the answer is found in the well-known fact, given on the authority already quoted (Dr. Laycock) and others, that this is far from an unknown occurrence. I can myself entertain no doubt, from personal observation during the late excitement, that not only were hysterical affections noticeable in males, but other species of connected malady, such as *chorea*, and epileptic, and even cataleptic hysteria ; all, of course, in a modified form.

It is perfectly painful, in a retrospect like the present, to recall not only the actions, but the expressions of many, even teachers of religion, on this and kindred subjects, during the presence among us of the revival fervour. For example, in the month of July last, when this delusion was at its height, and numberless unhappy young females were falling victims to these hysterical paroxysms, one clergyman of the Established Church addressed his congregation, from the pulpit, in this town, as reported in the public journals in these words—

"The physical manifestations were complained of. Were they to determine how the Holy Ghost should work? The physical effects would pass away, and the bodily strength would be renewed, and the sinner, in most instances, converted. The Christian man, he believed, would pause before he attempted to put down what was producing such blessed results. It was said to be hysteria. Then he would say hysteria for us all, when it produced such results. Any thing to arouse the soul. He would thank God if any member of his congregation should be so affected, rather than that any of them should remain in deep torpor of soul and go into everlasting destruction. He believed the work was entirely of God."

Such statements, pronounced during the reign of as, I believe, a fearful popular delusion, and in the presence of a terrible physical malady, over a congregation including, no doubt, many young and otherwise nervously excitable females and others, require no comments. The most charitable sup-



position is, that the person who uttered it was in entire, and I will add, happy ignorance, of the fearful malady referred to.

These retrospective remarks must, however, be brought to a close. What, then, shall be said of the results of the movement, viewed socially? Some will readily reply, as the popular expositors and pamphleteers already cited, and not a few on the spot, that these have been excellent, surpassing almost credibility, as evidenced by the most mighty social reformation ever witnessed in any land. Of all this I must acknowledge that I entertain grave doubts. Certain it is that the most conflicting accounts are abroad on this very subject, and that exaggeration to an almost incredible amount has prevailed on the side of revivalism. My individual experience, living as I do in its very centre, is, that while vice has been checked to a certain extent, and for which all who love Christian morality feel deeply thankful, this very alleged extent has been most thoroughly exaggerated, and that there is, moreover, an extreme danger of a very grievous reaction setting in.

Just to give an example or two, the revival journals boast of *drinking*-habits being all but exterminated, and of public-houses innumerable being closed. I have ascertained that no single public-house, in this entire town, has been, from these alleged causes, closed during the past twelvemonths. The same organs published, some few months ago, a most marvellous account of the reformation spreading among women of profligate character. As a proof, it was stated that *nine* of such unhappy persons were "struck" and converted during the course of one day, and had left their wretched occupation. I made enquiry immediately afterwards, and found that from some of the prevalent causes it was a fact that several of these poor creatures, I believe nine, had taken temporary refuge in the union workhouse; but I also ascertained, that in a very few days, they, every one of them, returned to their abandoned habits. So I might go on to multiply instances, affording to my own mind at least, ample ground for caution before such glowing anticipations of coming and general reformation are arrived at and rested on.

One more immediate result from the progress of "revivalism" in this province, must, in justice to the subject, be specified. *Insanity*, generally in one of its worst forms, *Theomania*, and not unfrequently in others, perhaps equally to be dreaded, such as *acute mania*, has been developed to a fearful extent. Speaking guardedly, I may assert that, from unquestionable sources, I have come to the knowledge of at

least fifty such cases within the last six months in this immediate neighbourhood. In three of our asylums, not to mention the numerous cases which could not, and cannot be admitted, owing to the overcrowded condition of the asylums, no fewer than thirty-three patients (five male and twenty-eight female) have been received, during the space of time above mentioned, whose derangement is clearly referable to this cause.

I am aware that apologists have been found for revivalism, even under this head of indictment; but few sober-minded and unprejudiced professors of Christianity will join them. The religion of Scripture and of Reason, revealed for the blessing and salvation of our race, and applied by the Spirit of Truth, never issued in insanity, however it may have rendered sane the mentally afflicted.

Such is a personal retrospect of the movement, strange but by no means unparalleled. Past eras and other lands, have furnished others quite as singular and almost identical in their features and results. Time is abundantly testing that which has but just rolled over Ulster; nor have I the least doubt but that the verdict of all who can judge with unbiassed minds and Christian discernment, will, before long, be given in favour of the views which, as an attentive observer, I have here ventured to submit to public consideration.

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*On General Paralysis.* By DR. HARRINGTON TUKE.

(Continued from page 93.)

In attempting to describe the rise and progress of the paralysis, that forms one of the most remarkable symptoms of 'paralytic insanity,' I propose to notice first the affection of the muscles of the tongue, which is generally that which most strongly arrests the attention of the physician, who sees a patient in the second or fully-developed stage of the malady. In the last stage, the power of articulation is entirely gone; in both of these the paralysis is so marked, and the evidence of mental disease so clear, that the nature of the case can hardly be mistaken. It is in the very onset of the malady, that the peculiar lisp or failure of utterance, indicating disorder of the nervous centres, at or near the orifice of the nerves supply-

ing the tongue muscles, is of paramount importance in the diagnosis, because if this symptom be superadded to eccentricity of conduct, or distinct delusion, there can remain but little doubt as to the existence of this special and almost invariably fatal form of disease. The alienist physician accustomed to watch the progress of general paralysis, and to recognize its slightest indication, cannot mistake the faulty pronunciation in question, for that of any other form of malady ; but inasmuch as there are several affections of the speech that might mislead an unskilled practitioner, it may be useful to describe some of these derangements of the apparatus of articulation, and specify their points of difference. In the first place, an affection of the speech, very much resembling the embarrassed articulation of incipient paralytic insanity, may be the result of temporary local congestion at the base of the brain, or may be produced by sudden fright, or by the action of poisons, particularly aconite ; the indistinct utterance attending intoxication, is a familiar instance of poisoning of this kind : and all these are easily distinguished by the suddenness of their occurrence, and by their history, from the stutter of general paralysis. The articulation of the habitual stammerer is sometimes not unlike that which is the result of serious organic mischief ; and still more striking in its resemblance, is the hesitation of speech, that may be observed in some cases of poisoning by lead. The ordinary signs of saturnine poisoning, the blue gum-line, the dropping of the wrist, &c., will mark this latter malady—the history of the case will prevent any mistake in the former. I may mention here, that I believe it to be an exceptional occurrence to find a person of unsound mind who stammers ; such a case at least must be very uncommon, a fact which I can only account for on the supposition that the greater disease prevents any manifestation of the minor nervous derangement.

There is another very remarkable speech affection which is not uncommon, and is important to recognize as being evidence of a serious brain disease, although altogether distinct from the disorder we are considering. This symptom may be either apparent in the utterance of one word for another, without the consciousness of the patient, or in the changing of one word for another from a defect of memory, or from both of these causes combined. Dr. Watson gives a remarkable instance of the first form in his "Lectures," the case was one of effusion on the brain, which ended at last fatally, the patient wishing to say "pamphlet" called it "camphor," and wishing to say "not quite right" he abbreviated it into "n' i' quite." His

intellect appeared undisturbed. In these cases the same word is sometimes always applied to the same thing, so that those in attendance on the patient learn to understand him; Dr. Abercrombie gives as an instance the case of a gentleman who, when he wanted "coals," said "paper," conversely asking for paper, when he required it under the name of "coals." In the case of a lady, whose state of mind became the subject of a legal enquiry, in the course of which I was consulted, this symptom was strangely marked: she had had an apoplectic seizure some months before, but there were at that time no symptoms of paralysis of the limbs remaining; she spoke volubly, frequently, however, putting one word for another, as 'sister' for 'brother,' 'workhouse' for 'asylum,' sometimes appearing conscious, and sometimes not, of the mistakes she was making. Another most marvellous speech affection is manifested in those cases, in which the patient, after disease that has attacked the brain, speaks in spite of himself another language. This is not so purely mental as may be imagined. In a case that came under my own observation, after a long continued cataleptic seizure, the patient entirely lost the power of utterance; the first articulate sounds he made for some months, were an imitation of the key bugle, and for a long time he expressed his wants by a rude imitation of its notes, he afterwards spoke a Dutch patois, which no one could understand, and it was twelve months before he could express himself in English.

Serious as are all these forms of speech affection, and important as they must be considered in their bearing upon disease, they are entirely distinct from the stammer of incipient general paralysis, which slight as it is, is yet of an import as grave as that of any one of them. The ear of the physician accustomed to the treatment of the insane, detects instantly this fatal lisp; it is to him an almost unerring index, not only of the malady itself, but of the stage which it has reached; and whether he does, or does not, believe that the disease of the brain it indicates is incurable, he must know that it is serious, and by no means likely to yield quickly to treatment.

Easy as this symptom is to recognize in practice, it is by no means easy to describe it in words. Guislain, who speaks of the "characteristic hesitation" of general paralysis, and of the trembling of the tongue in the formation of words and sentences, does not attempt to do more, resting satisfied with having pointed out its value in diagnosis. Calmeil lays special stress upon the embarrassment of the articulation in these cases, and thus describes it: "The words are no longer dis-

tinctly articulated, the patient is forced to make an effort to speak, the words do not follow readily; there is a kind of *begaïement* much resembling that which is observable in drunken men."

Superior in graphic portraiture to this description of Calmeil's, is the account of the affection of the speech in general paralysis, which Dr. Conolly has given in the Croonian Lecture already referred to. Dr. Conolly has, moreover, described a more initial stage of the malady, one still more difficult to describe in words. There is in these patients, he says, "not a stammer, no letter or syllable is repeated, but there is a slight delay, a lingering or error, a quivering in the formation of the successive words or syllables, apparently from a want of prompt nervous or motive influence in the lips and the tongue." Dr. Bucknill, speaks of this speech-affection as being of "more value in the diagnosis of the early stage of paralysis than all the others," and he very happily likens the "tremulous motion of the lips" so frequent in these cases, to that seen in persons "about to burst into passionate weeping." It is impossible for those who have once seen the symptoms, not to be struck with the exact fidelity of this description.

It is not difficult to understand why it is that the articulation should so soon be affected in this disorder. The number and variety of muscles that move the tongue, and the necessity for their exact co-ordination to produce the complex movements concerned in the human utterance, render it obvious that a paralysis affecting the general nervous system, would be likely to appear first in muscles so delicate in their action, and so much under the immediate influence of the nerves. The progress of these cases demonstrates that this is probably the correct view; the patient, although the practised ear detects the fatal *begaïement*, can at first protrude his tongue with ease, and does so sometimes to the last; but in the great majority of cases, the tongue-muscles in a later stage become distinctly paralyzed, the patient can only thrust it from his mouth by a succession of efforts, and withdraws it in the same manner; some patients will even attempt to drag it from their mouths with their fingers, conscious of their inability to effect its protrusion by natural efforts. In this particular form of paralysis, the tongue is not turned more to one side than the other, unless from some accidental mal-position, or absence of teeth, and this will assist in the diagnosis of general from ordinary paralysis, already, however, sufficiently separated by

the suddenness or slowness of their respective approaches. Dr. Bucknill has attempted to classify the letters in the pronunciation of which there seems to be the greatest difficulty, words, he says, "composed of numerous consonants are shuffled over in a very marked manner." I have not succeeded in verifying this, no two patients seem to me alike in this respect, nor does the same patient always fail upon the same sounds. The fact has not escaped Dr. Bucknill, that the speech of these patients will sometimes become temporarily much more distinct, and that in the early stage of the disorder, by an effort of volition, they can articulate any given word correctly. A clergyman under my care, whose speech is almost unintelligible, will yet *read* the church service seldom failing in any word, and although not able to read fast, he can read distinctly. I have sometimes fancied that the liquids, especially the L's, are more difficult to pronounce, but it is almost impossible to demonstrate this, or to find two physicians whose experience will coincide. There is another symptom, which although not strictly connected with any abnormal change in the mechanism of speech, is still common in general paralysis. At the end of a sentence the patient will repeat the last word over and over again, without any regard to its value in the emphasis, sometimes a whole sentence is thus repeated. In some patients there is great loquacity at the commencement of the illness; others are less talkative; both finally become totally speechless.

As the earlier approaches of the physical symptoms of general paralysis clearly indicate the base of the brain as being one of the seats of morbid deposit, or structural change, it might be expected that the nerves supplying the organs of special sense, together with the fifth pair, and the facial nerves would soon give evidence of diseased action. Accordingly, a failure of power in the auditory nerve is common, and amaurosis, even going to total blindness, not very rare; I have myself seen it occur in two cases. The effect of the diminution of nerve force, and loss of tone in the nerves supplying the muscles of the face, is evinced by the trembling of the lips, mentioned already, and by a very characteristic symptom, that has not, I think, been sufficiently remarked. The pathognomonic value of the drawing up of the angle of the mouth, and of the flaccid buccinator widely blown out in the coma of effusion, is well understood; equally valuable to the alienist physician, is the peculiar expression of the face which marks the incipient stage of general paralysis. It is not an entire loss of motion, the muscles still act, although in a later

stage they do become really paralyzed, and the patient lies with the face covered as it were with a mask of immovable muscular tissue; but even in a very early stage, there is a marked look of indifference, frequently accompanied with drooping of the upper, and infiltration of the lower eyelids. There is a heavy and sensuous expression about the mouth, the lips becoming full and relaxed; the eyes are prominent; the features rounded from deposition of adipose tissue; the whole character of the face changes, the emotions are no longer expressed in it, or at least not so vividly, and its rigidity is in startling contrast with the general vivacity of speech, and restless movement of the patients.

The absence of all anxiety in the countenance, producing the same appearance of youth, which is frequently so striking in the face of the dead, is often manifest in these cases of general paralysis. I was much struck by the remark of a witness in an important lunacy inquiry into the state of mind of a gentleman whom I believed to be a subject of this disease, but whom the witness considered perfectly well, and had indeed met for the purpose of attesting his signature to a will: "I had not seen my friend," he said, "since we were boys at Eton, and I was much surprised at his still youthful appearance, he seemed quite unchanged." This boyish look in men past even the middle period of life is very striking, and is not, I think, observable in any other form of brain disease. The tone of the muscles of the face being impaired, they no longer vary with the emotions of the swift-divining mind: the partially paralyzed muscles no longer show the lines indicative of care, of sorrow, of ambition, or remorse, but reassume the look they wore in boyhood, before the physiognomy was stamped with the traces of other passions than hope and love. It is quite possible that the peculiar mental contentment which is so characteristic of some forms of paralytic insanity may have some share in producing this peculiar *facies*; but the rigid look, the fearfully youthful face, may be found conjoined with the sighs of a melancholic, the suspicious reveries of the monomaniac, or the mutterings of the perfectly demented lunatic, as frequently as in the earliest stage of that general paralysis, in which none of these symptoms appear till towards the close of life.

I have spoken of the deranged action of the muscles of the tongue, of the impairment in the power of the special senses, of the want of tone, ending at last in perfect paralysis of the facial muscles, and I have stated the universal opinion that all these depend upon centric disorders affecting the nervous

functions. It may then be asked, to what extent is the power of sensation in the nerves impaired. The evidence on this point is not so clear. It is abundantly certain that in the later stages, sensation is blunted to a very great extent, if not entirely lost. I have seen patients bear without sign of suffering what would be to others absolute torture; but in the earlier stage it is difficult to get any reliable data for our decision. The symptom mentioned by Dr. Bucknill, the grinding of the teeth by some of these patients, is evidence that in them at least sensation is gone, as there can be no more forcible example of delicate sensory power than is afforded by the dental division of the superior maxillary nerves, and if any sensation remained it is hardly possible that so painful a process could be continued; and that the grinding movement is not simply spasmodic, is proved by the fact of its being discontinued during sleep.

The origin of the motor portion of the fifth nerve is so entirely distinct from that which supplies the sensory nerves of the teeth are derived, that it is easy to understand the possibility of the function of one being impaired or destroyed, while that of the other is only weakened or even unaffected; but the presence of active grinding movements of the jaw, produced by muscles supplied from the same nerve would be almost inexplicable did we not know that the internal pterygoid nerve, which is mainly concerned in the production of the grinding movement of the jaw, receives a large branch from the optic ganglion, and therefore the muscle it supplies becomes independent to some extent, of any injury or disease affecting only the fifth nerve.

At an early period after the accession of physical symptoms in paralytic insanity, a peculiar carriage of the head forms a very prominent feature. It is no longer unconsciously balanced upon the shoulders as in health; the patient seems to support it by a voluntary effort, and there is thus a rigidity of the neck induced which is very characteristic of the disease.

It has been a much discussed question whether the progressive paralysis that usually marks this disorder, appears first in the lower or in the upper extremities; from my own observation, and from an examination of the arguments adduced on both sides, I have no doubt whatever that the upper extremities are really first attacked, although the want of power in the lower limbs, would naturally be the first to attract attention. In the onset of the malady as Foville has pointed out there is rather a want of precision of the muscular movements than absolute paralysis, and in such cases as I am describing



in which the disease is gradual in its advances, the progress from this impairment of muscular power to its entire loss can be traced. In the early stage there is a want of equilibrium ; in walking the legs are set apart, the balance of the column is attempted to be preserved by widening its base, the gait is staggering, the patient walks as if about to run, jerking one leg forward ; at a later period he stumbles, the limbs can no longer support the trunk, which lies finally an inert mass. The course of the disorder in the upper extremities is not so demonstrable, but it will be found at an early stage, that the power of delicate manipulation is lost, the hand-writing is greatly changed, the patient lifts his arm slowly and with difficulty to his head, the grasp is weakened, and at last the upper extremities become motionless. A curious illustration of the truth of Foville's remark as to want of precision in the muscles being rather the fault than want of power, at least in the early stage of general paralysis, was afforded by a patient of mine, who, though he walked very badly, and with the jerk so characteristic of the malady, yet could dance to music very well, and often did so, although soon obliged to desist from fatigue.

In thus going through the physical symptoms of paralytic insanity, it must be remembered that I am only describing the type of the disease, when occurring, as it frequently does, in a young subject, and running its course without complication. In the great majority of cases the supervention of 'fits,' the disturbance of the circulation in attacks of maniacal fury, either as their cause or their effect, produce changes in the sequence of the symptoms and in the symptoms themselves, it is not uncommon to have true paralysis of one side arising from the presence of a clot of blood poured out upon the brain, which will again become absorbed, leaving the patient perhaps a little worse than before, but still not the less a sufferer from paralytic insanity. The possibility of complications of this nature is obvious, and the frequency of their occurrence is demonstrable, and will merit consideration, when I enter upon the pathology of the malady.

One of the most distressing symptoms in this fearful malady, is almost invariable in its later stage, and is sometimes present from its very commencement. I allude to the paralysis of the sphincters which is a source of so much trouble and annoyance to those around the patient, although fortunately little noticed by himself. This once set in is believed to be an evidence of serious disorganization of the brain, and renders the prospect of recovery almost if not entirely hopeless.

*The Cure of a Madde Manne; from the Secretes of the Reverend Maister Alexis, of Piemont, translated by JOHN KYNGSTON, 1580.*

“A notable secrete to heall a madde manne, be it that the madnesse came unto hyme by a whirlyng or giddenesse of the hedde or braine, or otherwise.

“Firste of all, make hym fower glisters, in fower mornynges, one after another. Let the first glisters be simple, that is to saie, made with water wherein ye have boyled or sodden wheate, branne, common oile, and salt. Let the seconde be of water sodden with mallowes, mercurie, pellitozie of the wall, and violet leaves, with oile and salt. Let the third be of water boyled with oile, salt sodden with wine and honie. And let the fourth glisters be of the like decoction that the third was, addyng to it endive, buglosse, and the tops of the branches of walnott. After that this decoction is strained, ye wall putte to it an once of *cassia fistula*, and halfe a quarter of an once of *metridate*. Now hauyng given hym these fower glisters, fower sundrie mornynges, you shall give hym this medicine. Polipodium of an oke well stamped a handfull or twaine, and wryng out the juice of it, and putte in a glasse the quantitie of twoo fingers hie, putting to it twoo onces of honie roset, and a quarter of an once of electuarie roset, and as muche of diafenicon. All these thynges beyng incorporated together, give them unto the pacient to drinke at night when he goeth to bedde, twoo or three howers after the sonne is set, and give it hym lukewarm; if in case he will not take it, binde hym and hold hym perforce, make hym ope his mouthe, put some sticke betwene his teeth, and then poure the medicine into his throte as men doe unto horses. And when he hath taken all, if it be in winter, you shall make hym sit so upon his bedde halfe an hower, well covered rounde about, to the intent he take no cold after it: if it be in sommer, ye maie let him goe aboute the house where he will, but see that he goe not out. When the medicine hath doen his operation, take this ointment followyng: that is to saie, a pounce and a halfe of the juice of walnott, whereunto you shall adde as muche butter: boile this together a good while, until all the juice bee almoste consumed, then put to it oile of canomill, oile roset, oile of Sainet Ihons worte, of eche of them an once. Incorporate well all these thynges on the fire, and make thereof an ointemente, wherewith you shall annointe the paciente, from the necke unto the feete, armes, and legges and all: but the ointemente must be hotte, and he

must be so well annointed and rubbed, that the ointemente maie penetrate and perce through. Continue doying this the space of a monethe, annointyng hym every evenyng and mornyng, or at the leaste once a daie. The third or fowerth daie, after you have begon to annointe hym, burne hym with a hot yron upon the seame, or ioynyng together of the heade, and at the firste, laie upon the marke a linnen clothe with barrowes grease, leauyng it to the space of eight or ten daies : and after wrappe a greate cyche pease in ivie leaves, and put uppon the saied ivie leaues, a piece of the sole of a shoe made fine and thinne, bindyng it under his throte with some bande, or beneath his heade, so that it maie bide on, and chaunge it alwaies at night, and in the mornyng. If in case he passe fower monethes, and receive not healthe, or returne to his witte, you must begin againe to give hym the said glisters he had before, and the same medicines, annointyng hym as before : and without doubtte (by the grace of God) he shall be whole. He must eatte at the beginnyng chickens, mutton, and roste veale : after you maie give hym roste and sodde, with potage of *amilum*, beetes, and mallowes, and also newe laied egges, puttyng spices into his meate causyng him some tyme to eatte (either in his potage or otherwise) betaine, sage, maiora and mint, not sufferyng hym in anywise to take salt, sharpe or eger thinges, poulsecorne, garlike, onions, nor suche like : ye maie give hym white wine with water ; let hym also carry ever about hym some good odours, and heare melodie or musicke : speake often tymès soberly and wisely unto him, admonishing hym to bee wise and sage, rebuke hym of his follie when he dooeth or speaketh any fonde thynges : And in suche case the authoritie of some faire woman availeth mucho, to tell hym all these thinges : for good admonitions are of greatt vertue and strength, for to establishe and settle a braine, troubled or disquieted with any sicknesse or passion."

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*The Physiognomy of Insanity.* By JOHN CONOLLY, M.D.  
D.C.L., Consulting Physician to the Hanwell Asylum.

(Medical Times and Gazette, 1858-59.)

Dr. Conolly has recently concluded a series of thirteen papers on the Physiognomy of Insanity, in the *Medical Times and Gazette*, illustrated by some very beautiful photo-

graphs from the portfolio of our accomplished associate Dr. Diamond, of Twickenham. We shall in this place make a few selections from the observations bearing on the general question of mental disease, and its exciting causes, with which Dr. Conolly has interspersed his special remarks on the individual portraits before him. The several papers are written with that grace and felicity of expression which so characterize all Dr. Conolly's literary contributions.

*Influence of Mental Emotion on the Physiognomy.*

"The same face!" "Bring me back the same face!" Simple expressions these would seem to be, quoted by Lavater, uttered by some simple and sensitive German parent, as his only request, when taking leave of his son, who, in the morning of life, is quitting a quiet home of affection for all that awaits him in the wide world. But the simple words dwell with us, and we perceive that there is deep meaning in them. Passions, good or bad; and trials and struggles; and pain and sorrow; and Time—will all write their peculiar characters on that youthful candid face; characters which death alone, with its effacing fingers, will take away; nay, which will still for a brief period survive, and dignify or mar the immovable face of death itself.

"This strange writing on the human face soon begins; and it goes on as long as intellectual and moral life lasts. The transient griefs of childhood, and even the crueller sorrows of school days, although schoolmasters have not yet learned that boys, as well as maniacs and horses, may be managed without brutality, leave no indelible traces; for the attention is at that early period easily attracted to new objects; and the imagination makes perpetual excursions in advance of present events. So, the angles of the mouth remain still level; no perpendicular wrinkles yet mark the phrenological region of individuality; and in the corners of the eyes there are yet no furrows formed by tears. The first facial impressions are those of after-study, or of premature care or premature toil, and these are as various as their causes, solemnizing the countenance of the student of truth in science or morals, or carving betimes some lines, faint but discernible, indicating the over-worked in body and mind. For twenty years more, or even thirty, the face is the face of the mature man; the impress of important thoughts there, but the beauty of youth not gone. The painter or the sculptor may yet copy the complexion or the form and features of the face, and its full expression, so as to perpetuate the man as he was before Time

began to delve his parallels in the brow. The colour of early youth may have faded, but a healthy freshness long remains ; and, where the thoughts are unselfish, and the heart still pure, the joyous smile of those whose minds are yet unclouded by the shadows of coming events still irradiates the features. Manhood has succeeded, but with noble discourse of reason, and energies prompting to action : and now in the human face divine are imprinted combinations of beauty and strength, and godlike apprehension ; or, on the other hand, the slowly drawn lines of creeping and engrossing selfishness and cunning and cold avarice, may begin to be detected even amid features of general beauty. Thus some men, although early withdrawn from transient life, and withering and dying ere middle age, live long enough to survive all youth's freshness of look, as well as all freshness of heart ; and expire, merely lamenting that death closes some prospect of gold, or of mortal possessions and privileges : their pinched features more and more closely drawn together, as if to exclude the approach of more generous movements : and such features, so impressed, make death hideous ; which naturally it is not. Mean and evil thoughts alone make it so. Canova, after a life of devotion to the Beautiful, (and who so often embodied it in sculpture, which is allied to all that is sublime in poetry,) was visited in the mortal hour with visions unearthly, and perhaps divine. He exclaimed, more than once,—“ *Anima divina e pura !*”—and his features, after death, seemed to be such as we hope to meet in the “solemn troops and sweet societies” of heaven. Others of noble stamp, also, are seen prematurely, as we creatures of a day deem it, to die out uselessly ; but yet seem to end their few years of promise with better retrospections, and with anticipations greater still ; their fading earthly hopes catching some orient tinge beyond death's night. But, in some shape or other, when manhood has been attained, time has begun to set its indelible stamp on us all. In all who survive the period of life, when, not consciousness, but the almanac, tells us that fifty years are passed and gone, every face, of man or woman, becomes more and more a book in which the life and thoughts are written in hieroglyphics, to be deciphered by those who have acquired skill in such reading. Almost at a glance we discern the signs and quaint shapes of habitual thoughts and occupations, of station and rank, of command or obedience, of conscious wealth, and all the varieties of broken-down respectability ; of intellectual greatness and calmness, or of vain assumption, or of brazen pretension ; and indeed of all the differential gradations of social

and mental life, down to the worn face of ignominious toil, and to the unmistakeable abjectness of nature or position, from which the eyes, even of the good and kind, turn painfully away.

“In the meantime old age keeps steadily advancing, although usually considered so distant that its voice startles those who find it close at hand, and who are unwarned by failing faculties, or even by the ever-accumulating wrinkles which have curiously usurped all the face that was once so smooth and unruffled. Year after year the sculpture of age goes on. Friends who meet after forty years separation do not recognise one another. Every subsequent twelvemonth has left its trace in some feature or another. The mouth, once a double arc, expressive of what Medical prose cannot convey, has perhaps become a stereotyped sorrow, with lines drawn down laterally from its corners. There are griefs written in the eyes which have never been expressed in words. Thousands of intersecting lines are scribbled over the cheeks, as if a thousand elves had been employed to vary them. The fairest and broadest and loftiest forehead presents ugly lines, the shabby work of daily troubles, and of those especially which fall on defenceless senility. Yet the eyes, though grief-worn, long retain something of their immortal light, still remaining lustrous and noble, when a great and good soul shines through them to the latest breath ; but nevertheless twinkling cunningly and ominously, in those whose mortal sight has been ever bent on the rich base pavement of the world.

“Such are the usual footsteps and impressions of the ordinary feelings, actuating the minds of the majority of persons in their progress through the allotted years of man on this preparatory globe. But when a mind becomes not merely excited or disturbed, not merely anxious or sorrowful, or even exclusively devoted to an engrossing passion, but actually deranged in its operations, these traces of long workmanship are generally all at once and curiously modified. The wandering attention, the fragmental memory, and the wild imagination, suspend or throw into confusion all the ordinary pursuits and offices of life of the individual ; and no less usurp the control of the facial muscles, in various and remarkable degrees. The same circumstances modify nearly all the voluntary muscular actions of the body, influencing the movements of the arms and legs, and producing oddities in the mode of doing common things, as well as in the adjustment of dress ; so that a man’s whole exterior becomes indicative of his interior commotion, or of his disordered mind. Such in-

dications are usually obvious, and, to an observer of the infinitely diversified figures met in the streets of London, quite familiar. Oddities of appearance and of costume are there occasionally beheld, which are scarcely to be found in the orderly and well-regulated wards of modern asylums for those avowedly mad; and which, as yet, neither the novelist nor the painter have attempted to describe."

### *Suicidal Melancholy.*

"A tendency to melancholy, or what is called the melancholic temperament—defined as meditative, serious, and often sad—is frequently associated with great mental qualities, and characterized by elevated views, allied, also, with fervent passions and strong attachments; intertwined with poetry, with meditations, perhaps visions; of large reforms in human policy and in religion, and with whatever is aspiring or sublime. By young persons of a studious and ambitious disposition this kind of temperament is sometimes, therefore, courted or affected, as a mark of superior ability. But the melancholy thus invited may prove a lingering and dangerous guest; and, both in youths and maidens, should be expelled, if possible, by active efforts. Without such resolution, ample food will be found, as years advance, to nourish the affectation into malady. The emulative melancholy of the scholar, the fantastical melancholy of the musician, the melancholy of the politic courtier, the *nice* melancholy of the lady—even the lover's melancholy, of all these compounded—are not fictions of the great dramatist, but realities which offer their companionship at the age when the passions and the intellect begin to be active. Each offers its peculiar fascinations. Poetry of the noblest kind has invested melancholy with still more imposing grandeur; sometimes allying its sage and holy image with staid and stately wisdom, and looks commercing with the skies; and sometimes portraying, in powerful and seductive language, the merit of flying from mankind to some grove in the vast wilderness, or to the desert as a dwelling-place. But all these fancies and moods of the mind, if too often indulged in, tend one way—to a false estimate of realities, to inaction, to misery, and to madness.

"For assuredly it may be said, without any kind of qualification, that there is no affliction so dreadful as a real morbid melancholy. The loss of wealth or rank, the severest invasions of bodily pain, and all shapes of human trial, would seem, to those often observant of melancholic patients, as dust in the balance against the weight of that woe which compre-

hends all woes, and is cheered by no hope, human or divine. Even very slight approaches to such a state, or the briefest experience of it, in those accustomed to notice the movements of their own minds, have something inexpressibly frightful in them. Transient misgivings, unaccountably mingled with vague terrors upspringing from the depths of the inexhaustible well of memory, shake the steadiest soul so strongly as to make it comprehensible how prolonged torture of the kind may overpower the natural love of life.

“The portrait accompanying the first paper of this series referred to the particular form of melancholia in which the mind is disposed to dwell on the mysteries of religion; and faculties inadequate to the task of comprehending such high themes are vainly exerted to make plain what are matters not of mere reason, but of faith. In such a conflict, there is generally much risk that the over-tasked brain will suffer permanent injury; although in other varieties of melancholy, where the symptoms are equally severe, and even the tendency to suicide for a time incessant, the proportion of eventual recoveries is remarkable.

“The course of events in such cases is generally this: Some bodily function becomes accidentally impaired; that of the stomach, or intestines, or liver,—or in women, of the uterus, or in either sex of the brain itself. Occasional depression of mind ensues, and gradually increases. The patient becomes inactive, abstracted, and silent, and all cheerful expression is banished from the countenance. Still very frequently these symptoms are scarcely deemed to imply anything within a doctor’s province; until at length, on some dreadful morning, the patient first shows a determined tendency to self-destruction. After this the case is submitted to proper treatment; the disordered bodily function is carefully attended to, and measures are adopted of a nature to restore the lost energy of the brain. The attention of the patient is quietly attracted to new objects; first, by change of place and local circumstances, and afterward by travelling, although this is only beneficial at a later period. Some improvement gradually appears, which time confirms. The power of conversing is restored, and customary occupations and amusements are returned to. The face re-assumes occasionally its old expression, and gradually the gloomy look departs. It is at length felt that the constant watching, once indispensable to the patient’s safety may be relaxed, and then that it may be cautiously left off; very gradually, however, and very cautiously. Then the patient returns home, or takes a journey



under the care of friends with benefit; and for a time the case is lost sight of. When it is almost forgotten, and sometimes, after many months, or even a year or two, the patient writes a letter reporting complete and continued restoration to mental comfort, and, if met in society, retains scarcely a trace of the attack in the manner, or conversation, or face.

“These attacks, however, as well as other forms of mental malady are, it must ever be remembered, the frequent precursors of organic disease,—most frequently of the lungs, sometimes of the heart; in which case the symptoms continue obstinate, and not reason alone, but life is in peril.

“The portrait accompanying the present paper represents a different variety of melancholia, but one of equal suffering to the patients, who are haunted, not by spiritual doubts, but by bodily fear, and chiefly of some terrible danger impending over themselves or their families; danger menaced by unknown enemies, above, about, or underneath.

“It is evidently not the portrait of an educated or refined person, but a woman of the poorer ranks of life,—from which ranks our large crowded county asylums are filled. How people in such ranks contrived to live, and the kind of life they led before being sheltered there, is intimately known to few who attempt to write about them. They are usually even laborious, because want is ever in view. It is not the fear of difficulties and embarrassments which makes them rise early, and causes them to lie down exhausted with fatigue; it is the fear, nay the certainty, of starvation, if they are idle. So the best among them toil on until they rest in the grave; when, and not till when, their weary task is done. And the worst of them, too impatient of this lot, or tempted beyond their strength, deviate from the walks of industry into the side-paths of idleness and gin, of dissipation and sensuality, become instructed in thieving and other short ways to immediate gain, and die in their own manner. It is easy to moralize on these things, and virtuously to condemn; but God alone can judge such matters justly. If a man would try to do so, he must realise to himself an almost unfurnished home, and hungry children, and rent to pay, and scanty and coarse food day after day, and wretched clothing, giving poor protection against the “heat o’ the sun” and “the tedious winter rages.” He must fancy the state of his mind under the privation of all indulgences and all amusements, and in the utter absence of all comfortable recreation for mind or body. Who is there, more happily placed, who can estimate or even imagine the physiological results of all this combina-

tion of misery and privation? Imperfect digestion and nutrition; the impoverishment of the blood; the consequent deterioration of all the bodily tissues; the lowered character of the grey and white substances of the brain, involving the limitation of the supply of nervous force to all parts of the frame, to those subserving physical offices, and to those of which the integrity is essential to the exercise of the mental and moral faculties;—all these are consequences which may not unreasonably be supposed to ensue to a greater or less extent. But the same causes continue to act in countless families, generation after generation, are transmitted and retransmitted, and their effects accumulated and multiplied; so modifying the general development of the human being that we read even in the face of the bare-footed boy, in the streets of London, his woeful inheritance, and in the features and figure of the grown-up man or woman, in their speech and movement, their wretched physical history. Perhaps we may read something more printed there; the connexion of some, at least, of their faults, or vices, or crimes with the associated impoverishment, if it may be so called, of their higher faculties. We remark the ungainliness of the bodily shape and motion, and the pallor or the unhealthy suffusion of the face, and the ruggedness of the voice and language. With these marks of a degraded type we feel that there can hardly fail to be a corresponding mental limitation. With a total want of instruction there is, in fact, so unobservant a mind that they receive no knowledge from natural objects, and their natural theology is less advanced than that of the poor Indian who sees God in clouds or hears him in the wind. It is unnecessary to go further, now, into these sad particulars. But there is something unreasonable in expecting many excellences to flourish and Christian virtues to find existence in a soil so unprepared. Medical men, and those thoughtful persons, now happily not a few, who are devoting themselves to the advancement of social science, or the real science of living the life befitting so highly endowed a creature as man, do not ignore these painful facts, nor look unheedingly upon them. To physicians who reflect on the cases coming under their care in the wards of our lunatic asylums for the poor, such facts are daily presented as material for serious thought.”

#### *Lowness of Spirits.*

“Inequality of spirits, passing fancies, caprices, and even temporary moodiness of mind, usually present themselves in forms rather amusing than afflicting. But our old and vene-

rated preceptor of physic in Edinburgh well reminded us, in his admirable *Conspectus*, of the relationship between these and graver affections of the mind. 'Omnis præter solitum hilaritas ad insaniam vergit; et mæstus et meticulosus animus ad melancholiam appropinquat.' So that a careful attention to preserve an equal mind can scarcely be too strongly enforced. In the extremes of these variable conditions consists a large portion of the unspeakable affliction which justified the observation of our great English moralist, that 'of the uncertainties of our present state, the most dreadful and alarming is the uncertain continuance of reason.' Those who merely pay a cursory visit to an asylum may scarcely think so strong an expression justifiable; for many of the patients are tranquil, many occupied, and not a few seem so cheerful as to confirm the popular notion that there may be a happiness in being mad. But there are few among the insane, especially of the more educated classes, who have not an inward and painful sense of their position, and few or none who always forget that, for them, all the sweet uses of this world are lost. The aspect of those afflicted with melancholia, their countenances, their unregarded dress, their sorrowful attitude, and the deep dejection conveyed by their terrible words, sufficiently declare the dreadful truth that their anguish is more than they can bear.

"Of all the trials apparently incidental to human life, the proneness to dejection of mind as age advances may, I think, be reckoned amongst the greatest. Few even of those who escape this penalty of senility owe their immunity so much to the strength as to the growing weakness of their minds. In earlier years, great intellects may be struck down for a time, and recover; the religious melancholic recovers hope; imaginary fears, built on scruples of a conscience diseased, may be demolished; spectres of ruin may be exorcised. Many such cases, depending on bodily ailment, are superable by medical treatment. After sixty years of age, we see too often the brain of vigorous men, to whom morbid fancies have been before unknown, becoming incapable of rallying under sorrow; losing energy, and falling into total inaction. The external form may remain; the grave and wise look, the sensible and intelligent face, the grand head; but the patient gazes upon you as upon a picture, and speaks not a word. Some who for many long years were active in business, and easily pleased with the common relaxations of social life, lose at once all their activity and all their vivacity; become unfit for business and incapable of pleasure; are no longer useful,

but can derive no enjoyment from leisure. Each morning, thenceforth, dawns upon them without a plan for the day ; no pleasant sense of profitable labour to be done ; no prospective participation of social meetings or family happiness. In these cases the energy of the brain is dead ; and such patients are not in general much afflicted by their own position. Those who suffer the most are generally such as are more highly cultivated, whose aspirations have been higher, perhaps whose occupations have been nobler or more useful, but who have a morbid and regretful sense of all the hopes and joys which age steals away ; want the power of bearing up against the ills of old ; and wholly forget that age is as natural a part of life as youth, and that it is as natural to die as to be born.

“This kind of creeping sorrow is the more painful, because the victim himself suspects it must be sinful. It is also felt to be degrading to him, because it is against his reason ; and yet he cannot dissipate it by reasoning. It is afflicting, because it is still recognised by the declining mind as inconsistent with the duty of the creature to the Creator, and implies an ungrateful forgetfulness of the thousand blessings scattered over the early path of life, and of some, now that the winter is approaching, which still, like autumnal flowers, adorn the declining time.

“Thus, the ablest minds of antiquity, and the ratiocinations of some of the most pious men of modern times, have been applied to prove that age is not an evil, and applied in vain. The natural tendency of the mind in age is still to melancholy, as the tree bows to the earth before its fall. In the strongest men, its accompaniments are labour and sorrow. If the man of thirty could foresee how many of his friends would be removed from the world before he reached his grand climacteric, his heart would sink within him. The illusions which make up the promises of early life, and impel him to fill the circle marked for him by heaven, would vanish at once. The aspirations which spur him to useful industry would die. In a world of such quick successions, all such things would seem futile and foolish. He would see before him only growing infirmities and solitude ; and would have but a distressing foreknowledge that every additional year would bring additional weight upon his limbs and upon his heart ; and would associate every street of familiar towns, and every lovely scene from towns remote, with mournful mutations, and recollections full of never to be removed sorrow.

“It is not satisfactory to conclude that such reflections must predominate in the closing years of life. Medicine may be

powerless, and philosophy. The tone recently adopted by the chaplains of some asylums prevents much hope of success from being based on their exertions. Their ministry might be healing and valuable; but these well meaning persons must be differently educated, and their knowledge of man and nature much enlarged before they can be safely introduced into private establishments for the insane of the educated classes, an arrangement towards which there are recent manifestations of a leaning well calculated to excite apprehension. The task of a chaplain ministering to those unsound in mind is always delicate and difficult. Conventional modes of approaching the important subjects they wish to introduce are wholly out of place, and proud denunciations both foolish and abominable. In no undertaking do times and seasons more require attention. One ill-chosen text, one ill-selected illustration, one rash word may turn aside a scornful maniac, or extinguish the last spark of hope in a melancholic patient. Paternal kindness, the avoidance of pomp, and the preservation of a kind of family and affectionate character in all the services, seem generally to be the most efficacious in calming and winning the troubled hearts of those who are not insensible to religious truth, and yet not in their perfect mind.

“Lastly, men whose lives have been passed usefully, and benevolently, and without more than the sum of frailty inseparable from an imperfect being, should not be without consolation, nor even, whilst life lasts, sink into inaction. The past may be unsatisfactory, and the *memoria bene actæ vitæ, multorumque benefactorum recordatio*, of small efficacy; but every man, old as well as young, if not insane, may yet pursue truth, and do good. If he could also govern himself in all things, his life, the longest life, would be too happy, and ‘earth paved like heaven.’ There are also, it is our trust, new forms of life beyond this life; and many high consolatory truths which a reasonable man should not forget, although it would be presumption to dwell upon them in this place.”

#### *Senile Dementia.*

“The repose of the features in Senile Dementia is usually complete. Ambition is dead, angry emotions have passed away; mean and turbulent thoughts, if any there were, have become extinguished, the life of the passions is over. Man has become a peaceful animal; rarely, when the state is once established, disturbed by any shadows of the past years. This perfect calm is, however, sometimes preceded by great

agitation, and fancies of some work to be done, or some engagements to be fulfilled; leading to attempts to wander away from home, and to resist the most affectionate control of grieved relatives. But peace succeeds, greater than the peace of childhood; and then, sometimes, the spectacle of extreme age loses its painful character, and becomes eminently picturesque. Few of my medical readers, however busily engaged in crowded cities, have not treasured up in some corner of their minds, among the recollections of childish days, some picture of a venerable aged man or woman seated at a cottage door, seeming to view with calm face and untroubled heart the sweet meadow and the declining sun; or looking with satisfaction on the juvenile activity of their active and joyous grandchildren, although with a vague consciousness and a dreamy expression. Sorrow could not touch these remembered old people further; but all of sensation that was left seemed to be pleasurable.

“It is, however, a strange thing to look on a face once most familiar to us, and now, when nearly ninety years have gathered over it, still to see the same features, and even the same smile, and yet to be forced to the conviction that you are not recognised. The placid features, the benevolent regard, the long grey hair, are but a venerable picture. The activity of former years is a dream. No word, no sign, not the most pointed allusion to things past, and once most familiar, rouses any responsive movement in the senile brain. Life still remains; respiration, and digestion, and blood-circulation, and alternate waking and sleep; but memory, and emotion, and speculation, and foresight, and with them, happily, anxiety and sorrow, and pain and grief, have passed away.

“Even this is better than the strange mixture of the mournful and the ludicrous, in cases, in which, amidst the wreck of all nobler things, the memory of life’s poor vanities alone survives: and the old lady who can scarcely rise from her chair, insists on being dressed and rouged, and seated at the card-table, where her pleased, but utterly foolish expression of face, reflects the thoughts of gains or losses, which once constituted the only serious events of her daily life. Even a man’s mind may show these infirmities, where an ignoble and frivolous life has left him insensible that he is mortal. In one remarkable case of this kind, in a well-known fashionable man of his day, considerable mental acuteness was, all the life long, so assiduously devoted to things below the dignity of a man, that when age came, it brought with it on

each return of evening, a return of the fancy of a room full of the grand and gay, of wits long silenced and beauties long hidden in the grave; and the poor worn face of age was lighted up with an inane gaiety that shocked the beholder. Thinking of these things, one feels the beauty as well as the simplicity of Lavater's farewell words to a youth taking leave of him:—"Young man, bring me back the same face;" a face undeformed by vanity, or falsehood, or guilty thoughts."

*Religious Melancholy.*

"The engraving presented to the reader in this number is from a photographic portrait of a young woman labouring under religious melancholy. In this form of melancholy there is no mere worldly despondency, nor thought of common calamities or vulgar ruin; but a deeper horror: a fixed belief, against which all arguments are powerless, and all consolation vain; a belief of having displeased the Great Creator, and of being hopelessly shut out from mercy and from heaven. This portrait, therefore, does not reflect the figure of patients so often recognised in asylums, sitting on benches by the lonely walls, the hands clasped on the bosom, the leaden eye bent on the ground, and the unvarying gloom excluding variety of reflection. It represents an affliction more defined. We discern the outward marks of a mind which, seemingly, after long wandering in the mazes of religious doubt, and struggling with spiritual niceties too perplexing for human solution, is now overshadowed by despair. The high and wide forehead, generally indicative of intelligence and imagination; the slightly bent head, leaning disconsolately on the hand; the absence from that collapsed cheek of every trace of gaiety; the mouth inexpressive of any varied emotion; the deep orbits and the long characteristic eyebrows; all seem painfully to indicate the present mood and general temperament of the patient. The black hair is heedlessly pressed back; the dress, though neat, has a conventual plainness; the sacred emblem worn round the neck is not worn for ornament. The lips are well-formed, and compressed; the angle of the jaw is rather large; the ear seems well-shaped; force of character appears to be thus indicated, as well as a capacity of energetic expression; whilst the womanly figure, the somewhat ample chest and pelvis (less expressed in the engraving than in the photograph) belong to a general constitution, out of which in health and vigour, may have grown up some self-accusing thoughts in an innocent and devout, but passionate heart.

For this perverting malady makes even the natural instincts appear sinful; and the sufferer forgets that God implanted them. But the conflict in the case before us is chiefly intellectual. The meditations of that large brain are not employed on worldly cares, nor even on affections chilled, nor temporal hopes broken. They are engaged in religious scruples, far too perplexing for its power to overcome. In the meantime all the ordinary affections, from which consolation might be derived, are shut out. Soon, perhaps, the scruples themselves will appear crimes. To escape future punishment, bodily mortifications must be endured; severe fasts, or some self-inflicted pain. Under these, the bodily strength, usually impaired in the commencement of the attack, becomes further impaired. The digestion becomes feeble, and even the sparest meals occasion suffering. Emaciation takes place; often proceeding to an extreme degree. The uterine functions (for the subjects of this form of malady are usually women), are suppressed. Paroxysms of excitement may occur, with sudden activity in the prosecution of schemes of vaguest import; but with these futile efforts misgivings become mingled. The thought of suicide, often suggested, becomes fixed; and such varied and ingenious efforts are made to carry it into effect as to demand incessant vigilance. Yet, even in this state there may be days in which the mind is tranquillised, and needle-work is resumed, or the music of happier days is played once more. But these gleams are transient. The mind loses its energy; debility invades every function; pulmonary or mesenteric disease supervenes; the limbs become anasarous; and the wretched patient is only relieved by death.

“The subjects of this kind of affliction are often highly intellectual, and this seems to endow them with greater latitude of terrible delusions, and with an eloquence in describing them that cannot always be listened to without emotion; seconded as it is by an expression of countenance full of real horror, and significant of the state of utter spiritual abandonment and degradation into which the patient asserts herself to be plunged, without hope of relief on earth or pardon in heaven.

“The medical treatment of religious melancholy is often of more import than that which enthusiastic and very well-meaning persons are too much inclined to resort to. Remonstrances, and the perusal of sermons, and of the tracts scattered over too many drawing-room tables, and showered with mischievous, although well-intentioned, activity among



the poor,—nay, even the exclusive reading of the Bible and Prayer-book,—must often be refrained from or forbidden. There are states of mind in which the medical man must have courage to exclude these as poisons. The mind must be diverted to more common and more varied subjects, and the bodily health must have the most careful consideration.

“These observations apply to all religious sects. The subject of this photograph had left the Protestant faith, and become what is commonly called a Roman Catholic. Her education had not been such as to enable her to reason well on either side, and she became merely wavering and unsettled in her belief. Attention to ordinary matters was neglected; she sat in the attitude shown in the engraving for a long time together; she was negligent of her dress, and occasionally destructive of it. Often she cried out that she was a brute, and had no soul to be saved. Now and then she had a desire to see some minister of religion, either Catholic or Protestant; and soon afterwards would refuse to see either, declaring that neither could be useful to her. All this seems to be expressed in the photograph. The medal she wears was given to her by a gentleman connected with the Catholic establishment.

“It is unnecessary to say that her case was managed in the asylum with the most prudent caution. She was encouraged to more bodily exertion; and her mental perplexities, not being aggravated by reasonings unadapted to her, gradually died away. She soon began to occupy herself, and became useful in the laundry of the establishment. She was strengthened by quinine. The inactivity of the digestive canal, so common, or so constant in cases of melancholia, was counteracted by combining the decoctum aloes compositum with a tonic; and shower-baths, of half a minute’s duration, contributed to restore general bodily energy. Such attacks never yield at once. They come on gradually, and depart slowly. After a residence of ten months in the asylum, this patient became well. It is gratifying to know that she remains well, having now left the institution seven months since.

“The change presented by the countenance after recovery from severe mental disturbance is generally remarkable, and sometimes even surprising. In case of acute mania it is singularly marked; and in the particular form of religious melancholy the cheerful smile that supplants the dismal and anxious look of the patient is almost magical. In the case now referred to, whatever there was of meditative or intel-

lectual cast in the face during the period of melancholy, was almost wholly lost when the attack went off. The ample forehead, of course, remained, and the deep orbits; but the eyes, when open, were small and inexpressive, and the mouth seemed to have become common-place. Her whole appearance was, indeed, so simply that of an uneducated Irish girl, that the very neat gown, cloak, and bonnet, in which she was dressed by the kindness of those about her, seemed incongruous and peculiar. A second photograph, taken at that time, possesses, therefore, little interest. In some other instances the metamorphoses effected by malady and recovery may be usefully, and even instructively represented."

In a subsequent paper (11th) Dr. Conolly reverts to this subject of religious melancholy, and observes:—

"No familiarity with cases of religious melancholia renders the observer indifferent to the intense expression of mental suffering by which they are characterised. An affliction is portrayed in the face and attitude so profound, and so incapable of relief or consolation, as to communicate an unavoidable sadness even to those who know that the affliction is not the result of real calamity, but of a mere morbid condition of the nervous system, which, terrible as it appears, and terrible as it really is to the patient, is generally only temporary. The feelings of a good chaplain to an asylum are greatly tried by cases of this kind; his most anxious efforts appearing to be long unavailing. For although the melancholic patients (generally women) can attend to and even appreciate his spiritual encouragements, they consider them as inapplicable to their own particular case. A patient admits that for others there may be hope; but for her, she asserts, and most truly believes there is none. Others may be forgiven; but her faults are unpardonable. She accuses herself of unworthiness and impurity, although ever vaguely; and her ideas are but obscurely associated in the mind of the pathologist with possible physical instincts presenting to the morbid and defenceless mind suggestions that seem crimes. \* \* \*

"Looking largely at the subject of melancholia, and even at cases of religious melancholy, it would be uncandid to conceal that there are many examples of this form of depression for which the clergy, whether tranquil as Him who taught on the sea shore standing on a ship, or impassioned and far less divinely composed, are in no way accountable. Conditions of the brain and nerves of which we possess no accurate knowledge, sometimes inherited, sometimes follow-

ing too much excitement, mental or bodily, sometimes apparently associated with morbid conditions of the stomach and liver, and in very many cases with uterine disorder, modify all impressions made on the senses and affections in such a way as to render them all sources of pain, or at least of discomfort. Patients who present this peculiarity have certainly for the most part the external signs of the melancholic temperament; a dusky and partially flushed complexion, tinged now and then with yellow; the head well formed anteriorly; the forehead broad, but usually deficient in height; the vertex often high, and the occipital region broad and bulging; the expression of the face gloomy, and strongly contrasted with the occasional smiles evoked from time to time by cheerful friends, as if without the will of the despairing patients themselves. Over-exertion of mind brings on this melancholy state in men of great mental power, and leads often to a wish for death, and to meditations for effecting it. By perfect mental rest they recover. The same over-tasking of the brain, although more by domestic responsibilities than intellectual exertions, leads, in women of highly conscientious feelings, to the same depression. In all these cases the tendency to self-destruction is commonly observable."

*Insanity Supervening on Habits of Intemperance.*

"The portraits accompanying this paper are illustrative of some of the modifications of features and expression in women who have fallen into habits of intemperance, on which derangement of the mental powers has ensued to a greater or less extent. The two portraits represent different patients, of different character and of different history. The poor creature on the right having been nurtured in low life, almost brought up in early acquired habits of drinking, left to do their sure and uninterrupted work on body and mind, until both have acquired the impress of a misfortune unavoidable, and slowly ripened into vice, and bringing the whole creature into a sort of chronic and indelible appearance of sottishness. In the left-hand portrait is represented another patient, of a respectable station in life, but also ruined by drink; but by drink so gradually indulged in, however, that her altered state bewilders her, and fills her, fallen as she is, with distressful remorse.

"Although we perceive even in this portrait the somewhat bloated or swollen condition of the fleshy parts of the face which tipsy habits produce, much expression remains—but

it is of wretchedness and despair. The raised hands, pressed together, indicate the intensity of her prominent emotions; the eyes, somewhat uplifted, but gazing on nothing; the deep corrugation of the overhanging integuments of the lower forehead, portray the painful questioning of a woman not forgetful of her former life, nor unconscious of the comfortless change that has come over her; and the expression is heightened by those undefinable modifications of the muscular structure of the cheeks which add so much to all facial expression of intense character. In the upraised under lip, also, and in the tensely-elevated chin, there is so much meaning of the same kind, that we might almost fancy the poor patient breaking out, in this suffering mood, into expressive words, as was indeed the poor woman's custom often, relative to her earlier life now gone, and happier thoughts long dispersed, and to remembrances of having once been esteemed and even admired in the modest circle in which she moved, until taught to like gin by "wicked neighbours" older than herself. Her history was indeed lamentable. She had been well educated, and resided, when a young woman, with her mother, who possessed a little independent property. Being then good looking, she was much noticed; nor did it appear that she lost her station by any immorality of early life. But she was not watched enough to guard her from pernicious acquaintances, who enjoyed, it would seem, the perverse satisfaction of teaching her the poor pleasures arising from the taste of spirituous liquors, until she adopted Mrs. Gamp's plan of putting gin into the teapot. Somehow, as always happens in such cases, the little property possessed by her mother gradually diminished, and at length disappeared altogether. Dram-drinking became the only remaining comfort of the impoverished house; and thus things went on until one article of furniture after another, and also the clothes of her mother and herself, passed into the hands of the pawnbrokers. The poor mother found shelter in the workhouse, and the still more unhappy daughter, torn by remorse, and maddened more and more by intemperance now grown habitual, became maniacal, and was received into the lunatic asylum. Much of this, perhaps all of it, is written in that despairing, questioning face. Memory of the past and purer time has not been destroyed by her malady, nor conscience obliterated. She feels herself transformed, and that for her no earthly joy remains or will return. Her irritable hands have traced marks of agony on her forehead; her neglected curls hang

raggedly over her ears ; she has torn them away until she is nearly bald. Even her large and well-developed brain seems to impress the beholder with thoughts aggravative of the miserable desolation that now alone prevails in the depths of her consciousness and memory. There is no healthful action and no comfort in any corner of that restless brain. Where once there was quick perception, imagination, benevolence, understanding, there is now but a tumultuous succession of ineffaceable records, read by the light of madness only, with no ray of better light from the retrospection, and as yet no higher hope. Suicide, the last resource of such wretchedness, has been often attempted by her. When all this affliction falls upon an erring human being, the comforts and even the blessings accorded to our poorer lunatics show all the value of the noble institutions where the most rejected of the world meet with pity and find rest. The malady may be too deeply fixed to be curable : but all physical excess is at an end—no neglect and no cruelty add to the morbid wretchedness ; kind words are heard, and religious thoughts are gradually introduced into the mind of the sufferers ; and the curtain of death falls gently even upon them.

“ A different history from the preceding is plainly enough written in the right-hand portrait, which exhibits traits scarcely quite unknown to persons accustomed to the observation of the faces of populous towns. Here the bloated face, the pendulous masses of cheek, the large lips uncontrolled by any voluntary expression, and to which refinement and delicacy seem never to have belonged ; the heavily gazing eyes, not speculative, scarcely conscious : the disordered, uncombed, capriciously cut hair, cut with ancient scissors or chopped with impatient knife ; the indolent position of the body, and the heavy resting of the coarse, unemployed, outstretched fingers, together with the neglected dress and reckless *abandon* of the patient, all concur to declare the woman of low and degraded life, into whose mind, even before madness supervened, no thoughts except gross thoughts were wont to enter ; and whose bold eye and prominent mouth were never, even from early infancy, employed to express any of the higher or softer sensibilities of a woman's soul. But yet she is, even in this degraded state, more truly an object of pity than of condemnation. It is easy to condemn ;—it is harder to be just. Where this now outcast human being was born, and how brought up, it were vain to inquire. She probably never had a home ; and it appears, in fact, that her earliest reminiscences were only

of gaining a kind of livelihood by selling miscellaneous articles in the streets; articles begged, or articles lent, or articles stolen, no doubt. As she grew up, gross appetites grew up also; the love of beer, among the rest, developed itself strongly; and she was well known to her familiars as what even they denominated a low-lived person. But beer was sometimes hard to procure; it could not always be successfully begged for; it could not be easily stolen; and it could not be bought without money. So the want of this stimulant joy of low life caused her to cultivate her faculties as a singer, and these were exerted in low public-houses, where the remuneration was generally beer, or halfpence convertible into beer. Her audiences were not fastidious; her songs were not always unobjectionable; and she further became liable to infirmities of temper, and acquired habits of inconvenient violence; became signalised for artful frauds and cunning concealments, and in all respects negligent in her habits. At last she was pronounced to be insane, and found refuge, the only refuge in this world, from worldly misery, in an asylum; but she could scarcely appreciate even the comforts of an asylum. The beds and the clothing might be good, and the food; but the limitation of beer constituted a permanent grievance.

“Such a picture, the presentment of such a life, cannot be summarily dismissed from the mind. Even the consolations of our best-conducted asylums for the poor can scarcely be diffused over the breast of so doomed a wretch as this; doomed, as the affairs of the world go, even from her birth, for cradle she had none, to destitution and to degradation; to whose childish ears no pious words were ever addressed, and on whose youth no hope of honest means of support had ever beamed! Thinking of these things, questions arise, only to be answered in some unknown time. But such lives and even such faces ought not to pass by us unheeded, like the idle wind, or the clouds of summer. This poor creature knew no instruction. Her ear, possibly attuned to melody, enabled her to pick up the current minstrelsy of the streets, the tunes of organs, and the words of ribald songsters. Moral control there was none; moral examples there were none either. Religious instruction there was none: she had probably never been in a church in her life. So, when life was departing, no aspirations could well arise, nor could the most pious words be expected to prevail. If a feeling remained, or a desire, it was but for the speedier oblivion of

more beer. Such results are shocking, and to ears polite scarcely suited ; but such results are true.

“Great moral revolutions may take place, it would seem, in the short space of a single century. Intemperance in wine was esteemed, in the days of our grandfathers, as a mere failing incidental to gentlemen. The prime minister drank hard, and his friends and dependents followed his example. Literary men drank hard, and composed works in the purest English ; county squires drank hard, and were esteemed the more for what was then considered indicative only of an open and generous disposition. A very sober gentleman was even somewhat suspiciously regarded as one who was afraid to be thrown off his guard. But now everything, as far as the higher and the middle classes are concerned, is happily changed. The nobleman never commits excess ; the squire goes to bed sober ; the literary man is temperate ; and the tradesman no longer drinks and dozes away his afternoon in the sanded parlour of the public-house. Drunkenness has become the exclusive opprobrium of the poor, the ignorant, and the miserable.

“Among the exertions of the last half-century, none have been more zealous than those made to promote general temperance. Eloquent speeches, pathetic sermons, flags and processions, the aid of festival and song, have been equally directed to showing the ruin and madness attendant on drunken habits, and the beauty and serenity of water-drinking. The virtue of temperance has been carried to a kind of ostentatious excess. But partial social reforms are seldom permanent. So desired an improvement, like many others, is incompatible with the neglect of other portions of social science. Sobriety, or the judicious use of stimulants, is a virtue inconsistent with the want of various comforts, and even of various stimuli, which the wealthy and the well-to-do so constantly enjoy as scarcely to appreciate them. We blame the labouring man for passing his Saturday evening at the village alehouse ; forgetting his privations during the week, and the comfortless character of his home. We turn away, with a false consciousness of superiority, from a shivering half-clothed, half-fed, half-tipsy creature, who has been standing at a vegetable stall for fourteen hours, and is wandering home at midnight to a garret in the narrowest of streets. Or, far away from towns, in what are called mining districts, we hear, at rich men’s tables, from the great proprietor himself, or perhaps from the good chaplain, of the melancholy state of moral degradation of the miners, whose

wretched rows of houses we discerned on the slope of the hills, in the evening, on our journey; cottages with windows on one side only, so that the eyes of the miners' families should not look over the fair domain of the rich man, the few and small windows and the door being confronted by privies and dung-heaps, and pig-sties, on the shaded and damp side of the house towards the barren hill-side. In all these cases, it seems to be forgotten that the creature, man, is transformed from what he might be, or should be, or naturally is; that he is made an unhealthy creature, and that neither his body nor his mind can escape degradation. All the wholesome stimuli of life are withdrawn in these, and in countless other cases, from large classes of the people; and, by a strange ignorance of human nature, every calm and delightful virtue is expected to flourish in their homes, and in their general morals. They are left and live unacquainted with the comfort of cleanliness, of good food, and of a decent bed. They awake only to toil, and they sleep the sleep of the exhausted. Of the intellectual stimuli which contribute so largely to the enjoyment of those above them, they are destitute from youth to age. Social enjoyments, cheering conversation, various reading, friendly correspondence, diversified news; all that belongs to the finer arts; all that charms the eye or the ear; and all that gives grace and elegance to domestic life, is shut out from them. Their ever-during poverty leaves them almost unacquainted with the pleasure of being able to confer benefit on one another. All the cheerful and cheering sympathies of society and families are unknown to them. To all higher and nobler aspirations they are, and must be, utter strangers, though tracts may be showered among them, and special denunciations addressed to them, for not being better. To ask human beings so situated to refrain from the immediate gratifications of beer and gin is merely to insult them, or to incur their just and bitter ridicule.

“But the love of money and the carelessness at what expense of virtue and happiness it is obtained, exposes both men and women to excessive toil, which is even, it is said, systematically [stimulated by strong liquors, while yet the inevitable consequences are condemned with little mercy. The poor, drunken, lost woman whom we shun in the shabby streets of London, or whom we take better care of in the wards of the county asylum, may once have been industrious, virtuous, and pleasing in appearance. Her poor parents, who with difficulty provided their children with food and



clothes, launched them all into the rough sea of the world as soon as, by any kind of work, they could procure scanty food and scanty clothes for themselves. Some floated away and disappeared in various regions of poverty ; but this daughter was considered more fortunate. She became a dressmaker ; her clothes were neat in appearance, but her meals were neither frequent nor abundant, and she had little acquaintance with fresh air. From morning until evening, and often until midnight, her toil was pursued in a close and confined atmosphere. She and her companions became worn and weary and drowsy. This weakness was incompatible with the interest of their employers. Fresh air and better food might have done them good ; but for these there was no time ; they were too expensive. Cheaper stimulants were accorded to them ; strong coffee, sometimes with a dash of the cheapest ardent spirits, and, if there was more pressing need to have some work finished, to array some unconscious beauty for a near-approaching drawing-room, and, at all risks, the weight of slumber must be drawn from off those drooping eyelids, novels were read to them, poisonous novels, rousing their midnight attention by appealing to their sensual passions. From such training what could ensue but intemperance and vice ? Walking feebly homeward, hungry, and faint, and assailed with offers of food and wine and money, what could poor girls so placed do but yield to temptation ?

“These pictures might easily be multiplied. But less graphic, although far more numerous examples might be quoted, from the crowds of cities, of men and of women of decent habits and position, whose constant care can scarcely ensure to them sufficient good food and proper dress for the varied seasons, and a poor dismantled room up many stairs, in Pentonville, it may be, or in Lambeth, or in the outskirts of the great agglomeration of cities called London, a class of people to whom varied food, and even the portions of pleasant meats which Jeremy Taylor reminds rich Christians that they should send to their neighbours on Sundays, are nearly or quite unknown, and who, weary and faint, learn to inspirit their dish of tea, and aluminous bread, with some accompanying drops of gin, from whence they derive some instant solace, some relief from exhaustion, some oblivion from care. It is Saturday night. To-morrow there is no work : only sleep, or sloth, or drink and devilry. Let Monday come ! And Monday comes ; and more starvation ; and more exhausting work ; and more drink ; and more despair ;

and divers horrid forms of death,—or all these are exchanged for the mockeries of madness.

“Such histories, read in the streets, or more thoughtfully contemplated in the mansions of insanity, seem to justify the often-repeated observation, that insanity is chiefly occasioned by drunkenness; but the observation is not strictly true, nor even true numerically, except in relation to physical causes. And of cases such as illustrate this paper, it seems scarcely just to assign the ultimate madness merely to intemperance. The intemperance itself is a malady, incidental to unhappy combinations of social circumstances, and to be remedied by modifications and reforms of social life. The virtues which so many benevolent persons look forward to with hope will not grow in a soil choked with weeds of rankest and foulest growth; their flowers and fruit cannot become entwined about the residences of privation, ignorance, and want. The praiseworthy efforts to enlarge the pleasures of the working classes, and which are really effecting so much good, cannot be extended to classes yet left lower in the social scale; although each body in those hopeless classes contains a soul.

“But hope appears. The diffusion of useful knowledge was a great work, of which the efficacy becomes still greater and more widely felt as attention becomes more extensively given to collateral branches of social science; to which so many able minds are now simultaneously directed, including that highly-important branch, the public health. With such reflections even the physiognomy of the insane is connected; and perhaps more, the physiognomy of the half-distracted in the crowds of cities. It would be wrong to accustom ourselves to note the outward disfigurements effected by inward degradation as mere pictures for the amusement of those more happily situated, suggestive of no reflections on the avoidable or remediable causes of such departures from moral and physical beauty. Rather should the depraved physiognomy be regarded as a warning language, and a fearful handwriting, hung up for our learning, and reproaching communities for long injustice, and long forgetfulness of so much that disfigures and defiles the temple of God.”

#### *Illustrations of the Old Methods of Treatment.*

We conclude these extracts with the following graphic description of an asylum of the olden time.

“A very expressive photograph is before me, taken from a print by Kaulback, which has been known, but not very generally, for some years; representing the interior of a Con-

tinental asylum, and containing fifteen portraits, illustrative of as many varieties of disordered mind. Although these portraits are evidently taken from life, the grouping of the figures is as plainly imaginary, and such as could scarcely ever have existed; yet highly exemplifying the skill of the artist.

“Towards the left of the picture, the figure of a man standing up between two strongly contrasted female figures seems first to attract notice. A lottery ticket, pinned on the side of the man’s shabby hat, together with the fierce and dogged expression of his face, seems indicative of expectations disappointed. The female figure to which his face is turned, without, however, regarding her, has the characters of a virago strongly stamped upon her face and head, as well as in her menacing attitude. The keenly directed eyes, the snarling mouth, the flat head with the prominence of the vertical portion of it, and the bulk of the occipital region, reveal the preponderance of the animal qualities. Her terrible looks are directed to the other female figure, whose arms are thrown round the unregardful man, behind whom she stands, in a manner expressive of feminine tenderness and attachment: and whose face is handsome, the anterior and lateral portions of the head, and that above the forehead, well formed, and the vertex and occiput not in excess. The full womanly and maternal character is portrayed in this figure; and her face expresses at once attachment to the infatuated man, and grief for his faults. A little more to the left of the picture is an elderly woman, occupied in knitting, and in the calm state which has probably been preceded by mania; looking with a kind of wonder on the impassioned woman and the insensate man. Under this group, and to the front of the picture, we see a figure representing either a soldier or a peasant used to arms, whose manly face evinces thoughts brooding over some past reverse; his broad forehead, his straight eyebrows, his resolute mouth, his strong frame, and the sword (which may be of wood) slung carelessly over his shoulder, seem to show that here is a valiant soldier lost to the State or to his native village; his careless attire evinces that the alacrity of hope has left him, and that in his moody thoughts the present is lost in the past. Just before him is a happier instance of abstraction; a man intent on the pages of a book, and whose attitude admirably expresses a state of perfect self-satisfaction. The elevated eyebrows, the uplifted chin and under lip, the extended finger and thumb of the raised hand, clearly indicate the crazy philosopher, who has met in the old and

well-worn volume before him thoughts elevated and mystical, and almost as novel as his own.

“In the centre of the picture, behind the other figures, are two male figures, eloquently representing religious excitement and depression. The happier fanatic stands upright, holds a crucifix before his breast, and points to himself with an air that announces his own asserted divinity. His broad large head shows the amplitude of what phrenologists would call marvellousness, ideality, veneration, and hope; and what all persons familiar with portraits recognise as the characteristic form of head in men of a speculative and fanciful temperament, not very much under the control of comparison and judgment. The lively eyes, the straight line of the mouth, even the outstanding and wild hair of the head, are very faithfully depicted; and all belong to this temperament. Behind this figure is the contrasted one of a man of higher intellectual endowments, but of the temperament called melancholic, in which all hope of future pardon is faint. The face is expressive of thought and of refinement, but the angles of the mouth are drawn downwards, the drooping head leans on hands clasped in sorrowful meditation, and his dark hair hangs in heavy masses over his ears and cheeks. In front of these figures we have an imbecile patient, happy in imaginary royalty, wearing a crown, and holding a stick for a sceptre. The large unmeaning eye, the protruded under-lip, the retreating chin, and the feeble and common cast of the face, are such as are generally found in this class of happy self-satisfied lunatics. Two female figures are devoted to the portraiture of melancholia; one, a devotee, near the enthusiastic man; her head bowed, her hands clasped, her collapsed face showing that hope has left the heart; the other in front of the picture, her face hidden, and in her hand a letter, which has brought tidings of overwhelming sorrow. Two other figures are devoted to showing examples of chronic mental disorder, and one, in front of them, less true, perhaps, to nature than the rest, seems intended to show an example of the loss of reason supervening on the death of an infant. Altogether, although there is singular merit in this print, its artificial grouping deprives it of the touching interest often arising from the representation of a single figure descriptive of mental disorder. It is to be observed that all the patients are left, as they used to be left, to their own fancies and to their particular sorrows. The artist has added one figure in the background which belongs to the past history of asylums, but as faithfully drawn as the rest. A well-fed, indolent, pipe-

smoking, night-capped, surly keeper directs his sidelong watchful looks on the group of afflicted beings at his mercy. The heavy keys, held behind him in his careless hands, tell us of the cells they close so often on these unfortunate patients; and the whip, hanging out of his pocket, shows the universal remedy he wields for the errors and griefs of the mind; one of his victims has rudely drawn the likeness of this functionary on the wall, in the active exercise of his vocation.

“Such numerous and gratifying changes have taken place in asylums for the insane within the last few years, that instead of contemplating a picture of this kind with unmitigated pain, the comforting thought ever arises that in our modern or our reformed institutions the gloomiest patients are consoled, and the most distracted have their thoughts drawn away from dreams and fihantasies to pleasant occupations; that night-capped keepers are no more; that not only have whips disappeared, but the strait waistcoats; and that while all aids are given to recovery, all alleviations are imparted to the incurable. These changes, scarcely yet appreciated by the public at large, have not been effected easily; and the shadow of dreadful evils has but very recently passed away; evils greater far than those revealed in the picture which we have been contemplating.”

C. L. R.

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*The Diagnosis of Acute Mania and Melancholia.* By  
J. G. ATKINSON, M.D., *Rook Nest, Wakefield.*

My object in this paper, is to endeavour to draw a strict line of demarcation between those forms of insanity which may be comprehended under the terms of mania and melancholia, and the delirium, which we witness in the various inflammatory affections of the brain fever, or delirium-tremens. If we were aware of the absolute pathological changes which exist in insanity, the correctness of a theory would be easily proved or disproved. In the absence, however, of evidence of this nature, which may be regarded as of a positive kind, I am compelled to draw my inferences from symptoms of disease during life, which may be regarded as evidence of a circumstantial nature. It is now some years since Dr. Wigan

published a work on the duality of the mind, or, in other words, that as the brain consists of two sides or hemispheres, so these may have a distinct individuality of their own, just as occurs in the various senses, the eye, the ear, &c.

From the observations I have made upon a number of cases of acute mania and melancholia, I am of opinion, that two minds or thinking powers, as it were, appear to exist in the same individual,—one healthy, the other diseased; one only being in operation at one time; the individual's thoughts and actions being in direct sequence to whichever of the two, at the moment, is in play. These peculiarities may be witnessed in acute mania, as well as in melancholia. The incoherence or irrationality observable in fever, or in delirium-tremens, appears to arise in consequence of disease attacking both hemispheres of the brain equally, and in contra-distinction, may be regarded as instances of true delirium.

In many affections of the brain, we find a disposition to attack only one hemisphere, as is observed in apoplexy and paralysis, and I believe after experience will sanction the views I take as to the acute forms of mania and melancholia, when the disease is fully established, being in the majority of cases, considered as disease occurring in one hemisphere alone.

Now, if we for a moment examine into the physiology of the brain, so far as is known, we read\* that for all but its highest intellectual acts, one of the cerebral hemispheres is sufficient; for numerous cases are recorded, in which no mental defect was observed, although one cerebral hemisphere was so disorganised, or atrophied, that it could not be supposed capable of discharging its functions.

Again: "It would appear, that when one hemisphere is disordered, the same object may produce two sensations and suggest simultaneously different ideas; or, at the same time, two trains of thought may be carried on, by the one mind, acting and being acted upon differently in the two hemispheres." It is not the object of this paper to enquire into the nature of the changes which occur in the structure of the brain, constituting mania and melancholia, nor yet to offer any explanation as to the manner in which the healthy and diseased hemisphere alternately exert a controlling influence over the actions and thoughts of the individual; but to infer, by analogy, that there exists a strong probability that one hemisphere alone is capable of discharging the ordinary functions of reason, memory, &c.; and further to shew, that the symptoms of the disease just named, may be satisfactorily

\* Kirk and Paget's *Physiology*.

explained, by assuming the above hypothesis, and that this condition actually exists.

I must, however, admit, that I have both some hesitation and diffidence in advancing a theory of this nature, as the authors of the greatest repute and respectability of the present day, will not, I fear, bear me out in my suppositions. I have, however, selected one or two passages, which appear to me to have some approximation to these views, although in other instances, I find passages of a directly opposite tendency. One author, speaking on the subject of mania observes,\* "there is not so much destruction or defect of mind, as some derangement of its proper harmony." Again, "in the slighter instances of mania, the patient will break off his subject, in the midst of a narrative, or of conversation, and will pass abruptly to some other, with which the previous one has no sort of connection, and then again to another." Another writer observes,† "to alternations of delirium and reason, of composure and agitation, succeed acts the most strange and extravagant;" but then again, we have in the same chapter, this apparent contrariety, "that the whole mind generally suffers in consequence, and that confusion then becomes universal throughout the countless changes of the brain." We have, however, in another chapter, on the Diagnosis of Mania, the following passage, "The observations and the remarks are sometimes found to have a certain kind of cleverness and shrewd appreciation of all that is taking place." I now proceed to detail a few extracts, from two accounts written at my request, from patients who recovered under my care; one a case of acute mania, the other a case of acute melancholia. I have selected them, not because they are the most striking that occurred to me, but because the patients were willing to write, in their own words, the history of their own case. Amongst the poor and uneducated, a greater difficulty is generally found to get a complete history from the patients themselves. Their carelessness on recovery, their inability distinctly to describe symptoms and other causes of this nature, always, more or less, prevents their medical attendant procuring a faithful and trustworthy account.

The first case to which I call attention, is one of acute melancholia. The lady, the subject of it, belonged to a family hereditarily predisposed to insanity. Before being placed here, she had been under medical treatment at home for a few weeks, and during that time, I understood, had occasion-

\* Noble, *Psychological Medicine*.

† Bucknill and Tuke, *Psychological Medicine*.

ally exhibited some slight degree of violence. During the first two months that she was under our care, she was extremely taciturn, but when capable of being drawn into conversation, she exhibited no peculiarity; she almost refused food, and had sleepless nights. On her recovery, she wrote me the history of her case, so far as she could remember, from which I extract the following:—"On arriving at Rook Nest, I remembered the place again, having been once with mamma to a sale. After sitting two or three minutes in the drawing-room, some female, tall and rather stout, entered, whilst Mrs. Atkinson went out, &c. After much persuasion, Mrs. A. led me into the dining-room; a little boy and a young man came in soon after and seated themselves. She finally says, all the events of that first evening are fresh in my memory; I can even recollect what was for dinner, but it would occupy too much time to write all, besides being unnecessary." Now the whole of the foregoing is perfectly correct, and we were unable then to detect any special delusion, or illusion of any of the senses; but we find from another portion of her written history, that other trains of thought were in existence at this period. She goes on to say, "As I sat by the fire the same evening, I thought I saw a skeleton in the garden, and at night, after retiring to rest, I thought I heard carriages arrive at the door, and a man's voice loudly exclaim, Drown her in a butt of her grandpapa's ale." "I thought Mr. —, the station-master had arrived, and a lady from — at whose school I was once a boarder; also my mamma, and all my sisters and brothers, &c. The meaning of all this seemed to be witnesses arriving to give their evidence against me, and she ultimately states, that all this time, she thought she was Palmer, and going to be hung; and she draws this remarkable conclusion, from her peculiar state of mind, in the following words:—"It appears to me, as if I had had at the same time two existences; and I now look upon my past delusions as if they had occurred in a dream, although still quite fresh in my memory!"

The next case I purpose relating is, one of acute mania; the lady, the subject of it, was not hereditarily disposed to insanity, but for many years had passed through severe adversity and trouble, and had for a lengthened period, prior to admission, devoted her exclusive time and attention to religious subjects. In conversation, on first entrance, she could well recollect past and present events, and would converse with a moderate degree of freedom on any ordinary topic. She could not sleep, very often noisy, and continually trying to make



her escape, &c. From her written history I extract the following, "I remember going out the night of the storm, and continuing my walk until I was stopt by the gate of the toll-bar. — I remember some one on horseback, walking beside me, until I passed a wood ; and I remember remaining at the bar until the sky looked calm, though cloudy. Whilst I stood there, I went to ask shelter at the bar. I remember mamma waiting for me—putting me to bed and bringing me hot flannels and cocoa and making me comfortable. I went out again and was stopt by some men, who brought me home, and Mr. — Surgeon, came to see me, and again on the Sunday morning. When he came in the evening, I had tried to get out of the window, and one of the men came and held me all the evening. Mr. — gave me some medicine, and brought a woman with him, who remained with me all night ; I fastened the door by the banister ; She broke them down and came into the room. When Mr. — came again, I hid myself and would not see him, and I think many people came into the room, and I kept myself hid from them as well as I could. I remember coming here and sitting on the same side of the coach with Dr.—, &c., &c." All these statements are related with perfect accuracy, but in the same account she proceeds to give the history of very different matters which appeared to her to be going on at the same time, for in her own words we have—"this state of excitement I suppose produced disease, and I thought I saw Mr. — (her clergyman) taken and destroyed in a great fire, but the Lord took him and hid him, and I must pursue him, to be absolved, and to restore him his anointing, or we should both be lost eternally. I thought they had clothed and suffocated me with abominable garments (she was continually, night and day, tearing her clothing from her person, and completely stripping herself), and were seeking to kill me, having obtained the help of the evil one, whose fiery darts were to be quenched by faith, and all that was done about me I thought was the work of the devil, who came in the appearance of the people about me, that I might be deceived and destroyed by him. I thought it was to effect a great work in the ransom of souls, that all this trial was appointed, but that by reason of my drowsiness, I hindered much, and many went up before me. I thought the priest was to go up and shine as a star, and the Lord would set him on high, because he knew his name ; and I thought I was to be a star also, though I was dead in the body, except my hands and head, which they could not touch, being anointed, and that my heart was taken away by God lest it

should be touched by satan. I had a dreadful vision of you (myself) in the night, which first made me think you were an evil spirit, and I was afraid of you when you came to me, and I thought it was so arranged that you could see into my thoughts and knew all that was passing there. I threw all the bed clothes from me, imagining they were grave clothes, which would prevent me rising, and that they did prevent me rising beyond the sky. When I ceased to take you for an evil spirit, I took what you gave me, &c." (She obstinately refused food for many days, which was given by compulsory measures). To contrast with the cases just recorded, it would be necessary to picture the ordinary symptoms observable in cases of fever, delirium-tremens, &c., in order to show what I mean in contra-distinction, as examples of true delirium, or in other words, disease affecting both hemispheres of the brain; these, however, being so well known, it would be superfluous occupying any space on this head, suffice it for me simply to call attention to the fact, that, for instance, a patient suffering from delirium-tremens may, for many days consecutively, remain perfectly ignorant as to the room in which he is placed; the parties with whom he converses; mistake his nearest relative, &c., &c.: in short, his mind is completely mystified, without any interval of reason, until, perhaps, a prolonged sleep restores it to rationality and health; this diagnosis of delirium-tremens will not meet the descriptions given by the latest and best psychological writers; it argues that the whole and not part of the brain is affected, as in mania, whereas I find some of the authors above alluded to (Bucknill and Tuke) rely in their diagnosis more upon the character of the hallucinations, the pulse, skin, muscular system, &c.; my observation of this disease place it in the same category, so far as regards a state of complete delirium, as that of fever or inflammation of the brain. Nor yet am I unmindful of the objection that these observations do not coincide with the opinions of the Fathers of Psychological Medicine.\* Dr. Copland tells us that Pinel defines mania as a "general delirium, with agitation irascibility and propensity to furor." Rush, also, as a "violent general delirium." Esquirol the same. I candidly admit these are authorities difficult to overthrow. From the foregoing observations we deduce the following axioms,—1st, That one hemisphere of the brain may be completely destroyed, or partially diseased, without interfering with its opposite, just as one eye may be destroyed, or partially diseased, producing optical illusions, without necessarily inter-

\* Copland's *Dict. Art. Insanity*.

fering with the other. 2nd, That acute mania and melancholia are diseases arising from some abnormal action affecting only one hemisphere of the brain; the other, usually remaining in a healthy condition; the effect of this, producing in the patient so circumstanced a rational and an insane mind, having alternate influence upon all his thoughts, words, and deeds, and that this last peculiarity is the essential fact in the diagnosis of these diseases.

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*On the Condition of the Insane, and on the Treatment of Nervous Diseases in Turkey.* By R. F. F. Foote, M.D., Member of the Imperial Medical Society of Constantinople; lately Second Class Staff Surgeon, Her Majesty's Service, attached to His Highness Omar Pasha; formerly Physician Superintendent to the Norfolk County Asylum, England.

Continued from April, 1858.

No. II.

The English Hospital at Constantinople, is a good one, and situate near the Tower of Galata, overlooking the ancient Chalcedon, the modern Kadeköü, the ancient Byantrum, the modern Stamboul, with its elegant minarets, and well proportioned mosques; in the distance is the snow-clad Olympus, and within a few hundred yards, the Golden Horn, crowded with ships from all parts of the Globe. What a magnificent site, as far as view is concerned, would this offer for a hospital for the insane. But the ground is too valuable to afford any opportunity to enclose proper courts for exercise, and gardens for occupation.

Although we have spoken of the general arrangements being very good in this hospital, yet we are surprized to find that there is no adaptation of its internal economy for the insane, or for the treatment of persons who may suffer from temporary mental derangement, and whose early attention produces so much benefit. The necessity of such arrangements we think indisputable, as not unfrequently cases of mania occur here among the English community, requiring immediate attention, and if these cases are neglected, chronic insanity, or a fatal termination may result. A case came under

our observation, two years since, which will serve to illustrate the necessity of some arrangements being made. An Englishman in the employ of a gentleman in Pera, as groom, suffered from a fall from a horse, and received severe concussion of the brain; immediately after the accident, when seen, he was in a state of insensibility, with a feeble pulse and contracted pupils, he was ordered to be carefully watched, and that, did any change take place, the attendants should immediately inform us. At twelve o'clock at night, six hours after the accident, he was again visited, and reaction had commenced slightly; cold applications were ordered. An officer present, asked if the patient had been bled; he was answered in the negative, upon this he said: Is it intended to bleed him? The reply was: No. He said: Why not, as in this country, it is the practice with all the surgeons and physicians to bleed in the case of a man receiving any injury in the head? The answer was: That as it did not seem necessary, the patient would not be thus treated. The next morning he was seen early, and was more conscious, and at one p.m., he was removed to Pera, where, through the kindness of his nurse, he received proper care and attention, and rapidly recovered. But why has not this man been bled, said his master; I have heard that medical men of late, treat apoplexy different to what they used to do, but when a person suffers from an injury to the head, I have always heard it expressed, that bleeding is absolutely necessary; we could only inform the gentleman, that, formerly, such was the idea in England, but, latterly, the medical profession have discovered that blood-letting very rarely relieves mental affections or nervous disorders, but more often is the great exciting cause, and that men could only point to such authorities as Liston, Cooper, Guthrie, &c., who would not consider it necessary to order a man to be bled because he had received a concussion of the brain, any more than they would consider it necessary to bleed a patient because he had suffered from epilepsy.

In a few days, the patient recovered, and, notwithstanding strict injunctions were laid down that proper rest should be observed, yet, within three weeks he was allowed to go again on horseback, and had fallen off thrice, he was also at liberty to take wine, brandy, or ale, *at libitum*; shortly after, hot weather having suddenly commenced, he suffered from constipation of the bowels, congestion of the liver and brain, which was accompanied with excitement, it was considered necessary to send him to the English Hospital. There were no arrangements to receive people, although alienated and Englishmen.

A few days afterwards, the patient made a determined attempt at self-destruction, by cutting his throat, and, of course, no farther delay took place, he remained for some weeks at the hospital, and, subsequently, left for England a lunatic. There can be but little doubt, that, had the early symptoms been treated by removing him to the hospital, the nearly fatal result would have been prevented; had a little discretion and forethought been used, and a little additional expense been incurred, ample provision could have been made for cases of insanity whose temporary detention here is absolutely necessary, until such arrangements can be made for their removal to England, but the practice of placing them in the gaol as common felons, or sending them to Yiedy Koly, to be left to the tender mercies of the persons there, scarcely appears in accordance with English views. Three cases have occurred during the past twelve months, viz., two females, and one male; the Consul refused to admit the women into the hospital, but the male was admitted.

During twelve months a vast number of vessels under English protection arrived here, upon which a tax is laid for the support of the Hospital; during the year ending December, 1857, no less than 13,529 men in 1351 ships under English protection entered the port of Constantinople; among these men, ardent spirits when indulged in, produce much excitement and mental derangement, we are not however surprised to find the objection which the medical officer has to receiving these cases into the hospital, in the absence of any architectural arrangement for their proper care and attention.

In addition there is always a large portion of residents, consisting of English, Ionians and Maltese under British protection, amounting to upwards of 4000 people. But we must not expect to find protection in public arrangements; deficiencies will, and we suppose must exist, and with the Turks shrug our shoulders, and say "Kysmet" it is fate.

The general want of nervous energy among the natives is apparent to every one who visits Turkey. "Put off until to-morrow that which you can do to-day; never do that which you promise; or punctuality the thief of time; procrastination the soul of buisness;" these ideas are indelibly written upon all the movements of the Turks, Greeks, and Armenians.

In some parts of Pera, the atmosphere always retains a purity, an elasticity, and an exhilarating force, not to be met with elsewhere than on the shores of the Bosphorus; to a great extent its beneficial effect on nervous disease may be described to the noble view in the distance, with its many reminis-

cencies. In passing towards Tophane to take a caique we have this beautiful view behind us, and soon become entangled in the purlieus of Galata, where all Hygienic rules appear to be entirely disregarded, and where the atmosphere produces a depressing effect from its impurity. Indeed, in certain localities I have noticed that fever with considerable mental excitement appears to be always present, and although the older residents are more or less affected by it, yet the new-comers very soon suffer; we are not, therefore, surprised to find that the plague made such sad havoc formerly in certain parts of Constantinople. The effect of the mechanical power of steam imported from England has, however, done much to remove many of the inhabitants to the shores of the Bosphorus, and thus to distribute the population over a large area.

On the 22nd May, 1858, having taken a caique at Tophane we passed Seraglio Point, Kani Kapii, Yeni Kapii, Somatiak, and soon arrived at the small pier near the village of Yiedy Koly, and landed at Beylik Kassab, or the government butcher's depot, a collection of wooden buildings, placed close to, and in some parts overhanging the sea, where animals are slaughtered for the supply of the Commissariat of the Porte. Numerous wolf like dogs received us with open mouths and fierce salutes, but offered us no personal violence. We passed through the little village consisting of a few badly built houses inhabited by Greeks, and noticed as we passed through the large ancient Turkish cemetery, the ever existing want of mechanical arrangements, which may be said to be found not only in many relations of social life, but in the forms of the tombs erected to the dead.

On visiting the asylum we were received with much courtesy by the governor in a room adjoining the Hospital, an institution at some distance from the building before described, and which is specially devoted to the reception of sick patients of the Greek religion, and from all we can learn is well conducted. It is under the medical care of Dr. Omloff who has also the medical care of the lunatics.

The governor very politely, in the true Eastern style, offered us pipes and coffee, without which, in this country, no business can be commenced, and subsequently informed us that he knew of no other means of repressing violence but by restraint, that they had at present very bad resources for supplying the necessaries, but that poor insane people came there and were allowed to eat their bread as quietly as possible, that when a man was violent by night they had no other appliance at com-

mand but to place him under restraint and to fix him by chains to his bed ; recently however they had had some straight jackets, but at times even chains were not sufficient to allay the violence. He stated that there were no printed rules, no accounts were kept of the condition mental or otherwise of the patients, there were no night watches, no single rooms for seclusion ; they found low diet was the best treatment, and that they allowed the patients to walk out in the garden when they wished, and although some were wanting in proper clothing, yet they had only recently ordered new dresses.

Not being a qualified medical man, he seemed much surprised when we informed him that in the best conducted asylums in England, mechanical restraint was seldom or ever used, and that as regards the "recoveries in asylums," which have been established during considerable periods, say twenty years, a proportion of much less than 40 per cent. of the admission is under the ordinary circumstances a low proportion. From our enquiries it appears that no properly organized homes exist for persons of the middle classes, nor any private asylum for their reception, but we have been informed that some of them are sent to Principo, an island in the sea of Marmora, where they are placed in care of the monks, who by means of chains, ill-ventilated cells and bad food, soon knock the devil out of the people one way or the other, as they either become very calm and quiet (demented), or die from their excitement (acute mania).

On going into number one we were much pleased to find that all the large chains had been removed, but the odour of the apartments was rather unpleasant, owing to the proximity of the water closets, but as there was a free current of air passing rapidly through, the effect was not very disagreeable.

1. The first patient who attracted our attention, J. B., was an Italian by birth, a man of thirty years of age, of thin form, nervous temperament with an anxious countenance. The pulse was feeble, 90, head cool, tongue clean, his limbs, which he uncovered, exhibited marks of recent bruises ; he stated that he was very badly served, worse than a beast, that his food was very scanty and inferior in quality. He talked incoherently of having been employed during the war by His Majesty the Sultan, and that he had been sent to the asylum because some of His Majesty's household had been jealous of him."

2. A. of Crite, educated at Pera as a medical student, spoke Italian fluently, was standing on the cold stones without shoes or stockings, his dress being simply a shirt and a pair of

cotton drawers ; the circulation appeared feeble, countenance pale, haggard, skin cool, he was very excited. He wished that we would apply to his consulate to remove him as he had been sent there without proper cause ; he threatened that the attendant should be tied to two horses and torn to pieces for his cruelty to him, he said he had nothing but a morsel of bread to eat, that we should call upon his friends at Pera to send him some clothes as he had none.

He warned the attendant, and said that he should tremble when he passed him. The attendant considered that no attention should be paid to his conversation, and walked off quietly laughing, leaving us to pursue our enquiries.

3. A. Talked Greek and Italian fluently, and, in addition, a little English ; said he would tell us all the truth, but was afraid of the keeper, who threatened to kill him ; he had been brought to the asylum on account of some mistake he had made in going and knocking at a Turkish house, where there was a harem, that the women were frightened, and the police brought him to this place.

4. D. Was covered by a sheet, stated that he had been brought from Bayakderéh, where he was employed as a gardener, and that he had arrived there for what reason he knew not ; he was seated in a restraint chair, with a strap around his body, and both feet encircled with leather ; he was constantly crossing himself after the Greek religion ; that his companion, who had forced him to come thither, had also accompanied us there.

5. S. B. Dressed as a Greek priest, with a closely fitting cossack stretching to his ankles ; a high hat, rounded at the summit ; said he had been brought from Balakly, he appeared morose, and had come thither for peace and quietness.

6. G. became very excited, said he did not know his name, how do you call yourself, one has one name, I have another, does not know why he is put where he is. He was very much annoyed that Vassili had been brought to the asylum ; his countenance appeared haggard, pulse feeble, head cool ; he was sitting up in bed.

7. N. had on his head a turban, fancied himself a Mussulman ; on his breast various decorations ; would not talk ; thought the whole building belonged to him.

8. N. D., a man of 50 years of age, appeared very feeble ; he had effusion into the cellular tissue of the face, gums were spongy and ulcerated, countenance very anxious, the body was covered with spots of petechiæ ; pulse feeble ; he presented all the appearance of a patient suffering from



scurvy; he complained loudly that he had no medical attendant, and very little food.

9. G. A man of small stature; anxious countenance; tolerably well-developed head; stated that he had great belief in the Russians, he hoped they would soon take possession of Constantinople, as he had been engaged by the Emperor of Russia to put all the Mahomedans in prison, and that 60,000 Russian troops were to land at Principo, in May next, and that the Sultan was to be sent to Scutari in a *ciaque*, and that several hundred Russian gun-boats, as merchant steamers, had passed lately into the Black Sea.

The other cases presented no peculiarities, there appeared to be less restriction than previously noticed; indeed, one of the female patients was walking through the male wards, unattended by any male or female person. The males could readily pass into the garden, no means being taken to prevent them.

The male attendant stated that the Doctor visited the wards twice a-day; the patients say that such took place once a week; whilst the Governor informed us that he went only when required.

There appeared no means for occupation or amusement furnished, but the lunatics stated that some were so much beaten that they were prevented working; the Governor said that every effort was used to employ them, and that every facility for taking exercise in the open air during any time of the day.

Their food, which we saw, consisted of three meals daily. The servant stated that meat was given them once in two weeks, about four ounces of cooked boiled beef, owing to the very high price prevailing of late. The food consisted of bread, with rice and water, forming a soup, whilst others were supplied with green French beans cooked with oil; in the morning, they have for breakfast bread and cheese, without coffee. At noon, the same; and no wine, tea, or sugar, appears to be allowed them. It appears that those who have friends, who can give money to the attendants, are treated better; tobacco is supplied to them.

We entered the female apartment, being accompanied by the nurse, who is the only one employed; we found No. 1, the Refractory Ward, in a wretched state.

*Sophia R.* was fixed to a bedstead, with an iron collar around her neck, and her arms fixed; she took no notice of us, but it was stated she had been thus treated on account of her violence in breaking the windows; she appeared perfectly quiet and orderly.

*Maria N.* became very excited, and demanded why I dared to write in her presence, what I had to write about. She wished all Governments to be called to judge me; she appeared feeble and weakly. She said God is the first, I am the second; there is a land and a sea, a sun and a moon; I warn you do not forget God. Do you keep Thursdays and Fridays, do you fast on those days? I am the cashier of the Emperor of Russia; every day I am married to a husband, and every morning I cut off his head. The nurse stated that when the patients are sick the doctor visits them.

There are no knives, or forks, table cloths, or chairs; the patients take their food with their fingers; a habit not peculiar in Turkey. The court-yard, in which a few were walking, was small, surrounded by a paling. The clothing was slovenly, the bedding scanty but clean; the nurse stated that five or six females had died since January, and some discharged who had recovered. All the food is carried from the hospital to the asylum, a distance of several hundred feet; there is no covered way or means of retaining heat in winter, and it is always cold.

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*A Descriptive Notice of the Sussex Lunatic Asylum, Hayward's Heath (opened 25th July, 1859); by C. LOCKHART ROBERTSON, M.B., Cantab., Honorary Secretary to the Association of Medical Officers of Asylums and Hospitals for the Insane; Medical Superintendent of the Asylum.*

In laying before the members of this Association a descriptive notice of the Sussex Lunatic Asylum, it is my grateful task to record the obligations I am under to several of its most distinguished members for the aid and counsel they so liberally lent to me while engaged in the task of fitting and furnishing this asylum, and bringing it into working order; an undertaking, I venture to add, more difficult than one, who has not personally tried it, would suppose.

A medical superintendent appointed to a new county asylum about to open has three distinct objects brought at once before him. He is taken over a large building full of workmen, and half-finished work, and he is called upon to make suggestions for the adapting of the plans to his own ideas of the working of an asylum. Next he has to complete, in detail, the arrangements for the fitting and furnishing of the wards and offices; and, thirdly, he has to organize the staff of officers and servants of the asylum, and visit, in the several private asylums in which they may happen to be lodged, the patients belonging to the county, with a view to their removal.

Were asylum architects familiar with the daily life of an asylum, the first requirements on the attention of the new superintendent would be, only the adaption to his own per-

sonal views and plans of a scheme designed and fitted for its purpose. Such was eminently the case at the Cambridge County Asylum, built from the plans of an experienced superintendent and amateur architect, Mr. Hill. So also in the case of the Sussex Asylum, the architect, Mr. Kendall, had, by the experience gained by him in building the Essex Asylum, acquired a knowledge of the requirements of an asylum, and lessened this preliminary difficulty.

The most satisfactory arrangement was that adopted by the magistrates for the County of Lincoln, who called in the advice of the medical superintendent, to aid in the selection of the plans and architect previous to their commencing the building. It is much to be regretted that this plan was not generally adopted in the erection of the several county asylums. It is one which places the responsibility on an individual, and thus secures a more careful and intelligent study of the whole design and watchful superintendence of its erection than can result from the formal examination and approval of the Lunacy Commissioners; an approval which, for example, in the case of the Sussex Asylum, omitted the introduction of any systematic supply of artificial heat in the plans sanctioned.

The second question which comes before the medical superintendent is the fitting and furnishing of the house. The liberality which opens to our mutual inspection the different county asylums, and the entire absence of personal rivalry which pervades this one department of the medical profession, renders this task comparatively easy. Thus, in the case of the Sussex Asylum, I simply took the clerk of the works with me for a couple of days to Brentwood, and, with rule and measure, booked the size and kind of fittings in every store, office, and ward in the asylum; and, on our return home, we had only next day to go over our own offices and wards and draw up the specification for the work.

Again, as relates to the furnishing, (including clothing) the tradesmen who had furnished the Lincoln Asylum, Bethlehem, and the Essex were invited to tender samples of the articles, and thus again by the experience of my professional brethren my task of selection was materially aided. Still the endless requirements for the fitting and furnishing of a large establishment are quite alarming to one not previously conversant with such wants. The burthen of the requirements of our civilization falls heavy when individual wants have to be multiplied by four hundred.

The third task to which I have referred, as devolving on the

superintendent of a new asylum, is the organizing of the staff of the officers and servants (including the rules and regulations) of the establishment, previous to the removal of the patients to their new home. The arrangement of the duties of the staff requires that he should first view, in detail, his own duties and responsibilities; unless he himself realizes the extent, and strives to discharge the obligations of the vocation he has entered on, all the arrangements and plans of builders, upholsterers, and other artificers employed on the fabric will avail but little towards the great object of the foundation, the care and relief of human suffering in its most abject and distressing form. These duties and these responsibilities have been so ably stated by one whose pre-eminent success in the study and treatment of mental disease needs not my praise, that I make no apology in this place for quoting his opinions in full. "The medical superintendent," says Dr. Conolly, "himself should deserve the fullest confidence of the governing body, and should possess it. His authority cannot be impaired without detriment to the asylum, through every part of which his influence must be continually in operation. The task undertaken by him is one of considerable physical and mental labour. A daily visit to several hundred insane persons, each requiring to be accosted so as to do some good, and to do no harm, is itself singularly exhausting to any officer whose heart is really in his duty; and the multiplicity of claims on his attention throughout the day affords his mind scarcely any intervals of repose. Unavoidable excitements occur, and sometimes he is engaged in scenes of violent agitation suddenly arising, and where his interference is indispensable. Whatever therefore is needlessly done to harass or depress the mind of an officer engaged in such a duty disqualifies him to some extent for his important undertaking; for vigilantly superintending the whole working of the asylum, and for consoling, enlivening, animating, and by undisturbed kindness and calmness ever guiding, supporting, and controlling more or less directly the minds of all the rest of the establishment. It is to him that the whole house must at all times look for the principles by which every thing done in it is to be regulated. His supposed or his known wishes should be present to the mind of every officer and every attendant in every variety of accident, and his character of mind and heart ever in their view. Indifference on his part must lead to negligence on the part of those who execute his commands; severity exhibited by him must lead to brutality on the part of the attendants. His steady discouragement of negligence,

his known abhorrence of cruelty, and his real and deep sympathy with his patients, may be reflected from every humane heart in the asylum. His duty comprehends the wide and careful survey of every thing that can favourably or unfavourably affect the health of mind or body. He has to regulate the habits, the character, the very life of his patients. The whole house, every great and every trifling arrangement, the disposition of every officer and servant should be in perpetual conformity to his views, so that one uniform idea may animate all to whom his orders are intrusted, and the result be one uniform plan. Nothing should be done without his sanction. The manners and language of all who are employed in the asylum should but reflect his, for every thing done and every thing said in an asylum is remedial or hurtful; and not an order should be given, or a word spoken, except in accordance with the spirit of the director of the whole establishment. *By such a system alone can it even be proved to what extent the cure or the improvement of the insane is practicable.*

“Resolved therefore to make his asylum a place where every thing is regulated with one humane view, and where humanity, if anywhere on earth shall reign supreme, the resident medical director must be prepared to make a sacrifice of some of the ordinary comforts and conventionalities of life. His duties are peculiar and apart from common occupations. His society even must chiefly consist of his patients; his ambition must solely rest in doing good to them; his happiness on promoting theirs. None but those who live among the insane can fully know the pleasures which arise from imparting trifling satisfactions to impaired minds; none else can appreciate the reward of seeing reason returning to a mind long deprived of it; none else can fully know the value of diffusing comfort and all the blessings of orderly life among those who would either perish without care, or each of whom would, if out of the asylum, be tormented or a tormentor. Constant intercourse and constant kindness can alone obtain their entire confidence, and this confidence is the very key-stone of all successful management.

“Thus living and thus occupied, the director will learn to love his people with all their infirmities, which are their afflictions. The asylum is his world, the patients are his friends, humble but not without even delicate consideration for others; wayward but not malignant, except when cruelty exasperates them; capricious but not ungrateful; distrustful but to be won by candour and truth; disturbed and piteously afflicted, but not dead to some of best and purest affections.

He will almost regard his patients as his children ; their cares and their joys will become his ; and humanly speaking his whole heart will be given to them."

The duties thus entrusted to the medical superintendent involve

1. The general superintendence and control over every department of the asylum, and every officer and servant in the same.

2. The hiring and discharge at his discretion, of all the attendants and servants of the asylum.

3. The regulation of all that concerns the moral and medical treatment of the patients, including the dietary, appertains to his office.

4. It is further his duty to observe the progress in science of all that relates to the treatment of the insane, and officially to direct the attention of the visitors, from time to time, to such improvements in the conduct of the house, as his increased knowledge and experience may suggest.

In arranging the relative duties of the officers of the asylum it is necessary as a basis for any sound government, that their several duties should be performed under the undisputed control and direction of the medical superintendent ; that while holding their office from the visitors, the power of suspending them from the discharge of their duties, should rest in his hands. It is also necessary that in their several duties they shall be required to take counsel with him, from time to time on the routine and details of the work.

The officers of the Sussex Asylum are

1. The Medical Superintendent.
2. The Chaplain.
3. The Assistant Medical Officer.
4. The Steward.
5. The Housekeeper
6. The Head Attendant, (male department.)
7. The Head Attendant, (female department.)

Their duties may be thus briefly stated.

*Chaplain.* The chaplain is non-resident. His duties beyond the Sunday and holiday services, are to read morning prayer daily in the chapel, and evening prayer also, if so required by the visitors ; to visit the wards once a week on each side of the house ; to visit and counsel such sick, as his attention may be directed to by the superintendent, and generally to exercise a spiritual charge over each member of the household.

Further the care of the library, and the conduct and organization of the school, is under the chaplain's personal charge.

A non-resident chaplain is in every way more desirable than a resident, if simply for this one reason, that it is found by experience that a higher class man can be found to devote himself to the duty when not required to sever his relations with the world outside, by residing in an asylum. Still the chaplain should be specially appointed to the asylum. In some counties the duty is let out to the rector of the parish, or to a neighbouring cathedral dignitary. I think this is unwise economy; the spiritual charge of an asylum, and of all connected with it, should be the first obligation of its chaplain. Any chance duty, as that of a union or lectureship may very properly be added to this, leaving the requirements of the asylum as the primary charge and claim on the chaplain's time.

I think that medical superintendents are apt to under rate the value of the chaplains ministrations in the house.

To many of the patients his presence among them is most soothing. None of the necessary discipline falling to his share, he can often enter into little grievances and wants which they might shrink from confiding to the medical authorities.

His instruction in the school I hold to be of the utmost value. I am about to discharge a patient whose elementary education has been much improved by the lessons which, during her convalescence, she received in the school, and cases are not unfrequent where the patient leaves the asylum with more knowledge than he brought or ever had before.

Again with the household his ministrations are of paramount importance. The mere outward recognition of a higher motive to action than the mere wages, which the offering of the daily prayer in the asylum chapel implies, is alone no small step towards raising the moral tone of the whole work undertaken in the asylum, and so bringing before each one employed in the same a sense of his vocation, and of his personal responsibility for the manner in which the duties of his calling are discharged.

I need hardly enlarge on so obvious a truth.

*Assistant Medical Officer.* The first resident officer to be selected is the medical superintendents' professional assistant. This officer, his frequent substitute in the performance of his duties, and one with whom he must often take counsel in the



daily government of the asylum, should be of his own selection, and the rules of the asylum should confer on the medical superintendent the right of nominating to the visitors his professional assistant.

The duties of the assistant medical officer entirely concern the charge of the patients (as distinguished from the management of the household) with whom he should cultivate the most intimate relationship and acquaintance by constant and repeated visits to the wards, beyond the daily professional inspection. The charge of the dispensary, and of the case books also devolve on the assistant medical officer ; the arrangement of the amusements of the patients, of the weekly ball, of the cricket in summer, of the walks in the country, of visits to relations and friends, form part of the assistant medical officer's immediate charge.

I am of opinion that his duties might most wisely be shared with a resident clinical clerk ; many students would gladly embrace such an opportunity of becoming familiar with the diagnosis and treatment of mental disease. From candidates for appointments in the India Medical Service, attendance for three months on the practice of an asylum is required, and yet our county asylums are closed against the student. Surely this is not right.

*Steward and Clerk.* The duties of steward and clerk, are usually conjoined, whether with advantage to the asylum, I rather doubt. In an asylum of 400 patients or more, I am sure that the time necessarily spent on book-keeping and returns, would be more profitably devoted to the stores, and economical supply of the provisions, while the salary of a resident clerk would not exceed £30, with board and lodging.

The steward of an asylum should have no control or concern with the management or direction of the patients, attendants, servants, or indeed with any of the every day work of the asylum, saving the tailors' and shoemakers' shop, whose work it is his duty to supply elsewhere, should it fail in the asylum. A steward who devotes his energies to the daily supply and issue of the provisions, clothing, fuel, &c., of a large establishment, and to the accounts and returns involved in these issues, has his time fully occupied. When, in addition, to the duties required by the Commissioners in Lunacy from the clerk of the asylum are imposed on him, the argument is conclusive that he can have no time to devote to other duties, and should not be held responsible for any control or direction of the household, attendants, or artizans.

The duties of the steward and clerk of the Sussex Asylum are :—

1. The charge of all the stores, books, and documents belonging to the establishment.

2. The personal superintendence of the delivery and issue of all stores, provisions, and clothing.

3. The keeping of the several accounts and other forms of the asylum, in conformity with the requirements of the Act of Parliament.

*Housekeeper.* In most asylums the duties of housekeeper and head female attendant are conjoined in the stately person of the matron, to whom, in one of the Middlesex asylums, the ridiculously extravagant salary of £200 a year, besides her rooms and rations are allowed. I have yet to make the acquaintance of the woman whose work I consider worth this salary.

What is required in an asylum is a discreet, sensible woman, to take the same control of the domestic arrangements of the household as the housekeeper does in any other large establishment, public or private. Any one pretending to the manners or requirements of a lady is entirely out of place.

The duties of the housekeeper in the Sussex Asylum are :—

1. The charge and superintendence of the kitchen, laundry, officers' and servants' rooms, and the control over the domestic servants of the asylum.

2. The charge of the cutting out of the work supplied to the female wards.

3. A general supervision of the cleanliness of the wards, bedding, and such like, on both sides of the house.

She has thus in the care of the kitchen, laundry, and work-room ample occupation.

She has no responsibility as regards the patients, nor control over their attendants.

*The Head-Attendants.* Sufficient importance is not, I think, given to these two officers in our county asylums. Indeed their appointment is only of recent date, and the result of recommendations from the Commissioners in Lunacy. In one of the over-grown metropolitan asylums (in which asylums illustrations of the arrangements that ought not to exist in an asylum can mostly be found) these recommendations have not yet been attended to.

The head-attendant's office appears to me of the utmost importance ; I would rather bear with second-rate inefficiency from any other officer of the asylum. The steward might, by negligence, allow the quality of the clothing, or of the provi-

sions, to deteriorate ; or the housekeeper might neglect the kitchen or the laundry, and, after all, no very serious results to the patients follow. But in the case of the head-attendants, their shortcomings involve the ultimate object of the whole asylum in the curative treatment of mental disease. If they neglect their duty, the patients themselves, in their persons, in their comfort, in all that relates to their well being, must suffer.

The position in the asylum of these two officers should not be inferior to that of the steward or housekeeper, nor should their salaries be much less. It is difficult to break through formed prejudices, and committees may be slow to recognize the importance of the trust committed to the head attendants. Still the medical superintendent in the exercise of his discretionary powers can do much to sustain their position and authority in the house.

The duties of the head attendants in the Sussex Asylum include the entire direction (under the medical officers) of the wards, and attendants, and of the patients, and of all that relates to the patients. In this are involved the instruction and superintendence of the attendants in their duty, the enforcing of the hours and discipline of the house, the visiting of the wards and supervision at meal time of the distribution of the diet, the examination of the quantity and quality supplied, the reception of patients on admission, the regulation of the attendants' leave, the issue of repairs and clothing, and other ward necessaries to be procured from the asylum stores.

The occupation and employment of the patients, perhaps the most important curative agent, is mainly under their supervision.

*Artizans and Attendants.* The permanent artizans of an asylum are the engineer, the smith, the carpenter, the bricklayer, the painter and glazier, the tailor, the shoemaker, the baker, the brewer. I think it best that these several artizans should be simply employed as tradesmen, at weekly wages out of the house. All attempts to get the double work of attendant and artizan result in a second-rate artizan and third-rate attendant. I tried it in one instance with an artizan-attendant, who brought from a private pauper asylum the highest recommendations, and he nearly brought about, the first day I employed him, by his neglect of duty, the only approach to an accident I have had since the opening of the asylum.

In the same way I think if the laundry-maids are up to their work, and do it, that any attempt to make ward attendants of them will fail. This also I learnt by experience here,

A first-class laundry-maid will not undertake ward duty, an inferior laundry-maid is like all inferior servants, not worth house-room. Skilled labour, at fair wages, is, in the long run, a saving over unskilled labour, however cheaply (supposed) paid, and nowhere does this truth hold with more force than in an asylum.

The wages in all our county asylums are too low. In the Government prisons the value of skilled labour is better understood.

At first I had the idea that by low wages, I should ensure a consequent reduction of the weekly rate. I owe it to my friend Dr. Campbell, that I avoided this serious mistake, and early in our proceedings submitted to the visitors a scale of wages, high as compared with one or two of the neighbouring asylums. I know that the patients have gained by the step, and I also believe that the ultimate economy resulting from the uniform arrangements of a well ordered house, will leave the county no loser.

In the Government prisons, under the inspection of Sir Joshua Jebb, the following rate of wages is paid to the warders.

Assistant Warders	£52 a year, rising	£1 a year to	£62
Warders	£55	£1 5s. "	£67 10s.
Principal Warder	£65	£1 10s. "	£80

In addition, a daily ration of 1lb meat, 1lb potatoes, and 1lb bread is allowed to each warder; they do not sleep in the prison. Of course such wages command the market.

In the Sussex Asylum the wages of the male attendants\* begin at £28, and rise £1 a year, to £30, those of the female attendants run from £15 to £20. With my present experience, I would decidedly place these wages higher, rather than lower, were I advising a change. The artizans average from 30s. to 21s. a week. It is my intention, from time to time, to advise that an increase on this scale should be granted, as the reward of long or skilful service.

"If I may rely on my own observations," says Dr. Conolly, "no object connected with the management of the insane has received less adequate attention than the selection of proper attendants, their proper treatment, their just government, and their instruction in the various, and peculiar, and exhausting duties, which necessarily devolve upon them. The important and delicate task of regulating the conduct of persons of unsound mind, of controlling excite-

\* See *List of the Establishment* at the end of this paper.

ment, restraining waywardness, or removing mental depression, is, unavoidably, confided to persons of limited education; but these are too frequently chosen with little regard to their disposition, temper or intelligence. They are permitted to commence their duties with as little preparation as if their office was merely that of a servant, and are governed either with severity or injustice, or without the consideration and indulgence requisite to support their patience, and to encourage them to be considerate and indulgent to those on whom they attend, and who are solely in their power.

Of all the physician's remedial agents, they are the most continually in action; all that cannot be done by his personal exertion depends upon them. The character of particular patients, and of all the patients of a ward, takes its colour from the character of the attendants placed in it. On their being proper or improper instruments, well or ill-trained, well or ill-disciplined, well or ill-cared for, *it depends whether many of his patients shall be cured or not cured; whether some shall live or die; whether frightful accidents, an increased mortality, incalculable uneasiness and suffering, and occasional suicides, shall take place or not.*"

In opening a new asylum it is desirable to procure the services of attendants accustomed to the insane. I have not found those trained in private asylums at all equal to those attendants whom I have engaged with recommendations from Hanwell, Worcester, and Brentwood.

When an asylum is once established I agree in the opinion expressed by Dr. Bucknill before the Parliamentary Commission of last year, that it is better to train attendants out of the material of the county. I have already six promising attendants who have learnt all their duties in the Sussex Asylum. For male attendants I think farm servants on the whole the best material. I have been disappointed in the military pensioners I have tried. They are all eye-servants, and require more looking after than the patients. For female attendants young house-maids under twenty are by far the best. Of this I have no doubt whatever.

As in private life, so also does it hold in a public asylum, that the tone and character of the servants depend more upon their master and the example set to them than upon any thing else. The sense of this responsibility adds to the anxiety of the medical superintendent's charge

While on this subject I would add one extract from Miss Nightingale's *Notes on Nursing*, referring to the necessity of

training nurses for their work. "The every day management of a large ward, is not this matter of sufficient importance and difficulty to require learning by experience and careful enquiry, just as much as any other art? They do not come by inspiration to the lady disappointed in love, nor to the poor workhouse drudge hard up for a livelihood. And terrible is the injury which has followed to the sick from such wild notions. In this respect (and why is it so?) in Roman Catholic countries both writers and workers are in theory, at least, far before us. They would never think of such a beginning for a good working Superior or Sister of Charity. And many a superior has refused to admit a *postulant* who appeared to have no better vocation or reasons for offering herself than these. It is true we make no vows. But is a vow necessary to convince us that the true spirit for learning any art, most especially an act of charity aright, is not a disgust to every thing, or something else? Do we really place the love of our kind (and of nursing as one branch of it) so low as this? What would the Mère Angélique of Port Royal,—what would our own Mrs. Fry have said to this."

*Diet.* The diet of our asylums vary. The new asylums are more liberally dieted than the old. The largest amount of animal food is given in the Essex Asylum. These dietaries all contain a daily allowance of beer, which in practice I have always found to be very poor stuff indeed. I have followed the practice of other asylums in issuing a daily half pint (at least) of weak beer, worth about 7d. a gallon, but except for the irritation which its withdrawal would cause to the patients, I think water would be a preferable drink. In the prisons water only is issued, and all the patients gain flesh on it. No one could wish to see more robust looking men than are to be found at Millbank. Besides I entirely doubt if this weak beer have the slightest nutritive value in the diet scale. I think it would be wiser to issue water to the healthy patients, and to give Reid's London Stout to those whose health would be benefitted by an alcoholic stimulant. Wine I consider superfluous in an asylum. A little good Scotch whiskey or gin answers every purpose of a strong stimulant-sedative, at a third of the cost.

For the attendants good home-brewed beer should be provided. Indeed, too much care cannot be put on the comforts (including diet) of the attendants of an asylum.

The following is the diet scale now in use in the Sussex Asylum :—

DIET SCALE.

Week Days	Breakfast at 8:0 a.m.				Dinner at 1:0 p.m.												Supper at 6:0 p.m.												
	Males		Fem.		Males.						Females						Males.		Females										
	Bread	Cocoa	Bread	Cocoa	Bread	Uncooked Meat	Dumpling	Pie	Suet	Pudding	Mutton	Broth	Vegetables	Bread	Beer	Uncooked Meat	Dumpling	Pie	Suet	Pudding	Mutton	Broth	Vegetables	Bread	Butter	Coffee	Sweet Cake or	Butter	Tea
	oz.	pts.	oz.	pts.	oz.	pts.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	pts.	oz.	pts.	oz.	oz.	pts.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	pts.	oz.	pts.	oz.	oz.	oz.	pts.	oz.	oz.
Sunday	6	1	5	1	6	4	4	12	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	8	8	1	1	1	6	6	1	5	4	1
Monday	6	1	5	1	6	4	4	12	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	8	8	1	1	1	6	6	1	5	4	1
Tuesday	6	1	5	1	6	4	4	12	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	8	8	1	1	1	6	6	1	5	4	1
Wednesday	6	1	5	1	6	4	4	12	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	8	8	1	1	1	6	6	1	5	4	1
Thursday	6	1	5	1	6	4	4	12	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	8	8	1	1	1	6	6	1	5	4	1
Friday	6	1	5	1	6	4	4	12	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	8	8	1	1	1	6	6	1	5	4	1
Saturday	6	1	5	1	6	4	4	12	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	8	8	1	1	1	6	6	1	5	4	1
Total	42	7	35	7	18	34	8	16	12	3	24	15	34	30	8	12	8	12	8	3	16	42	34	7	35	34	7	35	34

Extra Diet for Sick.

(At the discretion of the Medical Superintendent.) } Extra Meat Dinner, Mutton Chop, Fish, Eggs, Mutton Broth, Beef Tea, Milk, Arrow-Root, Rice Pudding, Batter Pudding }  
 { 3 Pint Beer, 2 oz. Bread, 1 oz. Cheese, at 11 a.m., and 4 Pint Beer at 4 p.m., the Laundry Patients 3 Pint Tea, and 4 oz. Cake.  
 { Tobacco and Snuff given as indulgences.

Extra Diet for Working Patients.

{ Men, 1lb, Uncooked Meat; Women, 2 lb. ditto; 3 lb. Vegetables, 1 lb. Bread, 1 Pint Coffee, 3 Pints Beer, daily. 2 oz. Tea, 1 lb. }  
 { Sugar, 1 lb. Butter, 1 lb. Cheese, weekly. 3 lb. Meat may be exchanged for Pudding or Pies, at the discretion of the Housekeeper.

Attendants' and Servants' Diet.

COCOA FOR ONE HUNDRED PATIENTS . . . 34 lb. Cocoa, 6 1/2 lb. Treacle, 3 Gallons Milk, or more if the Dairy yield it.  
 COFFEE . . . 1 1/2 lb. Coffee, 1/2 lb. Chicory, 4 lb. Sugar, 13 Pints Milk.  
 DITTO . . . 1 lb. Tea, 4 lb. Sugar, and 2 Gallons Milk.  
 DITTO . . . { The Liquor of the Cooked Meat, Bones, &c., 25lb. Meat, 3lb. Scotch Barley, 4lb. Rice, 25 lb. Turnips, Cabbage,  
 MUTTON BROTH . . . Parsnip, Leek, Onion, or other Vegetables, Herbs, Salt and Pepper.  
 MEAT PIE . . . Dripping Crust, 31 lb. Flour, 50 lb. Potatoes, 13 lb. Meat. Fruit Pie occasionally instead.

In this diet scale, cocoa and bread are given at breakfast in order to reduce the cost. It is a much cheaper, as well as more nutritive article than tea, and saves the expense of butter. If the dairy were in full operation, and it could be made entirely with milk, I should consider cocoa so prepared, the best article for breakfast to be found. A proportion of bread is made every day with the unsifted wheat, the home-made bran bread, and which many of the patients prefer. It is much more wholesome. Sweet cake, made with lard, sugar and carraway seed, is a fraction cheaper than bread and butter, and I find is better liked by the patients.

For the Sunday dinner, I gave in the first instance, treacle with the suet pudding, but have since substituted a quarter of a pound of pork or bacon. I made Sunday the *jour maigre*, in order to lessen the household work, and also because no work being done by the patients that day, they require, I think, less nourishment. On three days of the week, I have the fresh meat, generally mutton, cooked as Scotch broth. This, as will be seen by a reference to its composition, is a very different article from English hospital soup, made out of the liquor of the meat of the day before. The rice, barley, and vegetables, with the fresh meat, make a most savoury and nutritive mess, and it is quite a mistake to think that such diet predisposes to diarrhoea. Vegetable acids do not produce diarrhoea. Such opinions are the reflex of the views, which treated, or rather aggravated, dyspepsia, on a mutton chop, dry bread, and a glass of sherry. It was the Leamington plan of practice, but a very ignorant one, in my opinion. My mutton broth is so appreciated, that the officers of the house generally pay it the compliment of taking a bason of it for luncheon. On the two full meat dinners, I have the allowance of bread cooked in the shape of Norfolk dumplings, *i.e.*, merely dough steamed instead of baked. They are light and digestible, and make a pleasant variety. The meat is roasted one day and baked the other. We have thus very little dripping. All the nourishment of our meat is consumed in the broth, and we have to buy lard for the seed cake, having only enough dripping to make the vegetable pie once a week, on Thursdays. There is just enough meat added to give flavour and gravy to these pies.

If expense were not an object to be attended to in framing such a diet scale, I should have increased the weekly allowance of meat (uncooked) to 56 ounces, instead of the



34 ounces allowed, and I suppose most superintendents would express a similar opinion.

The extra diet for the sick is unlimited. In practice I hardly allow anything but beef tea thickened with sago and a few puddings. I entirely discountenance the daily dram drinking, which prevails to a large extent in one of the Middlesex asylums. The idea of quieting patients by such indulgences is a fallacy. The more they get the more they ask for, and I think the whole system bad. I should very much like to stop all the tobacco, and which I now issue contrary to my better judgment.

The attendants' and servants' diet, as will be seen by the scale, is very liberal. It is well cooked and served, and they live well, as persons with hard work and long hours must do. Their home-brewed beer is the best I have tasted in any asylum. I have allowed an extra pint of coffee for breakfast. The coffee, tea, and cocoa are bought direct through a London broker, and are so good that I purchase my supply from the stores and use them at my own table. The coffee and cocoa are bought in the green bean and roasted in the asylum.

The contract prices owing to our distance from a large town run high. We have all along been paying 7d. a lb. for meat.

*The Site.* The asylum is situated on the southern border of Hayward's Heath, about a mile and a quarter from the Hayward's Heath Station on the Brighton line, which station is 12 miles from Brighton, and 38 miles from London Bridge. The estate comprises 120 acres of well wooded, undulating ground, sloping rapidly to the south, and commanding a view of the entire range of the South Downs.\* Since the erection

\*The following poetical remarks on the beauty of our site occur in one of the published Lectures by the late Frederic Robertson of Brighton, a thinker, whose premature death must be deplored by all who wearied with the strife and narrow thoughts of our popular theology, look with hope to the broader teaching of the Church of the future.

"Nay, even round this Brighton of ours, treeless and prosaic, as people call it, there are materials enough for Poetry, for the heart that is not petrified in conventional maxims about beauty.

"Enough in its free downs, which are ever changing their distance and their shape, as the lights and cloud-shadows sail over them, and over the graceful forms of whose endless variety of slopes the eye wanders, unarrested by abruptness, with an entrancing feeling of fulness, and a restful satisfaction to the pure sense of form. And enough upon our own sea-shore and in our rare sun-sets.

"A man might have watched with delight, beyond all words, last night, the long deep purple lines of cloud, edged with intolerable radiance, passing into orange, yellow, pale green, and leaden blue, and reflected below in warm, purple shadows, and cold green lights, upon the sea, and then the dying of it all away. And then he might have remembered those lines of Shakespere; and

of the asylum, Hayward's Heath has been enclosed under the Enclosure Act, and sold in building lots, so that we shall have a town of villas about our gates, the resort of the Brighton citizens during the hot summer months. At present, things look very like an American settlement, and have a most unfinished aspect.

Hayward's Heath is about the centre of the county of Sussex, and railroads converge here from every part of the county; the London and Brighton, the East Grinstead Branch, the Eastbourne, the Hailsham and the Uckfield Branches, and the Lewes and Hastings lines from the east, and from the west the Mid-Sussex and the Worthing and Chichester (south coast) lines render Hayward's Heath a central station, singularly suited for the site of an asylum requiring ready railway access to every part of the county.

It is not an easy matter to purchase freehold land for a county lunatic asylum, as the recent experience of the neighbouring county of Dorset shews, and I think the Visitors are to be congratulated on their success, in procuring at a reasonable sum, so large an estate (120 acres) in this central site, and within such easy access of the railway. This facility of access leads to more frequent visits of the poor to their relatives and friends, visits of incalculable value as curative moral agents in the treatment of insanity.

A site within two or three miles of Brighton or Worthing would have been more desirable, had such been possible. Either of these towns would have given us the command of

often quoted as they are, the poet would have interpreted the sun-set, and the sun-set what the poet meant by the exclamation which follows the disappearance of a similar aerial vision :

"We are such stuff  
As dreams are made of ; and our narrow life  
Is rounded with a sleep."

"No one has taught us this so earnestly as Wordsworth, for it was part of his great message to this century, to remind us that the sphere of the poet is not only in the extraordinary, but in the common and ordinary.

"The common things of earth and sky  
And hill and valley, he has viewed  
And impulses of deeper birth  
Have come to him in solitude.

From common things, that round us lie,  
Some random truths he can impart ;  
The harvest of a quiet eye,  
That sleeps and broods on its own heart."

"But of course, if you lead a sensual life, or a mercenary or artificial life, you will not read these truths in nature. The faculty of discerning them is not learnt either in the gin-palace, or the ball-room. A pure heart, and a simple manly life alone can reveal to you all that which seer and poet can."

the markets for our daily supplies, and would also have furnished from their companies, water and gas at a more reasonable rate than they can be provided for in a single establishment. The vicinity also of a town would, beyond this economical view of the question, have had the farther advantage of affording change and amusement to the patients, and relaxation to the officers and attendants when relieved from duty. It is, I think, Sidney Smith, who says in one of his letters, that it is no joke to be three miles distant from the nearest lemon; now, we are twelve miles from the Brighton shops, and the railway fare is 3s 6d. Hence the communication between the asylum-staff and Brighton is only occasional.

A large number of the English county asylums have the disadvantage of an isolated site; the Essex is the only asylum I can recall, which is less than three or four miles from the county town, and in this instance it is near that poor little place Brentwood, instead of Colchester or Ipswich. Four miles, and the worst road in England, lie between the county asylum and the city of Oxford; the Cambridge Asylum is good four miles from that seat of learning, and so also the asylum at Michelover from Derby, Bracebridge from Lincoln, &c., &c. In Sussex we have the advantage of being within a mile and a quarter of a central railway station, and within an hour's ride of the great metropolis, which is after all, the centre of everything in England.

The works at the asylum were commenced in June, 1857, and, together with the engineering works, completed in March, 1859. The patients were admitted for the first time on the 25th July, 1859; it was intended that they should have been removed from Bethnal Green in March, but unexpected difficulty in the sinking of the artesian well arose, and so delayed their admission.

The architect of the asylum is H. E. Kendall, junr., Esq., of Brunswick Square, who built the Essex Asylum at Brentwood. The contractors were Messrs. Ayres and Co., of Dover, who, unfortunately, obtained the engineering contract also; not, in my opinion, a desirable arrangement.

*General Plan.* The general design of the building will be seen by a reference to the ground plan. The form of the main building for the accommodation of the patients is a single longitudinal line, in length about 800 feet, facing almost due south. At each end of this line are built, to the north, the workshops and laundry, and to the south a small detached wing, (one story) which can accommodate twelve

patients. The centre front of the main building is occupied by the recreation hall on the ground floor, and by the medical superintendent's rooms above; while the north<sup>r</sup> portion of the centre building is devoted to the kitchen, offices, committee room, officers' rooms, &c., &c. In the open court in the centre building are placed, underground, two boilers for supplying the house and kitchen with steam and hot water, and a small engine attached to the original well. In describing the position of the laundry I shall have occasion to notice the advantages as regards the working expenses which would have resulted had it been placed near the central building, instead of at the western extremity. Mr. Kendall informs me that in the new plans which he has submitted to the visitors of the Dorset asylum he has introduced this alteration, and brought the laundries and workshops in close connection with the main central building.

The style of architecture is Lombardic. Its outline is most picturesque, and seen from the Downs, or any of the surrounding county; it is, in an architectural point of view, most effective. The varied coloured brick-work, in which it is finished, gives it a most bright and cheerful appearance. I never saw a building look less like an asylum, or have less appearance of confinement or restraint about it, and yet so efficient are the internal arrangements for the safety of the patients, that I have not had one instance of escape since the opening of the asylum.

The asylum will accommodate 450 patients—an equal number of both sexes. It has, besides, accommodation for the medical superintendent, the chaplain, assistant medical officer, the steward, housekeeper, the asylum attendants and servants. The offices are most complete, and well arranged, and adapted for an asylum of 800 patients. Should the asylum, therefore, require enlargement, the only outlay to be incurred will be the patients' sleeping and living rooms; and the asylum is so designed by Mr. Kendall as to be capable of such further extension without spoiling (as has been the case at Colney Hatch) the simplicity of the original design.

A reference to the ground plan will shew that the form of the main building, for the accommodation of the patients, is a single longitudinal line, in length about 800 feet, facing almost due south, and commanding an uninterrupted view of the entire range of the South Downs from the windows of the wards and from the airing terraces.

The centre building between the wings is occupied by the

recreation hall, the asylum kitchen and offices, the stores and private apartments of the steward, housekeeper, &c. On the first floor the committee rooms and entrance hall occupy the north front, looking towards the lodge and chapel; the medical superintendent's rooms the centre south front. The workshops and laundry project at the end of each wing to the north, while a small detached ward, the refractory, runs south on each side.

*Internal Arrangements.* The central building between the wings as shewn in the ground plan, is, on the ground floor, devoted to the offices and stores, including the kitchen. Under the entrance hall, (30, 31, 32, 33) are the cook's room, the hardware, the earthenware, and grocery stores. The space between 31 and 32 forms a large coal cellar for this part of the building. On each side of these offices are the sitting-rooms of the steward and housekeeper, (29, 30) with side doors opening on the main north approach. On the farther side of these doors is a detached building forming, on the male side, the steward's offices and store (25, 26, 27), the latter a large lofty room with open-timbered roof, with an outer door opening on the male working court for the delivery of stores. A similar building on the female side is devoted to the housekeeper's store, the head attendant's sitting room, and the reception room (22, 23, 24). On the other side of this corridor is the kitchen, scullery, pantry, servants' hall, bread room, with fixed beer engine, officers' pantry, and vegetable room, thus forming the second part of the centre ground floor. It has a corridor on the south side also looking on to the small open-paved court, in which are situated, under-ground, the steam boilers and a well for the supply of the centre building.

The kitchen is large, well lighted and ventilated, the roof open-timbered, with a lantern. The kitchen and all these centre offices and corridors are paved with black and red tiles in fancy patterns. The fittings were by the kind permission of Dr. Campbell copied from those at the Essex Asylum. The cooking is done chiefly by steam, for which purpose six large steamers are provided. There is also a large kitchener, forming a hot plate and oven roaster, and a separate baking oven in the scullery. The kitchen slide for the distribution of the provisions opens by a window on the south corridor, which is the centre of the two corridors of communication leading to the male and female wings. Under the north centre corridor and the bread and vegetable rooms (18, 19, 20)

is a large under-ground meat larder, also with a door for the access of meat, which opens into the male working court.

The south front of the centre building is occupied on the ground floor by the assistant medical officer's rooms, the dispensary (10, 11, 12), the recreation hall, 60ft. by 25ft. (9), and the Medical Superintendent's kitchen, &c. (15, 15, 15). The other two stories of the south centre front form the public rooms and bed-rooms of the Medical Superintendent, and include also the Chaplain's rooms. The two water towers flank this south centre building with a large room above each, fitted, on the one side for the female house servants, and on the other as an observatory or smoking room for the Medical Superintendent. The view from these two towers, lighted on all four sides, is very extensive, ranging from Newhaven up to the Surrey Hills.

Under the recreation hall (9) is a large dairy and beer cellar, both under-ground. The beer is conveyed in metal pipes from the brewhouse (39) across the male working court and under the corridors to this cellar, where it delivers itself by its own gravity.

These offices are well designed, central and together, and are fitted for the use of an asylum for 800 patients. Great credit is, I conceive, due to Mr. Kendall for the design of this central building. I have nowhere seen anything more compact or better fitted for its purpose.

On the upper floor of the centre building, on its northern side, is the main entrance, ascended by a flight stairs, with the entrance hall, porter's lodge, committee rooms, visiting room, Medical Superintendent's office, and head attendant's (male) room. The entrance hall is very handsome. A private door leads from it to the Medical Superintendent's rooms. The only objection which I make to this central building is that the Medical Superintendent's rooms are thus placed in it. It is central certainly, and has easy access to all the wards. But it is also noisy, and the windows of the principal rooms, looking south, overlook the male and female terraces, not at all times a desirable prospect for ladies or young children. No bell rings in the hall or kitchen, which does not resound through the private apartments, and this, to a literary man, though a small matter, is yet a daily grievance. The recreation hall is directly under the library and dining-room. I must add that this small misery of noise is gilded by handsome spacious rooms, with their stone balcony and glorious prospect, and by the liberal manner in which the visitors have consulted my comfort in the fittings and furnish-

ing. I think the south centre building would have been more economically employed, looking to its extent, if fitted as wards and dormitories for the convalescent and orderly female patients. The inevitable extension of the female population of every asylum may possibly lead in future years to this application of the Superintendent's rooms, and to the erection on the grounds of a house of more modest dimensions and with more quiet.

*Male and Female Wings.* To the east and west of the central south front, just described, lie, with the same south aspect, the male and female wings, as shewn in the ground plan. These wings are three stories high. The ground and second floor are built alike, and contain the galleries and day rooms, as well as dormitories and single bed rooms. The third story is entirely devoted to sleeping accommodation. Each of the two wards on the ground and second floor (four in all) have been arranged for the day accommodation of fifty patients. The infirmaries, (16 and 17,) (originally on the suggestion of the Commissioners built as day rooms for the working patients—a plan I did not find to work) hold twelve beds each, and the small one-storied building, running south at right angles from the male and female wings (built as infirmaries) form the fifth (refractory) ward, holding thirteen patients. Each wing therefore, including the third dormitory story, has accommodation for 225 patients. The original design was for 200 of each sex.

A reference to the ground plan will shew the arrangement of the wards. They are each exactly alike. They consist of of a day-room (2), of a gallery (1), and of a dining-room (3). The entire length of these three rooms, which form the ward, is 113 feet. The dining-rooms of the adjacent wards communicate with a glass door. The galleries are 11 feet wide and 11 high. The roof is ceiled. The single rooms are 9 feet by 7 feet. The day rooms open into the passages at each end, from which there is a direct communication on to the terrace. At the end of each gallery is the bath-room and lavatory (7), with a double water-closet and urinal adjoining. The engineering fittings of the baths, lavatories, and water-closet are not satisfactory. Two of the single rooms (4, 4), leading out of each dining-room, are appropriated respectively for the scullery and ward store. The attendant's room (6) enters off the gallery (1), and is between two dormitories (5), each of which it commands by a side window. The recess under the stairs in the passage outside is on each side fitted as a slop and broom room. Each

ward has three open fire-places, one in the gallery, one in the day room, and one in the dining-room. There are also open fire-places in the dormitories and attendants' rooms. The windows are all cast-iron, of the Bethlehem Hospital pattern, opening in the lattice shape. The only objection I see to this window is that cast-iron never fits. For the purpose of ventilation this window answers better than any asylum window I have seen.

The galleries and day rooms are furnished in stained deal, from patterns designed by the architect; they are simple and elegant, and harmonize well with the style of architecture. The beds are of birch, French polished, with canvas bottoms, and all have horse-hair mattresses; they were supplied by Mr. Gregory, of Finsbury Square, upholsterer to Bethlehem Hospital. The bedding and patients' clothing were supplied by Messrs. Roope, of Sloane Street. The dinner and breakfast utensils are all white earthenware, with the arms of the county on each article; they were supplied by Mr. Sharpley, of Vauxhall Bridge Road, likewise one of the Bethlehem Hospital tradesmen. The wards throughout the house are laid with matting; each bed is provided with a piece of bed-side carpet. On the female side of the house, wash-hand stands with ordinary earthenware basins and jugs are used in all the dormitories.

At the back of each wing, as shewn in the ground plan, is a corridor of communication running the whole length of the building; it is glazed with rough plate glass on the entire roof, and paved with black and red tiles in fancy patterns. At each end of both wings is a wide, well lighted, stone staircase, with a door passing into the corridor of communication.

The third story in each wing has a passage in the centre with sleeping rooms on each side.

The proportion of single rooms are 124 to 326 in dormitories; two of the dormitories over the infirmaries and workshops (17, 35, 36) in the detached two storey building, hold each 20 beds; the others are much smaller.

At the farther end of each wing, projecting southward, as shown in the plan, is a small, detached, one storey building, very ornamental externally to the front, and designed by the architect as the infirmary of each department; it consists of a day room, gallery, small dormitory, attendants' room, and several single rooms. I have appropriated it to the refractory ward; it has ready access to the smaller airing court shown in the plan, and the building being detached, all noise at night is cut off from the main building. The removal of a



dozen noisy dangerous patients from the wards, into a separate building, promotes peace and quiet throughout the house, whether the term refractory be applied to the ward or not; noisy would be a better term, as it is more discord than rebellion that reigns in these regions.

At the farther end of each corridor of communication, is a detached two storey building (16, 17), communicating on the ground floor, with the laundry corridor, and with the workshop corridor on the male side. On the second storey are the two large dormitories with an attendant's room between. The rooms marked on the ground plan 16, 17, were intended as day rooms for the artizan and laundry patients, and are each furnished with an attendant's room, (6) bath room and lavatory, (7) and water closet. I have given up the idea of employing them for the working patients; I do not think it desirable to employ either the artizans or laundry-maids as ward attendants. A better class of artizans is obtained by engaging them as out-door attendants, and confining them strictly to their workshops, while if the laundry maids do their duty in the laundry, they have work enough to do from six to six, without undertaking the charge of patients. I have, therefore, arranged that the day residence and care of all the patients should on each side of the house, belong to the four wards, with their gallery, day room, and dining room, as shown in the ground plan (1, 2, 3). When the house is full, this will give fifty patients to each ward. In the two convalescent and quiet wards two attendants will suffice; in the epileptic and admission wards, which are those on the ground floor, three will be necessary.

This working day room (16, 17) is appropriated to the infirmary on each side; it is 30 feet by 33 feet, it has a southern aspect and ample light,\* having seven large windows on two

\* "It is the unqualified result of all my experience with the sick (says Miss Nightingale) that, second only to their need of fresh air, is their need of light; that, after a close room, what hurts them most, is a dark room, and that it is not only light, but direct sunlight they want. I had rather have the power of carrying my patient about after the sun according to the aspect of the rooms, if circumstances permit, than let him linger in a room when the sun is off. People think the effect is upon the spirits only, this is by no means the case. Without going into any scientific position, we must admit that light has quite as real and tangible effects upon the human body. \* \* \* The sick should be able, without raising themselves, or turning in bed, to see out of window from their beds, to see sky and sunlight at least, if you can show them nothing else, I assert to be, if not of the very first importance for recovery, at least something very near it. And you should, therefore, look to the position of the beds of your sick, one of the very first things. If they can see out of two windows instead of one so much the better. Again, the morning sun and the mid-day sun, the hours when they are quite certain not to be up, are of more importance to them, if choice must be made, than the afternoon sun."—Florence Nightingale. *Notes on Nursing.*

sides of the room; on the third side is the fire-place, fitted with a kitchen oven range (to keep the necessary beef tea, &c. hot,) the fourth side opens into the bath room, scullery, water closet, and attendant's room. The beds, twelve in number, are ranged against the wall as in any other hospital ward, between the windows, *thus affording light on each side of the bed.* The table is in the centre of the room; two couches are against the fire. Three of the beds are iron, with German spring mattrass, (as used at Guy's Hospital) and which, I think, with the aid of a water pillow, is a cleaner and better contrivance for bed-ridden patients than the water beds. The walls are hung with illuminated texts for the Christian Seasons, a series of which, on glazed canvas, can be had at the National Society's depot for 12s.

I am very much pleased with the success which has attended this alteration of the Infirmary.

*Internal Decorations.* The internal fittings are of the most simple and inexpensive. The wood-work is all deal, stained and varnished. When this process is carefully done it looks very well. I was particularly struck with the finished manner in which the deal is stained and varnished at the Idiot Asylum at Red Hill. I suspect, however, that it will not stand much wear, and that for the use of an asylum, oil paint will, in the long run, prove a more efficient means of protecting the wood. It certainly looks more comfortable, and has a cleaner appearance than the staining. The walls throughout are brick, lime-washed of a yellow tint. I think these brick walls better than plaster for the wards of an asylum, and notwithstanding the progress in decoration recently made in some asylums by even hanging paper on the walls of the wards, I still give the preference to the white-washed brick wall; painting the lower part in oil colour to prevent the patients' clothing being soiled with the lime. A neutral tint mixed with the lime relieves the deadness of the white, and is, with a southern aspect, less trying to the eyes. I am pleased to have the support of Miss Nighingale in my objections against papering the walls of an asylum.

In her *Notes on Nursing* (a pamphlet which should be studied by every man and woman who in any way is concerned with the care of the sick), she says, "*As for walls, the worst is papered walls; the next worst is plaster. But the plaster can be redeemed by frequent lime washing; the paper requires frequent renewing. A glazed paper gets rid of a good deal of the danger. But the ordinary bedroom paper is all that it ought not to be. I am sure*

that a person who has accustomed her senses to atmospheres, proper and improper, for the sick and for children, could tell blind-fold the difference of the air in old painted and in old papered rooms, *ceteris paribus*. The latter will always be musty, even with all the windows open. The best wall now extant is oil paint. From this you can wash the animal exuvie. These are what make a room musty. The best wall for a sick room or ward that could be made is pure white non-absolvent cement, or glass, or glazed tiles, if they are made sightly enough. Air can be soiled just like water. If you blow into water you will soil it with the animal matter from your breath. So it is with air. Air is always soiled in a room where walls and carpets are saturated with animal exhalations."

The walls of the official rooms, entrance hall, and corridors are all papered. Oil paint would have been better and more durable.

*Ventilation and Warming.* The Commissioners in Lunacy in their *Suggestions and Instructions*, have a short paragraph, s. 26, which comprises the principle of all efficient ventilation. "The ventilation (they state) should generally be provided for by means of flues taken from the various rooms and corridors, into horizontal channels, communicating with a perpendicular shaft, in which a fire box should be placed for the purpose of extracting the foul air."

This seems simple enough to read and understand, and yet in practice how often do we find the most carefully contrived systems of ventilation fail. The system of ventilation at the Sussex Asylum is an illustration of the truth of this observation. According to Mr. Kendall, "all the wards, galleries, day and dining rooms, and the dormitories, are warmed by open fires, and they are ventilated by opening doors and windows, the foul air being drawn off both from the galleries and all the rooms by means of vertical flues in the walls, communicating with a large foul air chamber, constructed horizontally in the roof, and connected with ventilating towers over the staircases, so as effectually to carry off the vitiated air. This, (Mr. Kendall adds) with opening windows, is as perfect a system as can well be adopted, though simple and non-costly."

During the nine months the asylum has been open, I have, in every alternation of temperature, carefully tested this system of ventilation. I have not found it as perfect in practice as the above description of the design would lead me to expect. In hot weather, from the absence of any extracting power, an

atmospheric balance is early in the day established, and the flues of the hollow walls cease to act at all ; while, in certain states of the wind, the foul air is forced before the descending current back again into the wards and dormitories.

Divested of architectural description, this system of ventilation resolves itself simply into openings into the hollow walls placed near the ceiling in the day rooms, dormitories, and single rooms, by which the foul air may, if it will, pass up through the hollow walls into the roof below the slates, and so pass into the atmosphere. The ventilating towers are merely architectural ornaments, and the large horizontal foul air chamber is not air-tight in its construction, and hence serves no purpose.

This system can hardly be termed one of artificial ventilation, which term, as generally understood, supposes an artificial aid to the removal of the foul air, and a similar arrangement for the supply of pure fresh heated air to take its place. If the horizontal air-shaft were air-tight, and an extracting power existed at the farther end of it, the vertical flues in each ward for the exit of the foul air, might be found sufficient and the open doors and windows trusted to for a supply of fresh air. Such a system, however, would be at best a makeshift. In my opinion, no system of ventilation can be considered perfect which does not embrace in its design the means of supplying pure warm air to replace the vitiated air removed by the ventilating flues. If such a supply of pure warm air be not provided, it is self-evident that in winter the better the ventilating flues act, the more will cold draughts through doors and windows rush in to replace the air removed ; while in summer, so soon as an equilibrium of temperature, inside and outside the building, is established, all exchange of air, *i.e.*, all ventilation will cease.

We are thus even inferentially led to the conclusion that, some artificial means of warming an asylum is a necessary element to the success of all attempts at systematic ventilation. I do not think *the Instructions and Suggestions* of the Commissioners in Lunacy sufficiently enforce this requirement ; although they incidentally speak in S. 25, of some simple system of hot water pipes in connection with the open fire stoves, or fires being desirable for the warming of large rooms and corridors. The Sussex Asylum is warmed entirely and solely with open fires. *Were I building a similar asylum, I should warm it throughout with hot water pipes on Price's principle, which works so admirably at the Lincoln County Asylum.*

I should, while retaining open fire-places in the day rooms, thus lessen the expense, and dirt of open fires and coals in the wards, and I should for the sick and debilitated especially ensure an equal temperature during the night and day. With the system of open fires only, the temperature at night, in frost, falls near the freezing point; a temperature which must exert a most injurious influence on the enfeebled circulation and restless habits by night of the insane.

It is much to be regreted that the Commissioners in Lunacy should have allowed, in the plans of this asylum, so fatal an omission as the absence of all means of artificial heat whatsoever. It is no easy matter to introduce an efficient system of artificial warming in a building erected and finished; *nothing more simple or inexpensive than to do so in the course of its erection.*

It is not within my present limits\* to enter further into the general question of ventilation and warming of public buildings, and I have therefore to conclude this part of my descriptive notice of the Sussex Asylum with the statement that the system of ventilation and warming, if the primitive contrivance of open fires can be called a system, is neither efficient nor economical.

*Water and Gas supply.* I know of no asylum so well supplied with a constant flow of good water. I copy the following account of the water supply from Mr. Kendall's final report to the Visitors. "The asylum and all its offices are supplied with hot and cold water in the usual manner, viz., from large cast iron cisterns or tanks, constructed in the towers right and left of the centre building, each holding 10,000 gallons. From these tanks the distribution of cold water is effected throughout by means of wrought iron pipes. The tanks are supplied from an artesian well, sunk in a field at the bottom of the asylum grounds, about 2,400 feet distant from the building. The well is eight feet in diameter, and 70 feet deep, with a twelve inch boring below, to the depth of 127 feet. The water is of excellent quality, and so abundant that left to itself it would overflow the top of the well at the rate of 60,000 gallons per day. It is forced up to the asylum, the

\* If any of my readers desire to see what I consider an efficient system of ventilation and warming, I would advise a visit to the new convict prison in course of erection under the superintendence of Sir Joshua Jebb, on Woking Common. It is built for 400 inmates, and it is effectively heated and ventilated with two boilers. As a perfect model of simple economical construction it is worthy of inspection by any one concerned with the erection of any public asylum or similar building.

height being about 150 feet, by steam power. The cast iron hot water cisterns, fed from the boiler rooms, are placed in the roofs over the wards, and supply at all times hot water to the baths, lavatories, and sculleries throughout."

Every part of the asylum is lighted with gas made on the grounds. There is only one service, so that the gas must either be left on all night or none burnt. At the Lincoln Asylum there are two services to the wards, one of which is constructed with the lights intended to burn only until bed time, and the other with the night lights in the galleries and dormitories. In fitting the gas service, the pipes have all been chiselled into the brick, a stupid arrangement, which obliges the wall to be cut to pieces when any leakage is suspected.

*Drainage.* The drainage is most extensive and complete, and leaves nothing to be desired further. The site is admirably adapted for perfect drainage, the falls being great every way, and full advantage has been taken of these capabilities. The surface water is kept distinct from the sewage, and the latter is collected in a series of tanks, placed at intervals throughout the vegetable garden, for the purpose of manure. The sewage water when it has passed the garden, is available for field irrigation.

*The Workshops and Laundry.* These, as will be seen by the ground plan, (35—40, and 44, 44), run at a right angle with the two wings due north, forming one boundary of the working court, the corridor of communication being a second, and the steward's store and offices the third. Both the workshops and the laundry are of most ample dimensions, indeed, I have not seen better arranged workshops in any asylum.

A reference to the ground plan will shew the distribution of the workshops. The tailors' shop (35) opens from the corridor of communication, and is connected by a glass door with the shoemakers' shop, (36); the matmakers' shop (37) is next in order, followed by the carpenters' (38); the brewhouse (which has been well fitted by Messrs. Langworthy and Reed, of Brighton,) joins the carpenter's shop (39), and the range is completed with the bakehouse, (40) which is provided with an excellent bread room, flour store and coal room. All these workshops open on the male working court, and thus have ready access, both to the steward's department and to the centre building, either across this court or by the corridor of communication; they are all supplied with hot and cold water, and are lighted with gas. They are, I think, most complete, and leave nothing to be desired. The smith's shop and forge

are attached to the gas house (42). The laundry department occupies, on the female side, a similar position to the workshops, (44, 44, 44). The sorting room, laundry, and wash-house are all of ample dimensions; there is a distinct building for the foul linen, which is an absolute necessity in every asylum; a special drying closet is attached to the foul linen wash-house; there are two other large drying closets in the laundry; an underground boiler supplies all the hot water and steam required for the washhouse. It is to be regretted that the complete steam washing apparatus of Messrs. Manlove and Alliott, of Nottingham, which they have so successfully fitted at the Lincoln Asylum, was not introduced into the original design. The cost necessary to add it, would be £700, a sum which the Visitors are not at present disposed to disburse for the purpose, although the apparatus was strongly recommended by the Commissioners in Lunacy at their recent inspection. It is also in successful operation at Colney Hatch. It includes a washing and wringing apparatus, worked with steam power, and is the most complete thing of the kind I ever saw. The labour entailed by hard washing, for so large an establishment, is drudgery, not curative employment, and, I think, so far as the cure and treatment of the patients is concerned, that the work in the wash-house does more harm than good. The entire length of the laundries is 145 feet.

The distance of the laundry from the centre of the building, where the hot water boilers and engine are, is an objection to the design, inasmuch as it entails the cost of a second boiler, to serve the drying closets and wash-tubs with hot water, steam the coppers, &c. The loss to the county, in this one particular, is not less than fifty pounds a year, including fuel and stokers' wages. At the Wilts Asylum, designed by Mr. Wyatt, two steam boilers serve alike the laundry and kitchen purposes. Another objection to the laundry being placed at one end of the building, is that only a small portion of the rain water from the roof can be diverted to its use. At the Wilts Asylum the tank in the wash-house receives half the rain water falling on the roofs, and holds 5,760 gallons. The waste steam-pipes also discharge into this tank, and Dr. Thurnam states, that the supply of soft water has been found quite sufficient for the purposes of washing. Hard water which has passed through a long range of iron pipes is very apt to stain linen brown, and linen washed with hard water never has the pure white colour that soft water imparts to it.

*Airing Courts.* The principal airing court for the patients

is a large terrace extending the entire length of the front of each wing, as shown in the ground plan. The land falling rapidly to the south, the wall is sunk in a hollow, and the view is uninterrupted by any break, and extends along the entire range of the South Downs. There is also on each side a smaller airing court with a south aspect, behind the refectory ward, and a third large airing court, termed on the ground plan the working court. No county asylum has anything approaching to this extent of airing court. The view from the south terrace reminds me of that from the Worcester Asylum grounds.

*The Chapel.* The chapel is detached and stands to the right of the principal entrance from Hayward's Heath, the porter's lodge being on the left. It is shewn on the ground plan. It is a good piece of English Byzantine, and the design and execution are very creditable to the architect. At the Worcester Asylum the chapel is similarly detached, and is the only asylum chapel which has the slightest pretension to be compared with the Sussex asylum chapel. The situation at the Worcester Asylum is better chosen being to the south of the front airing terraces. At the Sussex Asylum the chapel rather blocks the view of the asylum from the Heath. It is the best imitation of a Venetian church which I have seen in England, but then I have not seen Mr. Sidney Herbert's new church at Wilton. It has a handsome campanile, with a belfry and clock room, standing on the north side of the chancel. The interior as well as the exterior, is executed in varied coloured brick-work, in the Lombardic style. The gas fittings are very handsome, from Messrs. Hart and Son, Cockspur Street. The clock was supplied by Messrs. Moore, of Clerkenwell. The chapel is fitted with open benches to accomodate 300.

The present services in the Chapel are :

Sunday. 10 a.m., Morning Prayer.

12 noon, Litany, Communion Service and Lecture.

8 p.m., Evening Prayer, with Sermon.

Daily. 8.30 a.m., Morning Prayer (on Wednesday and Friday, the Litany only is read.)

Tuesday, 7 p.m. A special service for the household only.

Holy Communion is administered on the Festivals, and on the third Sunday of each month.

*Burial Ground.* A piece of ground, of one and a half acre, has been set apart as a burial ground. It lies to the east of the stable-yard and gas-house, and it is sheltered on one side by a plantation. It commands a most beautiful prospect.



*Farm.* The farm consists of about one hundred acres, independent of the ground occupied by the buildings. It all lies to the south of the asylum. It is a clay soil, and has for years been farmed by an old Sussex farmer, who let things grow as they liked. Everything implied under the idea of modern farming has yet to be done. Twelve acres were drained last spring, and cultivated as a vegetable garden, and already with the labour of the patients, a fair supply of vegetables has been obtained for the house.

The farm house is an old Elizabethan farm house, and has been put in thorough repair for the occupation of the bailiff and under-gardener. The erection of the farm buildings has been deferred till spring. In the mean time we have made a beginning with a lot of pigs and half a dozen cows.

The perfect arrangement of the distribution of the sewage over the vegetable garden and farm, must ultimately make the farm a considerable item of profit in our accounts.

There is abundance of wood on the ground, and a beautiful dell of a mile in extent which will form a shaded walk for the patients.

*The Establishment.* I subjoin a copy of the list of the establishment, with the wages paid, contained in my report of last Christmas to the Visitors.

OFFICERS.

† Medical Superintendent	..	..	£450	0	0	per annum.
* Chaplain	..	..	200	0	0	"
† Assistant Surgeon	..	..	100	0	0	"
Clerk and Steward	..	..	90	0	0	"
Housekeeper	..	..	50	0	0	"
Head Attendant, Male	..	..	40	0	0	"
Ditto Female	..	..	30	0	0	"

ATTENDANTS AND SERVANTS, (MALE.)

8 Attendants, each	..	..	28	0	0	"
4 ditto "	..	..	24	0	0	"
1 House Porter	..	..	24	0	0	and Livery
1 Store Porter	..	..	24	0	0	per Annum
1 Engineer	..	..	1	10	0	per week
* 1 Carpenter	..	..	1	10	0	"
* 1 Bricklayer	..	..	1	5	0	"
* 1 Painter and Glazier	..	..	1	5	0	"
* 1 Baker	..	..	1	5	0	"
* Brewer, Tailor, Shoemaker, and Smith, each	..	..	1	1	0	"
* 1 Stoker	..	..		15	0	"
1 Bailiff and Gardener	..	..	1	8	0	"
Assistant ditto	..	..		16	0	"

† Furnished house, light, fire, vegetables, and washing.

‡ Board, lodging, and washing.

\* Non-Resident.

|| Lodged only at Farm House.

Cow Boy and Farm Servant .. .. .	12s 0	per week
Carter .. .. .	15s 0	"
ATTENDANTS AND SERVANTS, (FEMALE.)		
2 Attendants .. .. .	£20 0 0	per annum
6 ditto .. .. .	18 0 0	"
5 Attendants .. .. .	15 0 0	"
1 Laundry Maid .. .. .	21 0 0	"
2 Ditto .. .. .	15 0 0	"
1 Cook .. .. .	24 0 0	"
1 Kitchen and Dairy Maid .. .. .	16 0 0	"
1 Scullery Maid .. .. .	8 0 0	"
2 Housemaids .. .. .	12 0 0	"

*Cost of the Asylum.* I annex a copy of the abstract of the capital account, as presented by the Visitors with their report at the January Sessions.

<i>Buildings, Land, &amp;c.</i>	£	s.	d.
Purchase of land, timber, conveyancing, compensation to tenant for draining, and tenant's out-going valuation . . . . .	7263	5	11
Buildings as per contract, additions to the building, including further accommodation, airing courts, &c., recommended by Commissioners in Lunacy . . . . .	42404	15	6
Gas and Engineering works for house . . . . .	3849	17	4
Water supply, sinking wells, engine house, engines and pumps . . . . .	2118	14	6
Leveling, draining, enclosing, laying out and stocking kitchen garden, and supplying the same with water, and also cultivating and improving the farm . . . . .	823	16	4
Earthwork on the estate generally, forming approaches to the asylum, roads, yards, slopes and terraces, levelling and draining the grounds . . . . .	2273	6	2
Architect's commission and salary, and expenses of the Clerk of the Works . . . . .	2756	1	2
<b>Total for Building, Land, &amp;c.</b>	<b>£61,309</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>11</b>
<i>Establishment Charges.</i>			
Fittings . . . . .	2695	18	0
Furniture, linen and bedding . . . . .	8625	1	3
Clothing and drapery . . . . .	1938	3	11
Coals and coke . . . . .	449	12	2
Salaries, wages, and maintenance . . . . .	1158	17	8
Medicines and surgical instruments . . . . .	86	19	8
Printing, advertizing, stationery, books & forms . . . . .	351	18	6
Rates, tithes, carriage of goods, and other incidental expenses . . . . .	458	7	10
Insurance of building . . . . .	101	17	6
Farming implements and stock . . . . .	479	19	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>16342</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>11</b>
Clerk to the Committee, and Solicitor's charges for professional business, disbursements, &c., for the years 1854, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 . . . . .	751	7	2
Costs of the Solicitors to Mortgagees for preparing their securities . . . . .	300	10	6
Premiums to Architects, surveys, &c., previous to building . . . . .	227	17	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>£78,932</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>0</b>

The total cost per head (450 patients) is thus £177, while the average cost of the new asylums exceeds £200 per head.

I would conclude this descriptive notice of the Sussex Asylum with a general examination of how far it fulfils the official requirements laid down in the Suggestions and Instructions, issued in 1856, by the Commissioners in Lunacy for the building of asylums. These instructions have reference to

I. Site.

II. Construction and arrangement of buildings.

I. *Site.* 1. The site meets every requirement of the Commissioners in Lunacy. It is perfectly healthy, and the rapid fall of the land to the south offers every facility for a complete system of drainage. The elevation is one the highest in the county. It is not near any nuisance. It is not overlooked nor intersected by foot-paths, but stands in a ring fence of its own.

2. The proportion of land, exclusive of what the building occupies, is exactly the requirement, one acre to four patients.

3. The site of the building is elevated, undulating in its surface, and has a fall to the south.

4. The building is placed on the northern boundary of the land, has ready access from the north, and the whole of the southern portion of the land is available for the undisturbed use of the patients.

5. The asylum is exactly in the centre of the county, and railroads from all sides meet at the Hayward's Heath station.

There is a constant supply from an artesian well of pure soft water. The minimum daily quantity is 60,000 gallons.

As regards site, therefore, the asylum meets every requirement of the Commissioners' circular.

The Scotch† Commissioners in Lunacy have added to their suggestions in reference to sites, a very important one which the English Commissioners entirely overlooked, and which the site at Hayward's Heath is very deficient in, viz: *That the asylum should be within such distance of a town as to command the introduction of gas, water, &c., and one of sufficient size to afford the means of amusement and recreation for the medical staff, the attendants, and such of the patients as might derive benefit from a change in the asylum routine.*

II. *Construction and arrangement of buildings.*

1. The general form, as will be seen on looking at the

† *Journal of Mental Science*, July, 1859. Annual Report of Commissioners in Lunacy for Scotland. (*Review*.)

ground plan, commands an uninterrupted view of the surrounding country, and free access of sun and air, while all the day rooms have a southern aspect.

2. The general entrance and offices are all on the north side of the building.

The building is certainly as cheerful and attractive as due considerations of economy permit; it is the brightest and most cheerful asylum I have seen.

4. The accommodation for the male and female patients is distinct on either side of the centre; the patients can be separated into five classes (exclusive of the infirmary), and the numbers in each class will require the services of two or three attendants.

5. The building consists of three stories, but the upper storey is devoted to sleeping accommodation only.

6. Associated dormitories, not in connection with the galleries, and other expensive curative arrangements have been provided over the infirmaries, (16, 17).

7. The chapel, and all the offices in the centre building, are sufficient to meet the prospective wants of the asylum, should the numbers be doubled.

8. The chapel is detached; simple, yet ecclesiastical, in all its arrangements.

9. The recreation hall is conveniently situate with reference to the kitchen, should it be found wise to use it as a general dining hall.

10. The officers of the establishment and domestic servants have been fairly provided with accommodation; only the servants' hall is small and badly lighted.

11. The proportion of single rooms is then about the third part, as advised by the Commissioners.

12. In the upper storey, wide corridors have been avoided, and a passage of moderate width adopted.

13. The stairs are of stone, built up without wells.

14. A staircase at both ends of each wing, as shown in the ground plan, enables visits to be made from one ward to another, without passing through the same wards on return.

15. The floors of the corridors, day and sleeping rooms are boarded; but the boards are not tongued, nor are they well laid, or of seasoned material. This is much to be regretted, and has already spoilt the ceilings, as after each washing of the floors part of the water stains through. There is no disconnection of the floor and joists at the internal doorways as advised by the Commissioners, nor, indeed, any protection from fire applied, nor any approach to a fire-proof construction.

Oak floors, as recommended for the day-rooms and corridors, and which might be cleaned by dry rubbing, would have been a great addition. The walls of the galleries and rooms are not plastered, but simply brick, white-washed, an arrangement which for hospital purposes I much prefer.

16. No associated bed-room contains less than three beds.

17. The height of each storey is the eleven feet recommended by the Commissioners. At Lincoln the wards are 12 feet 6 inches—a better height.

18. The associated dormitories and single rooms exceed the prescribed cubic measurement.

19. The day rooms are of the required size, afford ready communication with the grounds, and those appropriated to the aged and infirm are on the lower storey, as recommended.

20. The attendants' rooms are in each ward, placed between two dormitories, with a window looking into each.

21. The windows of the day rooms and corridors are large and cheerful. The architect has been very successful in his supply of light and air. They all open freely and with safety to the patient. The wall below each window is recessed for a seat. The windows in the dormitories and single rooms are large, and not more than four feet from the ground. Shutters are provided for the single sleeping rooms, but they are of inferior construction and workmanship.

22. All the doors open outwards, and are so hung that when open they will fold back close to the wall.

23. Each ward is provided with a scullery, a lavatory, a bath, water closets, and a store room, but they are not satisfactorily fitted. The style of architecture adopted would not admit of the Commissioners' most wise suggestion, that all water closets, lavatories, &c., should be placed in projections.

24. The infirmaries do not hold the proportion suggested of one tenth of the population resident. I believe half that accommodation to be sufficient for the wants of an asylum.

25. The day rooms and galleries are warmed by open fire places, as suggested by the Commissioners, and fire places also are built in all the associated dormitories.

The Commissioners, in their circular, suggest farther provision for warming the corridors, &c. I have already expressed my regret that all artificial means of heating has been omitted. I strongly entertain the opinion that all public buildings, such as asylums, hospitals, and gaols should be heated throughout by artificial means, and this is both on the ground of health, and also of economy in fuel and labour.

26. I have already stated that I consider Mr. Kendall's system of ventilation defective and imperfect. The Commissioners here recommend that ventilation should be provided for by means of flues taken from the various rooms and corridors into horizontal channels communicating with a perpendicular shaft, in which a fire-box should be placed for purpose of extracting the foul air. This is an excellent statement of what asylum ventilation should consist.

27. 28. These sections refer in detail to the construction of this system of ventilation, and to the care necessary in protecting flues and shafts of lathe and plaster from fire.

29. The drainage is excellent; glazed tubular pipes, with sufficient fall. The surface water is kept distinct from the sewage. The latter is collected in tanks, available both for agricultural and garden use.

30. Two airing courts on each side are enclosed, the number suggested by the commissioners. They are most successful. No asylum in England has such splendid airing terraces. The walls are entirely sunk in a ha-ha, as advised. The planting and cultivation has yet to be done.

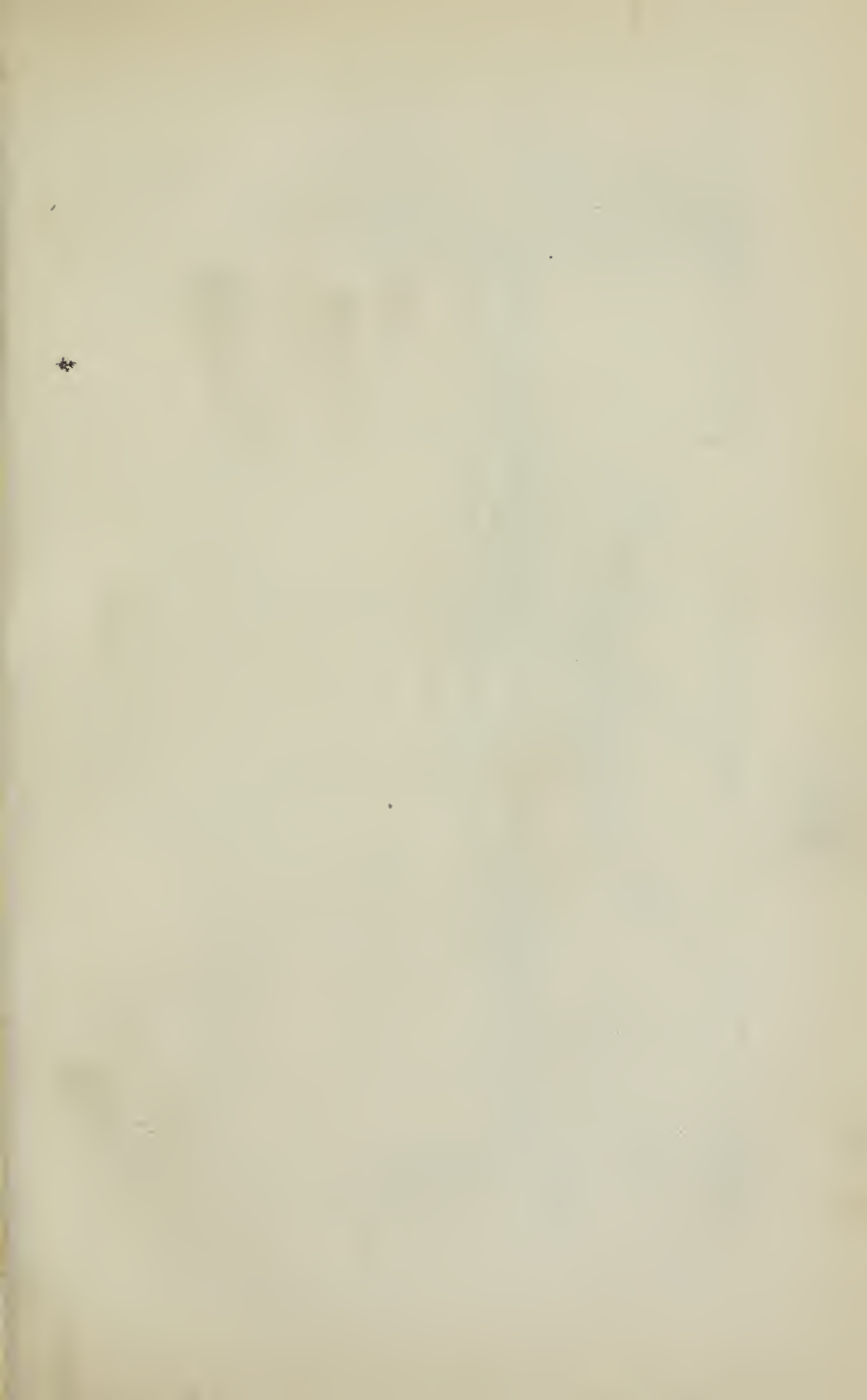
31. Although the rain water is collected in tanks, and introduced into the wash-house, according to the suggestion of the commissioners, the tanks are too small, and the supply quite insufficient.

Lead pipes and reservoirs have been avoided. Iron pipes and slate and cast iron tanks have been used.

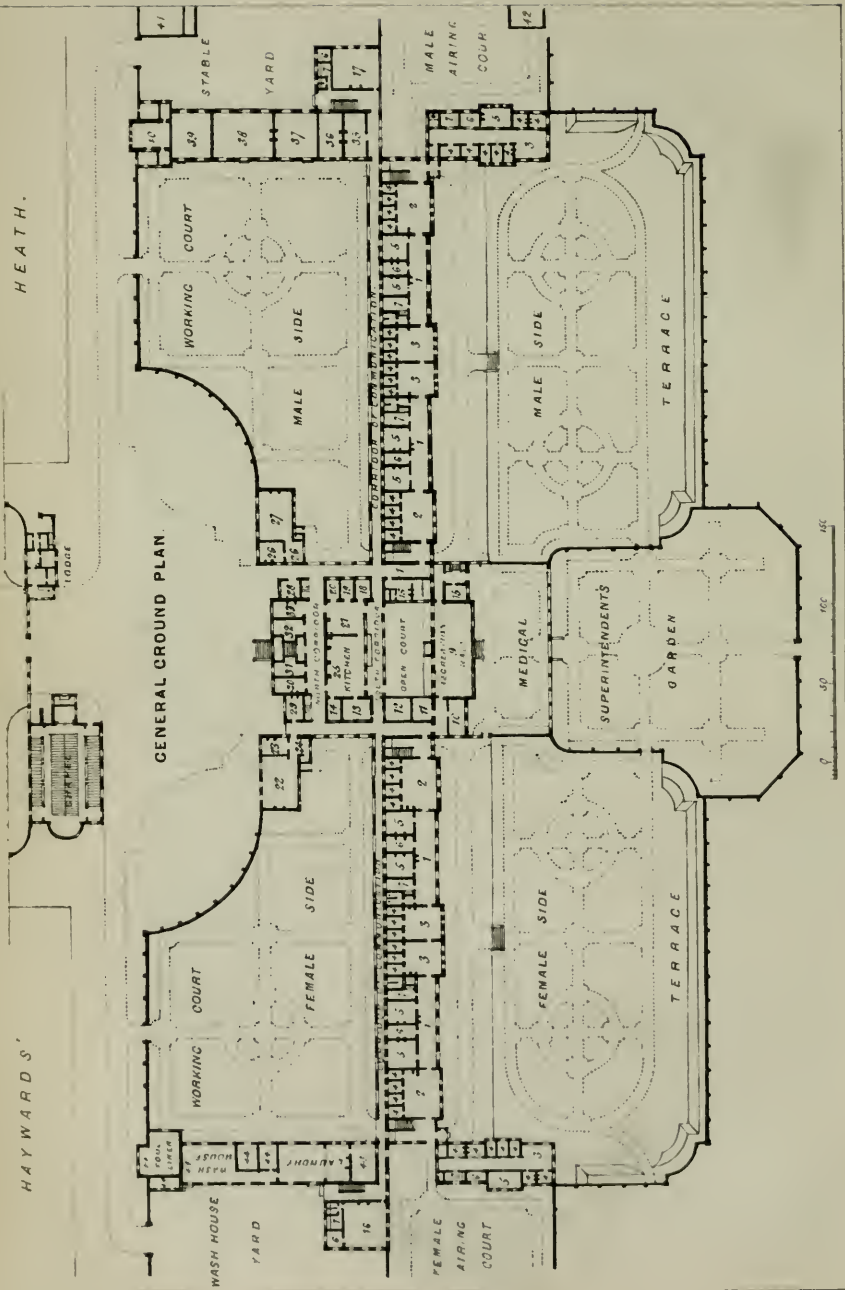
Lightning-conductors are provided for the chapel and centre building.

33. A suitable stable has been erected for the visitors and medical superintendent. The farm buildings are to be begun in spring. The old farm house of the property is in good condition, and occupied by the bailiff and under-gardener and their families.

The suggestions of the Commissioners, therefore, with the exceptions I have above indicated, have been carefully conformed with by the architect, and I may fairly here endorse the following statement by Mr. Kendall, in his final report to the Visitors. "The asylum (he says) is designed strictly in accordance with the rules of the Commissioners in Lunacy. It is three stories in height, and is built with the external walls hollow, so as to render the edifice free from damp. It is simple in its form, substantial and economical in its construction. Its convenience is well studied, so as to embrace every thing conducive to the comfort of every inmate, sane, or insane, and sufficient character is given to it its exterior by



HAYWARDS' HEATH.



GENERAL GROUND PLAN

0 50 100 150  
W. Sykes' Erector

SUSSEX COUNTY LUNATIC ASYLUM .



picturesque treatment and outline, and varied coloured brick-work to render it cheerful and effective, such character having a beneficial effect upon the patients in a curative point of view. The style of the building generally is Lombardic or Byzantine chosen for its appropriate, effective and inexpensive character, little ornament being used beyond that conducive to utility."

INDEX TO GROUND PLAN.

PATIENTS' ROOMS.

1. Galleries (11 feet wide)
2. Dining rooms.
3. Day rooms.
4. Single bed rooms.
5. Dormitories.
6. Attendants' rooms.
7. Bath and lavatories.
8. W. C.
- 16, 17. Infirmaries. \_\_\_\_\_
9. Recreation hall.
- 10, 11. Assistant medical officer  
bed and sitting rooms.
12. Dispensary.
- The Medical Superintendent's rooms  
are above the recreation hall,  
(9). His kitchen, &c., are 15,  
15, 15, in the ground plan. \_\_\_\_\_

OFFICES.

13. Servants' hall.
14. Meat pantry,
18. Bread room.
19. Vegetable store.
20. Officer's pantry.
21. Scullery.
25. Kitchen. \_\_\_\_\_

STORES.

27. Steward's store.
- 26, 26. Steward's offices.
22. Housekeeper's store.
24. Receiving room.
31. Hardware store.
32. Earthenware store.
33. Grocery store. \_\_\_\_\_
28. Steward's sitting room.
29. Housekeeper's sitting room.
23. Head attendant's sitting room  
(female) \_\_\_\_\_

WORKSHOPS.

35. Tailors' shop.
36. Shoemakers' shop.
37. Matmakers' shop.
38. Carpenters' and painters' shop.
39. Brewhouse.
40. Bakehouse. \_\_\_\_\_
- 44, 44, 44. The laundry, wash-house,  
drying closets, &c., &c.
42. The gas works.
41. The stables (Committee and  
Medical Superintendent)
- Dead house at the back of the  
stables

*Psychical Diseases of Early Life*, by J. CRICHTON BROWNE,  
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IN all ages of the world, from the earliest dawning of society down to our own enlightened day—theologians, philosophers, and legislators, those called upon to govern and to guide mankind, have agreed as to the importance to be attached to the physical, mental, and moral training of infancy and childhood. States and societies, and the Church too, have admitted the truth of their theories, and have practically applied them to the affairs of life, to the prevention of crime, and to the advancement of the human race in many social and moral respects. For it is well known to these that it is during infancy and childhood that the being, with a mind plastic and educable, may be taught that discipline and self-control, the application of those principles of responsibility, of justice, and of truth, which are afterwards to fit him to fight the battle of life, and to become a useful member of society.

The physician, too, whose mission it is, at all stages of life, to deal with morbid action, to cope with disease, and to effect its cure, is, or ought to be, well acquainted with the paramount importance of early training, of physical training, in securing a strong and healthy constitution, in overcoming tendencies to bodily disease; of mental training, in securing a strong, a healthy, and a powerful mind, and in dispelling predispositions to mental disease; of physical, mental, and moral training, combined in ensuring perfect health.—“*mens sana in corpore sano.*”

When we consider that the child is the father of the man, and that the man is but the germ cell developed and matured; that they are one and the same being, we shall easily see how necessary it is for the enlightened physician to take an enlarged and expansive view of existence. When we know that existence, from the moment of conception, consists of a series of inseparable gradations, each one of which includes all its predecessors; when we know that the embryo possesses, contains within itself, the rudiments of all those properties and qualities which characterize the perfect being, we shall easily see how necessary it is for the

physician to take every stage of existence into consideration, and to weigh well every influence to which the being is liable, from the instant of union of the spermatozoid with the ovum.

When we know that the spermatozoid and the ovum convey to the progeny, in a manner as yet eluding all research, the physical and psychical qualities, not merely of the parents, but of the parents' parents for generations back, we shall easily see how necessary it is for us to consider and weigh well the characteristics and pursuits of past generations, and the influences brought to bear upon them. And here we should recollect that the spermatozoid and the ovum, not only, respectively, bear the impress of the form, gait and manners, internal qualities and construction of the respective parents, but that these microscopic bodies also transmit and communicate to the offspring the acquired tendencies and liabilities to particular forms of disease which the parents possess; we should recollect that they transmit not only general adaptations to healthy or diseased actions, not only comprehensive tendencies in certain directions, but minute and particular peculiarities and eccentricities, mental and bodily, which characterise the parents. These tendencies and liabilities, those predispositions may remain latent and concealed, but, when placed in circumstances favourable for their maturation, they may develop and become actual disease. It cannot be doubted that these may become developed, and ripened, and unfolded, as well in the womb and in the cradle, as in the strength of manhood and the second childishness of age; as well in the foetus, the suckling, and the child, as in the stripling, the adult, and the aged.

One of the essential characteristics of a living being, is its capability of undergoing "certain derangements from which it may recover, constituting disease;"\* whilst the simplest and the most complex forms of organization are equally liable to disease. The nervous system then, even in its most rudimentary state, is liable to organic lesion, or functional derangement; in other words, to disease; and it is now my endeavour to direct attention to a certain class of nervous diseases, namely, mental disorders, as manifested in infancy and childhood—in utero, post partum, and up to puberty. Enough has already been said to point out the vast moment of the study of such diseases. For, if the mental training of children in general be of such import-

\* Bennett's *Outlines of Physiology*, p. 11.

ance, how important also is the training of those predisposed to mental disease, or actually suffering from it; how important, not only to the sufferers themselves, not only to those immediately interested in them, and solicitous regarding them, but to the community at large. Such an investigation must be one of importance and surpassing interest; yet, notwithstanding this, it has not yet been made. The mental aberrations of infancy and childhood, excepting idiocy and imbecility, may be said to be yet uninvestigated—undescribed. The field is untrodden! the land unexplored! Here and there, indeed, in the literature of psychology, a stray case of infantile insanity is to be found recorded, but these have never been collected nor arranged. The existence of insanity in early life has even been disputed. Some distinguished authorities have doubted its occurrence previous to puberty. Burrows says, "As a general maxim insanity cannot occur before the approach of puberty;"\* and Spurzheim remarks "It may be asked whether children suffer mania and insanity."† Almost all writers upon the subject of psychology are agreed as to the extreme rarity of mental diseases before that period of life, and I am not aware that any one has even suggested its occurrence in utero. Unfortunately, however, I shall be enabled to demonstrate to you that insanity does occur in utero, in infancy, and childhood, and that it is by no means so uncommon as supposed. Infantile insanity is still, however, comparatively rare, and it is so, firstly, because infancy is not exposed to many of those predisposing and existing causes which operate at other periods of life, and which go on increasing until maturity is passed; secondly, because fewer faculties of mind being then developed, fewer are liable to be assailed by disease; and, thirdly, because the delicacy of the infant brain is such that it is unable to undergo severe morbid action without perilling life. Diseases of the nervous centre in infancy and childhood are generally acute in their nature, rapid in their progress, and more frequently appear as hydrocephalus and convulsions than as insanity. But with the above we should also remember the extreme susceptibility of the infant and childish mind; its high impressionability, and the readiness with which it admits of being bent aside from that perfect rectitude constituting health. Great and almost insurmountable difficulties exist in the way of arriving at a true knowledge of the mental condition of infants, and

\* Burrows, on Insanity, p. 244.

† Spurzheim on Insanity, p. 106.

thus departures from the standard of mental health may exist in them, unknown and unobserved. Among certain classes of young children, also, little or no attention is, as yet, paid to the workings and operations of the immortal mind; and in them those incoherent speeches, or odd remarks, which are attributed to childish unmeaning babbling and folly, may sometimes be in reality the result of delusions, illusions, and hallucinations. In other children those eccentricities and peculiarities of conduct, feeling and temper, those unnatural aversions and desires, which are traced by parents and guardians to wilful perversity, may be but the exposition of morbid changes going on in the brain. With those considerations before us, and seeing, that, according to the account of Jonathan Edwards,\* an entire moral revolution and conversion may take place at the early age of four years, we have reason to believe that infants and children suffer more frequently from pscopathies than has hitherto been believed.

We shall now proceed to consider these pscopathies, and, in order to facilitate our progress, we shall speak of them in a fixed and definite order. We shall begin by speaking of those influences productive of psychical diseases which are brought to bear upon the being at conception. We shall secondly consider those operating during utero-gestation, and allude to the morbid psychical conditions which may exist in utero. We shall thirdly treat of the influences accompanying parturition, and their probable consequences. We shall fourthly direct our attention to the psychical diseases which affect the child from birth to the end of the first dentition; and fifthly, and, lastly, to those which affect it from dentition to puberty.

Firstly. As to the influences which are brought to bear upon the embryo at conception; they are many and various, and many and various are their results. In the same family how frequently do we remark the differences in constitution and character existing between its various members, the difference in external configuration and internal disposition, in liabilities to healthy or diseased action. Now many of these differences and discrepancies, we believe to be attributable to the condition, mental and bodily, of the parents at the moment of conception, and to the influences which are then brought to bear upon the being conceived. Beings produced, apparently under the same circumstances, from the same material, must necessarily be precisely similar; and yet

\* Jonathan Edwards' Narrative of Conversions.

we never do see two creatures the products of the same parents exactly alike, and this, because they are never produced under the same circumstances. Ignoring other considerations, the mere time which elapses between two periods of conception must greatly alter the conditions of the parents, and must increase or diminish their vitality and vigour, so that at no two periods of conception are parents in a similar condition, and at no two distinct periods of time are two beings conceived accurately resembling one another. How often do we observe two families spring from equally healthy ancestors, reared and placed in apparently identical circumstances, yet differing from each other most widely, with regard to the mental and corporeal health enjoyed by each. How often do we observe the same causes operating upon similar individuals produce marvellously different results. How often, in the same domestic circle, do we find one child, who is, and has been from birth, strong, robust, and healthy, and another who, from his first breath, has been weak and puny and fragile; and yet those children, so dissimilar, are the offspring of the same parents. We would be inclined to trace these differences to the influences brought to bear upon the embryo at conception.

The question next naturally arises, what are these influences which affect the human race in so important a manner?

We have said that they are many and various; we might have said innumerable, for we hold that all the antecedents of the parents and their progenitors do then, and during utero gestation, assist in stamping certain characters upon the embryo, and in imparting certain impulses and tendencies to it. Treating of the influences bearing upon the embryo, with reference to time, we may speak of the past conditions of the parents and their ancestors; and of the actual condition of the parents at the time of conception.

Among the former class hereditary predisposition stands pre-eminent. Esquirol remarked, that of all diseases, insanity is the most hereditary, and all other psychologists have confirmed his observations, and have even exceeded him in their estimates of the number of cases of insanity in which there exists hereditary taint. Hereditary taint is the most frequent predisposing cause of insanity, and may be traced in more than one half of the cases which occur. Esquirol has also remarked, that persons born before their parents became insane are less liable to suffer from pscopathies than those born after the invasion of the disease.

Next to hereditary taint the respective ages of the parents exercise an important influence upon the progeny. The children of parents who have married young, before the attainment of maturity, and the full development of their organisations, are often idiotic and imbecile, besides being physically weak ; whereas, the children of the same parents, born at a more advanced period of life, may preserve sound mental and bodily health. According to Burton, the offspring of those who procreate when far advanced in life are liable to melancholia—this liability probably arising from the enfeebled condition of the parents. We believe that in all cases the respective ages of the parents affect their children, morally and mentally. The offspring conceived and born in the early life of the parents, being distinguished by a predominance of the passions and animal nature ; those produced in the prime of life, by a superiority of the intellectual faculties ; and those brought forth towards the close of the productive period, by a higher development of the affections and emotions.

We may next consider the respective positions which the parents hold to each other. It is now beyond all doubt, that the union of blood relations, of those nearly allied, is productive of a debilitated, delicate, and unhealthy race ; and this is even more strikingly exemplified in mental than in any other disease. In Howe's work, on the Causes of Idiocy, the following appalling tale is to be found, "In seventeen families, the heads of which, being blood relatives intermarried, there were born ninety-five children, of whom forty-four were idiotic, twelve were scrofulous and puny, one was deaf, and one a dwarf."\* We have ourselves seen seven imbeciles in one family, the heads of which were cousins, and examples of the law just stated must be known to all. The position which the parents hold to each other, with regard to constitution and diathesis, also influences the mental character of the offspring ; for how intimate, yet inscrutable, is the connexion between mind and body ; how wonderful are their reciprocal actions ; how often are they associated in healthy or morbid processes.

Our last division of the influences, connected with the past history of the parents, exerted at conception, treats of the previous habits and modes of life of the progenitors. Those who, having been born with a good constitution, have lived in accordance with, and in obedience to, natural laws, may expect to produce children free from infirmity ; but those who have violated natural laws, may expect that

\* Howe, on the Causes of Idiocy, p. 35.

punishment, proportional to the offence, will inevitably be visited upon them and their descendants. Those who have perpetrated self-abuse, who have given themselves up to licentiousness, lust, and passion, to the vice of intemperance, to the pleasures of the table, or to any nervous excitement in excess, must suffer themselves from their want of self control, and must entail upon their progeny numerous and grievous ills—none more numerous and grievous than psychological disorders. The intemperate parent will transmit to his children a heritage of disease, and will inflict upon them ills innumerable. Of 359 idiots in the State of Massachusetts 99 were the children of confirmed and habitual drunkards, and many others, doubtless, owed their idiocy to the over indulgence of their parents.\* But not only are the offspring of the intemperate liable to idiocy, but to all other forms of mental disease. They have transmitted to them constitutions that readily succumb to sources of diseased action, and that are but little able to resist those influences by which mental disorders are produced. They are born with a strong, sometimes irresistible, tendency to that very vice, from the effects of which they so grievously suffer. The author of a paper upon Intemperance and Insanity, says, "The genealogical tree of some families presents successive generations of drunkards. We have traced the tendency back for a hundred and fifty years. We have repeatedly treated three generations."† This hereditary tendency may be easily developed.

We have found cases recorded, of children addicted to stimulants, indeed drunkards, at and before the age of twelve; and we have ourselves observed a keen relish and liking for alcohol, in its various forms, at a much earlier age. The children of drunkards are often marked by vicious and depraved tastes, by sensual and criminal habits.

"Of 234 boys resident in the Glasgow House of Refuge, whose lineage, as well as their history, was known, and who, although mere children, had already run a course of drinking and debauchery—seventy-two had drunken fathers, sixty-nine drunken mothers, and of twelve both parents were drunkards."‡ Excessive mental exertion on the part of the father is often productive of mental weakness in the child. Thus the children of the great and the eminent are frequently below mediocrity, and a race of distinguished men is quite exceptional. A liability to mental disease is

\* Report of Commissioners, Massachusetts.

† Intemperance and Insanity, by W. A. F. Browne, P. II.

‡ Ibid.



oftimes the legacy left by a genius to his family. Excessive mental idleness and inactivity on the part of the father may be reproduced in his son in a morbid form; and excessive use of any faculty, or series of faculties, to the exclusion of others, in the father, may exert a baneful influence upon his progeny. In short, any departure, during the past lives of the parents, from the strict and immutable code of natural laws, may at conception, and during utero gestation, hurtfully affect their offspring.

So is it with the condition of the parents at the moment of conception. The state of the parents at this time apparently exercises a gigantic influence over the whole existence of the being conceived, no matter whether that state be permanent or transitory and accidental. What we have just stated is strikingly illustrated by the following case. "A gentleman had one idiotic child, and several other children mentally healthy, and there existed no hereditary taint in the family. The child's idiocy was accounted for in the following way. On the day and the evening of his marriage the father had indulged in an improper amount of stimulants. That very night conception is supposed to have taken place, the child being born nine months thereafter. Thus to this one act of intemperance of the father, who was not a habitual drunkard, was to be attributed the disease and degradation of the child."\* We have three cases of congenital idiots of a low type, who were the children of a drunkard, whose habit was to retire to bed every night in a state of complete intoxication, and who was known to have had intercourse with his wife whilst drunk; but who having become abstinent had healthy children born to him. So that even a brief suspension of intelligence appears to be propagable. A similar case may be found in a late number of the *Psychological Journal*;† and, indeed, such cases might be multiplied without limit.

From what has been said it must be palpable to all that mighty influences are brought to bear upon the embryo at conception, and that a bias is then imparted to the being. Conception, we hold to be an act involving far greater consequences than have hitherto been attributed to it; and we believe it to exert influences more vast and serious than have hitherto been thought of.

An example of the influence of one single conception upon the nature of the mother, and upon the result of

\* From Notes of Prof. Laycock's Psychological Lectures.

† *Psychological Journal*, Vol. XI, p. 109.

future conceptions, may serve to illustrate our views. A. B. in early womanhood bore a child to a deaf mute. She afterwards entered into another alliance, and eight of this poor woman's children, by that marriage, are deaf mutes. Of these, two are dead; of the six living, one is insane. Connexion with the deaf mute, after her marriage, was rendered impossible, by his removal to a distant part of the country, and, indeed, the parentage of the children remains unquestioned. In no branch of the father's or mother's family had deaf-mutism ever appeared.

We now proceed to consider the physical and moral influences bearing upon the fœtus, during utero-gestation, as far as they refer to morbid physical conditions. First, as to the physical.

Whilst the fœtus lies in its mother's womb united to her, and in fact a part of her organization, it is but reasonable to suppose that the connexion between them being thus intimate, the influences affecting the one will affect the other, and the conditions of the one will be associated with corresponding conditions in the other. And so it is; for the healthy or diseased state of the mother is usually shared by the fœtus in utero. Thus a syphilitic woman transmits syphilis to her unborn child. Fever, measles, small pox, erythema, &c., are thus communicated; and Menard states, "That in the majority of cases of death by convulsions previous to delivery, the child has been found dead, the contractions of the features and extremities denoting that it had participated in the affection of the mother." A vitiated state of the maternal blood may cause various morbid symptoms in the fœtus, and may even psychically affect it. Anæmia in the mother produces in the child a weakness and depression, closely allied to melancholia, whilst plethora has quite a contrary effect. To a blow on the abdomen, or a fall, may often be traced idiocy, imbecility, and other mental derangements. We believe tight lacing to be another prolific cause of such diseases. It is a well ascertained fact that illegitimate children are not only more frequently still born than legitimate, but that they are also more frequently of unsound mind. This we believe, due so far to moral causes to be spoken of shortly, but likewise to the efforts used to conceal pregnancy, by the mothers of such children. Attempts to obtain abortion constitute another of the physical causes of insanity acting in utero. Of 400 cases of idiocy examined in one of the northern States of America, at least seven were caused by such attempts. The actual number was

probably much greater, for the most strenuous efforts to conceal such a crime will naturally be made by the mother committing it.

As to the moral influences exerted by the mother upon the foetus in utero, great difference of opinion has existed; some altogether denying their existence, and others carrying them to an undue extent. The reality and importance of such influences cannot, we think, be doubted, but the extent to which some have carried them requires limitation. The longings and desires of the pregnant mother do, we think, influence the foetus. Agitation and mental excitement during pregnancy seem greatly to influence the foetus psychically. The life-long timidity and susceptibility of James VI. were traceable to the murder of Rizzio, in the presence of his pregnant mother. The philosopher Hobbes ascribed his acute nervous susceptibility to the fear of a foreign invasion, entertained by his mother during his utero gestation. The imbecility of a child, mentioned by Bird,\* was caused by the melancholia of its mother whilst pregnant. The facts related of the siege of Landau afford a striking example of the effects of maternal emotion. With regard to this siege it is stated, that "of ninety-two children born in the district within a few months afterwards sixteen died at the instant of birth; thirty-three languished for from eight to ten months, and then died; eight became idiotic, and died before the age of five years; and two came into the world with numerous fractures of bones of the limbs, caused by the convulsive starts in the mother, excited by the cannonading and explosions."†

We have before mentioned that illegitimate children are more liable to suffer from insanity than children born in wedlock, and this we so far attributed to physical causes. Moral causes, however, frequently occasion this. The anxiety and distress, or remorse, which are felt by the mothers of such children, must certainly influence them when in utero. Natural children are frequently possessed of great genius and ability, and this, perhaps, because they are the products of an ardent passion, and because their pregnant mothers are called upon for mental exertion and ingenuity. Most frequently do mothers attribute the idiocy and imbecility of their children to frights received during pregnancy. Many such cases we have seen, and many are to be found recorded in the First Report of the Commissioners in Lu-

\* Bouchut, translated by Bird, p. 5, note.

† Combe on the Management of Infancy, p. 76.

nacy for Scotland. During the French Revolution, and the Irish Rebellion, it was observed, that those women who were subjected to anxiety and alarm afterwards produced children liable to spasms, convulsions, and madness. Mr. W. B. Neville says, "I knew an instance of a female who was subject to shocks of terror, inflicted by her husband when intoxicated, which used generally to occur once a month, consequent on his receipt of a pension. She was afterwards delivered of a well formed though delicate child, who up to the age of eighteen continued subject to panic terrors at intervals of a month."\* Boerhaave states that a tendency to epilepsy may be "born with one from the imagination of the mother, when she was pregnant, being shocked by the sight of a person in an epileptic fit." † The following case, given by Howe, is an interesting instance of the maternal influence. "H. C. F's. mother was extremely intemperate for years before his birth. In him muscular vigour is impaired, by a singular affection of his nervous system, which gives him the air, gait, and appearance of a drunken man. He seems to have inherited from his mother a strong resemblance to her acquired habit of body. He trips and staggers in his walk, and frequently falters in his other motions." ‡ The Romans appear to have appreciated the power of maternal emotions over the unborn fœtus, for they placed their finest works of art before their pregnant women, that they might contemplate them, believing that thus a beautiful race would be created. Hufeland expresses his belief that the Madonna-like expression of the women in catholic countries, is due to the length of time passed in adoration before pictures of the Virgin by their pregnant women. ||

The physical and moral influences exerted in utero may, even in utero, produce certain effects, causing, arrest of development, imperfect development, and abnormal development. Acephali and anencephali are rendered such by physical means, development being obstructed by the presence of two or more fœtus, by a deformed pelvis, by hypertrophied placenta, or by similar causes. Other deformities and malformations, of every description, may be produced in like manner. Moral causes may influence development. Whitehead narrates the case of a lady,

\* Neville, on Insanity, p. 44.

† Boerhaave Aphor, 1095.

‡ Howe on the Causes of Idiocy, p. 19.

|| Hufeland paper, published in Stuttgart Collection.

who, during five pregnancies experienced dread lest her offspring should suffer from blindness. He thus proceeds. "Of five children born at the full term of utero gestation, each as remarkable for plumpness and vigour as the mother is for a well developed frame and robust health; the first, third, and fifth of her children had defective development of the left eye, amounting in one to deformity, and the second and fourth had complete loss of vision of the same side."\* Hair lip has been produced in a child by the mere sight of that deformity by its mother during pregnancy.

It seems that certain forms of imperfect development are associated with certain morbid psychical conditions. In idiocy, with which arrest of development is often concomitant, a certain symmetry of deformity seems to exist. Strabismus is frequently observed in both eyes. The *alæ nasi* may be abnormally developed. Hair lip may be present. The palate is arched and lofty. The teeth are symmetrically irregular. On both hands a finger may be wanting—a sixth finger developed, or the fingers may be webbed. The feet may be similarly affected. Many idiots suffer from mono-orchidism.

Nervous disease may exist in utero. I have been informed by a distinguished practitioner in this city, that he has attended a case of convulsions in utero, and of other such cases we have heard. Paralysis is known sometimes to be congenital.

Psychical disease may exist in utero. That amentia, in its various forms, exists in the *fœtus*, is, of course, undisputed; but we hold that the *fœtus* is subject to other mental disorders. Infants have been born maniacal, and during the utero-gestation of these infants, great pain has been experienced by the mother, and attributed to the restlessness of the *fœtus* in the womb. We have collected three cases of con-nate mania, one very interesting case given by Crichton we shall hereafter allude to. Another case may be found in the Appendix to the Scotch Lunacy Commissioners' Report. We think that such cases are not so uncommon as supposed. Hitherto no attention has been paid to the subject, and at all times the diagnosis of such cases must be extremely difficult.

The mode and the manner of parturition influence the psychical existence of the child being born. The dangers attending delivery are known to be very much greater among civilized than among barbarous nations, and infant

\* Whitehead on Hereditary Diseases, p. 16.

mortality holds a proportional position. In Europe, during infancy, cerebral diseases are the most frequent causes of death, and these cerebral diseases are often induced by the pressure exerted upon the child's head during parturition. Among black nations where the foetal heads are smaller than among nations that have been for ages civilized, parturition is looked upon as a process attended with little or no danger to mother or child, and cerebral diseases are comparatively rare. Tedious labour, instrumental or abnormal delivery of any kind may induce psychical changes in the child of a serious nature, and may alter its mental character for life.

May the mental condition of the mother, at the time of parturition, or immediately preceding it, influence the after mental life of the child? In the autobiography of a drunkard, the author states that just before his birth, the midwife having left the room for a moment, his mother rose and swallowed a large quantity of brandy. She was ordinarily of the most strictly temperate habits. To this single act, he seems inclined to attribute his moral abandonment.

As a mental state of a moment's duration may, during pregnancy, influence the foetal nervous system, we are entitled to hold that the condition of the mother during parturition may similarly act.

From the regions of speculation and doubt, which we have hitherto traversed, we now emerge, though our course will still be shrouded by the mists of obscurity and uncertainty. Yet in a land so uncultivated, so unexplored as that, through which we must now grope our way, we cannot expect to advance by rapid strides, or with steady and unerring step.

From birth to the end of the first dentition, many psychical diseases occur, which we shall now describe. Idiocy, which has been so often and so fully treated of, that we need but mention it, with all its modifications, with cretinism and cagotism, is strictly a congenital disease, and is said by M. Esquirol to commence with life. It consists in an abortion of mind, or an abolition of the mental faculties, associated with a defective organisation, and is manifested in various degrees. The lowest class of idiots may be regarded as altogether beneath the animal world. They possess not taste, smell, hearing, sight or touch. They are unable to nourish themselves, though food be placed within their reach, and in some cases the food requires to be placed within the pharynx. They perform every function imperfectly. From these degraded entities, these human logs, up to comparative intelligence, there exist idiots in every stage of transition. These

have been differently arranged by different authors, but with them we have not time to deal. Idiots have always an imperfect organism, and have generally brains which have been arrested in development. They may often be recognised at the moment of birth, by their deformed heads, or their want of sensation, or their inability to suck, or other such symptoms. They are often strumous, rachitic or paralytic. In these days of idiot schools, and idiot training, we think the imperfect organization of the idiot ought to be borne in mind in every attempt at education. The education of such beings ought to contain more of the physical, than of the mental element, and ought to be directed to giving them means of employment and happiness, which they do not possess. Much has been done towards the elevation of the idiot, and many means have been discovered, by which, pleasure may be added to his brief existence, and by which he may be rendered less burdensome to those about him; but much remains to be done. Cretinism and cagotism are endemic forms of idiocy, accompanied by certain peculiarities. There seems reason for adopting the view of some German writers, who hold that they consist in a subordinate form of idiocy, complicated with an advanced stage of rachitis or scrofula. It is declared that in countries where cretinism exists, midwives, at the moment of birth, are able to pronounce whether or not the child will prove a cretin, and this at least is certain, that some of the symptoms of cretinism manifest themselves in earliest infancy. They are sometimes born with incipient goitre, which afterwards becomes developed.

Much interesting discussion has taken place as to the nature and causes of cretinism and cagotism, but upon so extensive a subject, we cannot enter. In certain cases of idiocy, a sort of assimilation to certain members of the brute creation, is to be observed. The following case given by Pinel will illustrate our statement. "A young female idiot, in the form of her head, her tastes, her mode of living, seemed to approach the instincts of a sheep. She exhibited an especial repugnance to meat, and ate with avidity, vegetable substances, such as peas, apples, salad and bread. She only drank water. Her demonstrations of feeling were confined to these two words, "bé ma tante," for she could not utter any other words, and appeared silent solely from wanting ideas. She was accustomed to exercise alternate movements of flexion and extension of the head in supporting it, (like a sheep), on the breast of her nurse. Her back, loins and shoulders were covered with long flexible hairs, from one to

two inches in length, and which resembled wool in texture. In making efforts to get out of the bath, she would repeat in an acute tone, bé, bé, bé. She would not sit, but lay on the ground, le corps roulé, et étendu sur la terre à la manière de brebis."\* Idiots may often be met with, who go upon all fours, eat grass and filth, and in their actions, gestures, and mode of life, resemble lower animals. Brute children, those beings who have herded with wolves, and other wild creatures are idiotic, simply because they have been removed from every civilizing and elevating influence.†

But amentia is not the only form of mental aberration that exists from birth to the end of the first dentition. Mania, or derangement of the mind as a whole, has been observed. As we shall again speak of mania, we shall here only strive to support our assertion. Crichton says—"A woman about forty years old, of a full and plethoric habit of body, who constantly laughed and did the strangest things, but who, independently of these circumstances, enjoyed the very best of health, was, on the 20th January, 1763, brought to bed, without any assistance, of a male child, who was raving mad. When he was brought to our workhouse, which was on the 24th, he possessed so much strength in his legs and arms, that four women could at times, with difficulty restrain him. These paroxysms either ended in an uncontrollable fit of laughter, for which no evident reason could be observed, or else he tore in anger, everything near him, clothes, linen, bed furniture, and even thread, when he could get hold of it. We durst not allow him to be alone, otherwise he would get on the benches and tables, and even attempt to climb up the walls. Afterwards however, when he began to have teeth he died."‡ Paroxysms of fury and passion strongly resembling mania, are sometimes seen in mere infants.

Delusions and hallucinations sometimes exist at this period of life. Hallucinations of the organ of vision form a common symptom in cerebral diseases of infancy, and they have been observed to result from the use of certain poisonous agents. They are manifested by the conduct of the child. It may smile, attempt to grasp imaginary objects in front of it, stretch out its hands and cling to the side of its cradle to reach them the better; or it may wear an expression of dread and alarm, shrink as if trying to hide

\* Pinel. *Traité Médico-philosophique sur l'alienation mentale*, p. 182. Bucknill and Tuke's *Manual of Psychology*, p. 97.

† Chambers' *Journal*. July, 1852.

‡ Greeding, quoted by Crichton, vol. ii., p. 355.



itself, and shriek as if terror-stricken. Now if these effects may result from poisoning, by stramonium, or like drugs, we may fairly conclude that they may also result from poisoning by bile, urea, or from any cause productive of insanity. The fact being established that this morbid condition does exist in infancy, there is every probability for supposing that it may result from various causes, as it does during adult life.

M. Thore, a French psychologist, has met with hallucinations of sight and hearing in children, even when in perfect health. He says, they appear to form part, or to be a continuation of a previous dream.\* Ecstatic phenomena are often manifested by children, even at the early age of which we speak. They will remain for a longer or shorter time with their eyes fixed upon one spot. They are wrapt in contemplation, from which even vivid impressions will fail to arouse them. Very shortly after birth in some children a state allied to melancholia may be observed, and, indeed, they are sometimes born in this state. They are languid; they moan, they are sleepless.† If they chance to fall asleep their rest is disturbed and broken, and even whilst sleeping they continue to whine. They start up suddenly, as if alarmed. They pass dark coloured feces, and are often more or less convulsed. Such infants often die convulsed.

Precocity, which may begin to shew itself in infancy, we look upon as a morbid psychical condition, generally terminating in the worst results. It is due to an abnormal enlargement of the whole, or some part, of the brain, and this enlargement is due either to premature and excessive use, or to disease. Precocity may generally be looked upon as expressive of disease, and thus, those manifesting it almost invariably die young. Most strongly should this truth be impressed upon the minds of those parents and guardians who view it merely as an indication of talent, and who, by every means in their power, seek to encourage and foster it. Scrofulous and rickety infants are often precocious, and in them the untimely development is accompanied by a visible enlargement of the head. "Rickety children," says M. Monfalcon, "have minds active and penetrating, their wit is astonishing, they are susceptible of lively passions, and have perspicacity which does not belong to their age. The brains enlarge in the same manner as the cranium." But this precocity cannot last long. It is soon exhausted, and passes

\* Psychological Journal, Vol. II., p. 616.

† Burn's Midwifery, p. 737.

into actual insanity, or mental weakness and eccentricity. The precocious child is often of stunted form, of sickly aspect, and of unsound health. His physical inferiority contrasts strangely with his mental power. His body seems to suffer from deficient nutrition, in consequence of the large demand for nourishment always made by the brain. Those who have in after life attained eminence and distinction, have often, during childhood, been remarkable only for muscular activity and mental stupidity. Exceptions are, of course, to be found, such as Pope, Congreve, Chatterton, Byron, Keats, Dante, &c., but we must remark, that all these whilst they lived were diseased or unhealthy.

The following interesting case of precocity is given by Brigham. "Master W—— M——, the fourth child of his parents, was born in Philadelphia, on June 4th, 1820. At birth his head was of ordinary size, but very soon after an attack of dropsy of the brain, it began to grow inordinately. After he began to walk its size was so great that he attracted much attention, and he was apt to fall, especially forwards, from readily losing his equilibrium. In 1828 he fell against a door, and bruised his forehead; in an hour afterwards he vomited, became very sick, and died next morning. When fourteen months old the child spoke well, and at eighteen months was able to sing a variety of musical airs. His intellectual faculties, generally, were very respectable, and his powers of observation rather remarkable; but his memory, both of language and sentiments, were such as to excite surprise in those who took pains to converse with him. Of a grave and quiet temperament, he preferred the society of his seniors, and took little interest in the common pastimes of childhood. Only sedate children were agreeable to him. His sentiments and affections were of a lofty character. For two years before his death little M. became affected by religious impressions."\* Dr. Crotch, the famous professor of harmony, was a musician from his infancy, and when three years old he could play the organ. We have many other instances of such prodigies, but these we think it unnecessary to narrate. During the period of which we now speak, we must remark the peculiar susceptibility of the infant frame. The muscles are soft and pale, and contract rapidly. The cuticle is thin. The nerves are large and widely distributed. The nervous centres are very large in proportion to the size of the body. The general circulation is rapid. From these circumstances

\* Brigham, on Mental Culture, p. 29.

it arises that the infant is extremely susceptible and impressionable, and that very slight stimuli, when applied to it, produce very powerful results. The maternal influence is still maintained through lactation, or another series of influences is brought to bear upon the being, through the milk of a strange nurse. The quality of the milk is of great importance, as it powerfully affects the recipient. Its quality may be altered by disease, by therapeutic agents, by food, or by emotion; and from being the most nutritious and harmless of all substances it may become a deadly poison. Tourtoal relates an instance of the power of maternal emotion upon the quality of the milk. "A carpenter having quarrelled with a soldier who was billeted on him, the latter fell upon him with his drawn sword. The carpenter's wife first trembled with fear and horror, then suddenly throwing herself between the combatants, she wrested the sword out of the soldier's hand, broke it, and flung it away. The mother, while thus violently excited, took up her child from the cradle and gave it the breast. The infant was in perfect health, and had never had a moment's illness. After some minutes it became restless, and left off sucking; it panted, and fell dead in its mother's lap."\*

The first dentition is a critical period in infantile life, and is accompanied, especially in weak children, by a sort of systemic disturbance or irritation. During this state of the system predispositions tend to evolve themselves, and great affectability exists.

From the end of the first dentition, up to puberty, we may state, as a general principle, that there is a liability to every psychical disease from which the adult may suffer, together with certain disordered conditions peculiar to that stage of life.

We have already spoken of amentia, or congenital absence of the mental faculties. We will now turn to dementia, or obliteration of mind. Acute dementia may be regarded as a temporary extinction of the mental faculties; chronic dementia as a more complete obliteration. Dementia must be carefully distinguished from idiocy; in the latter case, mind is congenitally absent, and has never existed; whilst in the former, mind, having existed, is veiled and diseased. Dementia may be recognised in its earlier stages by slight incoherence, and by a want of connexion of ideas; when fully developed by obliteration or enfeeblement of intellect, by diminished sensibility, and by derangement of the bodily

\* Bouchut, translated by Bird, p. 32, note.

functions generally. Seguin\* has denied the existence of dementia in youth. In doing so he is in error. Acute dementia, or fatuity, is frequently met with in this country between the ages of ten and sixteen, during the period of growth. It differs from senile and other species of dementia, in that it seems to depend either on the imperfect nutrition of the nervous system, or on the influence of the processes by which its building up is carried on; and, secondly, that it is curable generally by generous diet, and other means that supply materials for construction. A physician in the West of Scotland has kindly forwarded to us the following case of juvenile dementia. "J. T., æt. 10, was from birth a nervous and easily excited boy; previous to his attaining his fifth year he shewed sufficient intellect to compass the alphabet, a short prayer, and a blessing. There was noticed during this period an increasing nervousness and greater susceptibility of excitement. At five years of age he had an attack of gastric fever, succeeded by a continuous crop of boils over the whole body. During, and after his recovery from this illness, a change in his mental constitution was observed, as evidenced, by increasing nervousness and excitability—failing memory and speech, incapacity in controlling himself, with a considerable degree of fear in his actions. This condition continued, more or less, for two years. For a time he was hardly able to move out of the house, apparently from an instinctive fear or dread of something. He frequently threw articles into the fire, or out of the window; he ran out of the house in a state of nudity, and was quite indifferent when corrected. He never had fits of any kind. His general habits are now considerably improved, but though attempts have been made to re-teach him his alphabet, &c., there has yet been no appearance of returning intellect." We shall extract a portion of a case of dementia in youth, as given by Burrows. "Master —, a stout, healthy boy, till he was twelve years old had evinced all the capacity and activity usual to his years. At this period some change was observed in his disposition and habits. He became negligent and irascible, fonder of amusements below his age, and, if opposed, fell into silly passions. What he desired he cared not how he obtained. At length slight symptoms, like chorea, came on. When aged fourteen he was brought to London for my advice. He appeared then to be a stout lad, with a healthy complexion. The conformation of his head was good. The expression of his countenance denoted a degree of vacuity. He hesitated

\* Seguin, *Traitement Morale, &c., des Idiots*, p. 88.

in his speech a little, and then uttered his words suddenly. He desired almost everything he saw, and attempted to gain it with force and violence, and, if restrained, broke into furious passions. He had lost all knowledge of the classics, and only amused himself occasionally with childish books and pictures. A year afterwards his tutor wrote to me that he was gradually becoming worse, his senses were more impaired, his movements were more restricted; in short, he was quite in a state of fatuity.\*

Monomania, or delusional insanity, we believe to be more common during infancy and childhood than at any other period of life. It consists in an exaltation, or undue predominance, of some one faculty, is characterized by "some particular illusion or erroneous conviction, impressed upon the understanding," and implies an unhealthy state of the mind as a whole. Delusions and hallucinations are its exponents. We generally find that the delusions of the monomaniac bear distinct reference to his ordinary mode of thought and life, and are but diseased distortions, or exaggerations of his ordinary ideas. Thus, in childhood, they are frequently induced by castle building, and we would here take an opportunity of denouncing that most pleasant but pernicious practice. Impressions, created by the ever fertile imagination of a child, it may be whilst "glow'ring at the fuffing low," are soon believed in as realities, and become a part of the child's psychical existence. They become, in fact, actual delusions. Such delusions are formed with facility, but eradicated with difficulty, and much mental derangement in mature life, we believe, is attributable to these reveries indulged in during childhood. It should not be forgotten that the "disposition is builded up by the fashionings of first impressions." Infantile and childish minds ought to be engaged with active, natural, and simple pursuits carried out into objectivity, and ought to be allowed little opportunity to "Give to airy nothings a local habitation and a name." A most curious example of all that we have just stated is offered by Hartley Coleridge. The delusions of his boyhood are thus narrated by his brother. "At a very early period of his childhood, of which he himself had a distinct, though visionary, remembrance, he imagined himself to foresee a time, when in a field that lay close to the house in which he lived, a small cataract would burst forth, to which he gave the name of Jugforce. The banks of the stream thus created, soon became populous, a region, a realm, and, as the vision spread in ever widening

\* Burrows, on Insanity, p. 490.

circles, it soon overflowed, as it were, the narrow spot, in which it was originally generated, and Jugforce, disguised under the less familiar name of Equxria, became an island continent, with its attendant isles. Taken as a whole, the Equxrian world presented a complete analogue to the world of fact, so far as it was known to Hartley, complete in all its parts, furnishing a theatre and scene of action, with dramatis personæ and suitable machinery, in which, day after day, for the space of long years he went on evolving the complicated drama of existence. When at length he was obliged to account for his knowledge of, and connexion with this distant land, he had a story borrowed from the Arabian Nights, of a great bird, by which he was carried to and fro. Once I asked how it was that his absence on these occasions was not observed, but he was angry and mortified. His usual mode of introducing the subject was, 'Derwent, I have had letters or papers from Equxria.' Nothing could exceed the seriousness of his manner, and, doubtless, of his feelings. He was, I am sure, utterly unconscious of invention. A certain infirmity of will, the specific evil of his life, had already shewn itself. His sensibility was intense, and he had not wherewithal to control it. He could not open a letter without trembling. He shrank from mental pain, he was beyond measure impatient of restraint. He was liable to paroxysms of rage."\*

A marked instance of juvenile hallucinations is to be found in the life of Jerome Cardon. "Between his fourth and seventh year, the excitement of his nervous system caused a condition, perhaps, not altogether rare in children—phantoms haunted him. During the last hour or two of morning rest, lying awake, the boy commonly saw figures that were colourless, and seemed to be built out of rings of mail, rising out of the right corner of the bed. The figures followed each other in long procession, were of many kinds, houses, castles, animals, knights on horseback, plants, trees, musical instruments, &c., and wild shapes that represented nothing he had ever seen before. The figures rising out of the right hand corner, and describing an arch, descended into the left hand corner, and were lost. Jerome had pleasure in this spectacle."†

Mrs. Jameson speaks as follows, "The shaping spirit of imagination began when I was eight or nine years old to haunt my inner life. I can truly say that from ten years old to fourteen or fifteen I lived a double existence; one, outward, linking me with the external sensible world; the other, in-

\* Extracts from *Memoirs*—Ed. Rev., July, 1851.

† *Life of Giralomo Cardano, of Milan, Physician, by Henry Morely, vol. I., p. 35.*

ward, creating a world to and for itself, conscious to itself only. I carried on for whole years a series of actions, scenes, and adventures, one springing out of another. This habit grew so upon me, that there were moments when I was not more awake to outward things than when in sleep.”\*

In the eighteenth Annual Report of the Crichton Royal Institution, Dumfries, the case of a gentleman is recounted, who, when a child, being compelled to sleep in a garret alone, upon one occasion saw a scroll, of the name and nature of which he was then ignorant, although he has since ascertained it, to resemble those used in remote antiquity. It was covered with written characters, which he could not read, and which he did not know to be significant of thought or speech. It was broad, with ribbons attached, and was suspended without visible agency. He was alarmed, and screamed so loudly as to alarm a relative. On her arrival, actuated by shame, he declared that there was nothing the matter. This impression may be coloured by experience, for the narrator has since seen myriads of visions, and has been insane, and it is only certain that at an early age he saw that which did not exist, and what he could not know to exist.”† Crichton gives the following case of infantile hallucination, as narrated by the sufferer herself. “In the fourth year of my life I took a folio Bible and rolled it with my hands and feet to a bank where I had been sitting, and placed my feet on it. I had scarcely taken my place above a minute, when I heard a voice at my ear say, ‘Put the book where you found it.’ The voice repeated the mandate that I should do it, and, at the same time, I thought somebody took hold of my face. I instantly obeyed, with fear and trembling.” ‡

Those ambitious thoughts which even in childhood occupied the mind of Oliver Cromwell, appear to have assumed the form of hallucination. “He laid himself down one day, when suddenly the curtains of his bed were slowly withdrawn by a gigantic figure, which bore the aspect of a woman, and which, gazing at him silently for a while, told him that he should before his death be the greatest man in England.” ||

We have ourselves seen two children in the same family, independently of each other, at the ages of four and six, cherish the same delusions. The delusions consisted in the personification and localization of mental images. They

\* Mrs. Jameson’s *Common-place Book*, p. 131.

† Eighteenth Annual Report Crichton Institution, Dumfries, p. 28.

‡ Crichton, on *Insanity*, vol. II., p. 47.

|| *Oliver Cromwell and the Protectorate*, by Daniel Wilson, p. 29.

believed themselves possessed of riches and property, and talked of companions who had no existence. It is worthy of observation, that in the family to which these children belong, two uncles were affected during youth, by what amounted to a delusion, in so far as they conceived, that the relations of places, with which they were constantly familiar, underwent a change. We have collected very numerous cases of infantile delusions, but we have already given a sufficient number, by which to illustrate and establish our statements.

Theomania is another form of delusional insanity by which youth may be attacked. The person attacked by it believes himself to be a deity, an archangel, a prophet, to be inspired, to be under divine protection, guided by divine impulses, or to be actuated by the divine spirit. Theomania may assume various forms, according to the current opinions of the age, and the previous religious views of the person affected by it. About the beginning of the thirteenth century, a most strange and marvellous epidemic of this kind prevailed among the children of the Continent, and led many of them to destruction. It is thus spoken of by Michaud. "About this period such a circumstance was beheld, as had never occurred even in times so abounding in prodigies and extraordinary events. Fifty thousand children in France and Germany braving paternal authority, gathered together and pervaded both cities and countries, singing these words, 'Lord Jesus, restore to us your holy cross.' When they were asked whither they were going, or what they intended to do, they replied, 'we are going to Jerusalem to deliver the sepulchre of our Lord.' A great portion of this juvenile militia crossed the Alps to embark at the Italian ports, whilst those who came from the provinces of France directed their course to Marseilles. On the faith of a miraculous revelation they had been made to believe that this year (1213) the drought would be so great that the sun would dissipate all the waters of the sea, and thus an easy road for pilgrims would be opened across the bed of the Mediterranean. On the coasts of Syria many of these young crusaders lost themselves in forests, and wandering about at hazard perished with heat, hunger, thirst, and fatigue. Others returned to their homes ashamed of their imprudence, saying they did not really know why they had gone. Amongst those who had embarked, some were shipwrecked, or given up to the Saracens, against whom they had set out to fight."\*

We have translated the following case of theomania from

\* Michaud's History of the Crusades, Vol. II., p. 202



Calmeil. "I knew at Tyres a man, called G., who had a little boy of five years old, who prophesied. He fell repeatedly in my presence into mental excitement, accompanied with great agitation of the head and body. After that he spoke, predicting evils to Babylon, and blessings to the Church. He exhorted most earnestly to repentance."\*

Joan of Arc was the victim of a transport of theomania. "When hardly past the period of infancy she was often observed thoughtful and abstracted in the midst of the dances and gaieties into which, of a Sunday, she was led by her companions. If she chanced, like the other girls, to gather flowers, as she roamed the forest, in place of decking her own person, her sole idea was to carry them to the village, to adorn the image of the Virgin, or some other holy personage. From the age of thirteen she experienced frequent hallucinations of seeing and hearing. She thought herself visited by the archangel Michael, by the angel Gabriel, by St. Catherine, and St. Margaret." †

Demonomania, a morbid state in which the patient believes himself to be demoniacally possessed, and acts as if demoniacally possessed, has been often noticed in early life. It is not now so frequently seen as it was of yore, but it is still to be met with. Calmeil thus speaks of a paroxysm of demonomania, which had an epidemic character. "The majority of the children, whatever their age, were attacked with hallucinations, and pre-occupied by ideas which are observed in demonomania. It is certain that it was chiefly during sleep that these little visionaries felt themselves carried into the air by women, metamorphosed into cats; some were, perhaps, in a sort of ecstatic transport, when their brain became the seat of the illusions which poisoned their existence." ‡ Calmeil also states, that during the winter of 1566, there was an epidemic of demonomania among the foundlings of the hospital of Amsterdam. The foundlings were attacked with convulsions and delirium. An austere and gloomy faith, dealing rather with the horrors and punishments attending the lost, than with the rewards awaiting the blest, may induce this frightful disease, as the following case well exemplifies. "A young girl, about 9 or 10 years old, had parents who were of a rigorous and devout sect, who had filled the child's head with a number of strange and horrid notions, about the devil, hell,

\* De la Folie considéré sous le point de Vue Pathologique, Philosophique, &c., par S. F. Calmeil, t. II., p. 273.

† American Journal of Insanity, Vol. III., p. 136, translated from Calmeil.

‡ De la Folie, &c., &c., Calmeil, t. I., p. 433.

and eternal damnation. One evening the devil appeared to her, and threatened to devour her. She gave a loud shriek, and fled to the neighbouring apartment, where her parents were, and fell down, apparently dead. On recovering herself, she stated what had happened, adding that she was sure to be damned.”\*

The mind of childhood, that which we are accustomed to look upon as emblematic of all that is simple, and pure, and innocent, may be assailed by the most loathsome of psychical disorders, viz., satyriasis, or nymphomania; the monomania affecting the sexual instinct. Sexual precocity has been frequently observed at an early age. This “digusting anticipation” is illustrated by a case published in the *Journal des Scavans*, where it occurred in a boy aged three years; † and by another in the *Philosophical Transactions*, where the boy was only two years and eleven months. ‡ Well authenticated cases of pregnancy itself, occurring at the age of nine years, are on record. Buchan states that the first symptoms of nymphomania have been observed in a girl three years old, who was in the habit of throwing herself into the most indecent attitudes, and indulging in the most licentious movements. § M. Louyer Villermay has likewise seen this condition in girls of three or four years old. || Satyriasis has been observed in boys of three and four years. ¶ Gall relates a case of satyriasis in a boy only three years old. \*\* We have seen symptoms of nymphomania in a girl aged twelve.

Erotomania is a modified form of the disease which we have just considered, or a morbid form of sentimentality generally attacking those of a romantic and passionate disposition. It has been observed in early life. Seguin gives the case of a boy aged twelve who cherished the belief that he had in his possession, a young princess, who had been his paramour.\*\*\*

That insane and irresistible impulse prompting to murder and destruction, which has been designated homicidal monomania is a malady from the incursions of which childhood is not exempt. The powerful sometimes unconquerable im-

\* Crichton, on *Insanity*, Vol. II., p. 15.

† *Journal des Scavans*, 1688.

‡ *Philosophical Transactions*, 1745.

§ Buchan, quoted by Voison, *Des causes morales et physique de Maladies Mentales*, p. 249.

|| M. Souyer Villermay, p. 251.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

\*\* Gall's *Works*, Tome III., p. 260.

\*\*\* Seguin, *Traitment moral, Hygiene et Education de Idiots*, p. 93.

pulse felt by those suffering from this disease, originates in various circumstances, and various reasons may be given for a homicidal act by the monomaniac committing it. He may believe that he is conferring a real benefit, upon the person he kills ; or that by destroying life he is obeying the behest of Heaven. He may perpetrate a homicidal act as the minister of retributive justice, or as the avenger of his own imagined wrongs. Or he may do it from a pure love of destruction and cruelty, or from the force of imitation. Frequently a mere blind motiveless impulse to destroy is felt, against which the monomaniac himself earnestly strives. Examples of this disease, as occurring in early life, are by no means uncommon. "In 1854 a boy shot his stepmother in France. He confessed the act, but said it was the result of a mysterious irresistible impulse. He admitted an aversion to his stepmother. There was no disorder of the intellect apparent. There was an hereditary pre-disposition to insanity on both sides."\* "A girl aged five years, conceived a violent dislike to her stepmother, who treated her kindly, and to her little brother, both of whom she endeavoured to kill."† The American Journal of Insanity, registers a case, the result of imitation. "A child about seven years old strangled his brother. His parents caught him in the act. They asked him the cause, he replied weeping, that he was only imitating the devil, whom he had seen strangling Punch."‡ A similar case happened in a county in the south of Scotland. A little boy having seen a butcher kill a pig, was caught preparing to imitate the process upon his younger sister. The love of destroying and inflicting torture and pain, entertained by some minds, is well shewn in a case given in a late volume of the Psychological Journal. "T. P., fourteen years of age, was a clever boy. His mind was peculiarly constituted, evincing a pre-disposition to cruelty. He had been frequently known to hang up mice and other animals, for the purpose of enjoying the pain, which they appeared to suffer, whilst in the agonies of death. He would often call boys to witness these sports exclaiming, "Here's a lark ; he's just having his last kick." He had often been known to catch flies and throw them into the fire, and he had also been observed, whilst passing along the streets, to pull the ears of the children, and when they cried out, he would burst into a paroxysm of fiendish delight."§

\* *Annales Medico-Psychologique*, April, 1856.

† *Esquirol, Mal. Ment.*, Vol. II., p. 115.

‡ *American Journal of Insanity*, Vol. I., p. 119.

§ *Psychological Journal*, Vol. IX., p. 286.

Like propensities, we have seen manifested, by the eldest son of a gentleman occupying an elevated position in society ; one who from his very cradle had mingled with the gentle and the refined. At his own earnest request, this boy was permitted to act as butcher to all the farmers on his father's estate. His favourite amusement was putting fowls and rabbits to the most cruel and agonising deaths, and he gloried in gratuitously shooting the roes whilst with young. When repairs were going on at his father's house, he sawed through the scaffolding in such a manner, that when the workmen mounted it, they might be precipitated to the ground. Such is destructive or homicidal insanity.

An instinctive impulse prompting to theft, or kleptomania, is frequently felt by the young, and we say without hesitation that many of those young criminals, who are yearly brought before our Courts of Justice, and tried and punished for theft and like crimes, are the victims of this disease. The inveteracy and pertinacity of these children in crime, their utter recklessness of consequences, their intractability under reformatory measures and tuition, and their own confessions and statements might, ere this, have convinced those in power, that it is not by the lash or by solitary confinement, that these poor wanderers are to be brought back to the paths of honesty and virtue. Wholesome diet, cleanliness, and cod liver oil would affect them much more beneficially than stripes ad libitum, confinement ad infinitum, and magisterial advice at discretion. More correct views, however, on this subject are now being disseminated, and the papers which during the few past years have been read before the Association for the Promotion of Social Science, demonstrate that the cause of these poor children is being adopted by those who can help them. Our cases of kleptomania in early life are only too numerous. We can select but one or two for perusal. We extract our first case from *The Times*. "Worship Street. A diminutive urchin, stated to be twelve years of age, was charged by his father with repeated acts of robbery. The prosecutor who appeared to be much affected, stated that young as the prisoner was, he had for years past exhibited the most vicious propensities, and that though every means likely to work a reformation in him had been adopted ; kindness and severity had both the same effect, and he remained perfectly incorrigible. His habits of pilfering were so active and inveterate that witness was compelled when he retired to rest, to dispose of his clothes about the bed in which he lay to prevent their being stolen. The prisoner

heard this detail of his delinquencies with perfect apathy and indifference, and two previous convictions for robbery being established against him, he was fully committed to Newgate for trial.”\*

Our next case of kleptomania occurred in a girl between nine and ten years of age, whose parents were in most affluent circumstances, and who had not the slightest inducement to the crimes which she committed. This girl has repeatedly stolen silver and copper of various amounts, the property of her parents or of visitors in the house, and cast it away in the shrubbery, or concealed it so that it could not be discovered. She has stolen money and other articles from servants, concealing them likewise. Has stolen articles and concealed them in servants' boxes. Has stolen biscuits and bread from a shop, and also a pair of red stockings belonging to her sister, which were afterwards found in the water closet. She has stolen articles of jewellery, and concealed them. When a theft has been committed, and while it was regarded as criminal, a whole night has been consumed in entreaties, prayers, caresses, in order to induce confession of the act and surrender of articles abstracted, in vain. Punishment was, likewise, without effect. She has volunteered confession and penitence, with an assurance of total inability to resist the inclination, and a declaration that she is “different” when she steals. This child also lies, scratches the backs of looking-glasses, and disorders furniture. It is worthy of observation, that this girl generally steals bright or brilliantly coloured objects, and that she never makes any use of what she steals. The physician who saw her believed her condition to be connected with the premature approach of puberty. In Mr. Hill's able work *On Crime*, a boy is described as thus speaking, “I am thirteen years of age. I was eighteen months in Perth prison for stealing, and in Edinburgh gaol three different times for the like offence. I have two sisters and two brothers. One brother was transported; the other has been in Edinburgh prison several times. I have one sister in the General prison, where I was.”† 193 families sent each two members to jail per annum, twenty-eight sent three, twenty-eight sent four, eight sent five, four sent six, one sent seven.‡ Thus kleptomania extends through families, and is, as it were, a family complaint.

Pyromania, or a tendency to destroy by fire, is especially

\* *Times*, Jan. 1., 1848, quoted in “Juvenile Depravity,” by T. Beggs, p. 88.

† Hill, on *Crime*, p. 38.

‡ Hill's VIII. Report on Prisons, p. 26, 31, 36, 51.

manifested by the young, and this diseased propensity may be exhibited by the most gentle and docile children. It betokens an unhealthy and excited state of mind, and is most common during periods of public panic and alarm. Various motives lead to fire-raising. The desire to see a great conflagration, superstition, hatred, revenge, or nostalgia (home sickness) may induce pyromania. It may also be impulsive or imitative. It may appear as an epidemic, as a hereditary complaint, or as an obstinate and incorrigible disease again and again recurring.

The *Constitutionnel* gives the following case. "At the late assizes of Eure and Loire a child, of fourteen years of age, was accused of having been guilty of arson six times in less than six weeks. On his trial, his assurance and intelligence astonished the court, the jury, and the public. He placed himself in the attitudes of an experienced advocate. He replied to the questions asked by the judge. He cross-examined the witnesses, and replied to the counsel for the prosecution with incredible presence of mind. His motives for this multiplicity of crime were inexplicable, unless he was actuated by a pure love of mischief, and still he was the first to raise the cry of 'fire,' and render assistance to his victims. But such was his rage for this species of crime, that he has been known to place lighted touch paper under the petticoats of peasant women, who were reposing during the mid-day from the labours of the field. The jury found him guilty, but added that he acted without discernment. In consequence of this verdict he was sentenced to only twelve years imprisonment."\* Many similar cases we have collected, but it is surely unnecessary to multiply examples. Of eight cases given by Marc, as occurring before the period of puberty, one was aged eight, one aged ten, two aged twelve, two aged thirteen, one aged fourteen, and one aged fifteen.†

Dipsomania, that disease implying complete loss of self control with regard to the use of alcoholic beverages, has been observed in children. We possess the notes of a case, in which its first symptoms appeared at the age of four years.

Pantophobia is another form of mental disease, common in infancy and childhood. It is usually associated with, perhaps dependent upon, cardiac disease. It consists in an exalted or diseased state of the instinct of self-preservation, is often accompanied by delusions, and may occasion such intense misery, that suicide is resorted to as a means of relief. Night

\* *Constitutionnel*, June, 1841.

† Marc, Vol. II., p. 356, et seq.

terrors, so common among young children, are a transient species of pantophobia. Dr. West thus describes an attack. "The child will be found sitting up in its bed, crying out, as if in an agony of fear, 'Oh, dear! oh, dear! take it away father, mother,' while terror is depicted in its countenance, and it does not recognize its parents, who, alarmed by the shriek, have rushed into the room. By degrees consciousness returns. The child now clings to its mother, or nurse, sometimes wants to be taken up and carried about the room, and by degrees it grows quiet, and again falls asleep. As the terror abates, the child, in some instances, grows quiet at once, but frequently it bursts into a fit of passionate weeping, and sobs itself to rest. The terrors, which are always more or less distinctly associated with some object which occasions alarm, as a cat, or dog, which is fancied to be on the bed, may again return, and with precisely the same symptoms as before."\*

We are acquainted with a boy, who, during infancy, was subject to night terrors, and who, at the age of twelve, and for many succeeding years, was frequently attacked by pantophobia. The attacks were always introduced by palpitation, and characterized by the most intense, yet unaccountable, dread, by temporary loss of identity, and by trembling over the whole body. The following case shews the effects which fear may produce. "Some young girls went one day a little out of town to see a person, who had been executed, and was hung in chains. One of them threw several stones at the gibbet, and, at last, struck it with such violence as to make it move, at which the girl was so much terrified, that she imagined the dead person was alive, came down from the gibbet, and ran after her. She hastened home, and not being able to conquer the idea, she fell into strong convulsions, and died."† Many cases of infantile insanity owe their origin to fear. Most culpable are those who compel timid, nervous children to sleep alone in the dark, and who amuse them by narrating horrific tales.

Moral insanity, which has lately attracted much attention, and been much and warmly discussed, is of frequent occurrence in early life. The intellectual faculties of the person affected by it, remain entire and unimpaired. He is perfectly capable of perceiving, and knowing, and judging. He cherishes no delusion. He cannot, in the ordinary and legal acceptance of the term, be pronounced insane, And yet he is, to all

\* West, on the Diseases of Infancy and Childhood, p. 129.

† Plater, Obs., Lib. 1., p. 36.

intents and purposes, of unsound mind, and as much requiring guidance, restraint, and treatment, as the furious maniac. He suffers from entire perversion of the moral principle, from the want of every good and honest sentiment. He is actuated by impulse, or by the most selfish, depraved, and cruel motives; he presents, in short, a perfect picture of a desperado and a ruffian. The existence of moral insanity, like the existence of every thing else, has been called in question, and, at the present day, there are not lacking those who will remorselessly commit the moral monomaniac to the scaffold, or the penitentiary, little thinking that, in so doing, they punish disease, and not crime. We are forced to acknowledge moral insanity as an actual disease, by the most cursory glance at the previous history of some of those by whom it is manifested. Many of them, from being refined, and virtuous, and upright, and prudent, have become coarse, and licentious, and dishonest, and reckless. We believe that many of our jails and penitentiaries are peopled by such. Prichard, who first described moral insanity, gives a case in which it occurred in a girl aged seven. "This little girl was only seven years old. She was reported by her parents to have been a quick, lively child, of ready apprehension, mild disposition, affectionately fond of the members of her family, and capable of quite as much application to her school duties as children generally are. She had been sent home from school, in consequence of a great change which had taken place in her conduct. She had become abrupt, vulgar, and perfectly unmanageable; neglecting her school duties, and using the most abusive language when chidden for her misdemeanours. I found her in this state, with the addition of having become extremely passionate, in consequence of corrections to which she had been subject, and, in order to escape which, she was prone to invent falsehoods. She was also changed in her appetites, preferring raw vegetables to her ordinary food. Her parents had no control over her, indeed, she appeared to despise them; she was cruel to her younger sisters, taking every opportunity to pinch or otherwise hurt them. She could not apply herself to anything, but had a complete knowledge of persons and things, and a complete recollection of all that had occurred. Her general health was much disordered."\* For some time this little patient continued to become worse, but at length she entirely recovered. The foregoing may be taken, so far, as a typical case of moral insanity in early life. A highly instructive case of moral insanity

\* Prichard, on Insanity, p. 55.



may be found in Mayo's Pathology of the Human Mind.\* The patient was a boy of fair talents and considerable intelligence, but of the most singularly vicious, unruly, wayward, and depraved character. Under all means had recourse to, for his reformation he had been alike intractable. He was selfish, violent, delighted in mischief, had drawn a knife upon one of his tutors, exposed his person, and given way to every degrading vice. This case also resulted in recovery. Instructive cases of moral insanity are given by Haslam,† Morel,‡ and various other authors. Lack of time and space, however, prevent us from drawing more largely from the large supply of material we have accumulated. J. J. Rousseau, who was lazy and deceitful, given to lying and pilfering, and thoroughly disreputable even when a boy, was a moral monomaniac.§

Melancholia as manifested in childhood we shall next consider. This disease appears incompatible with early life, but it is so only in appearance, for the buoyancy and gladness of childhood may give place to despondency and despair, and faith and confidence be superseded by doubt and misery. Two forms of melancholia we believe to be observable in childhood, firstly, pure, abstract, indefinite depression; and secondly, despondency, having reference to religious matters or a future state. Other forms of lypemania, including hypochondriasis, are much less frequently seen before puberty, as their existence implies subjectivity of thought. Melancholia may be sudden or insidious in its attack; it may be a primary disorder, or it may be the sequel of some other form of insanity. Those suffering from it are gloomy, and taciturn, and indifferent. They shun their former pursuits and amusements; they are ever occupied in deploring their own hard fate, and in meditating self-destruction. They spend their nights and days in lamenting their miseries and woes. They are given up to "black despair." They are acutely susceptible. Harshness and cruelty persuade them that they are outcasts and aliens, whilst sympathy strengthens their belief in their own wretched doom. Simple melancholia, a mere exaggeration of that feeling of depression to which we are all at times liable, may, in youth, as in mature life, exist without at all involving the intellectual faculties.

Religious melancholia, which is almost always associated

\* Mayo's Pathology of the Human Mind, p. 172.

† Haslam's Observations.—p. 188.

‡ Etudes Cliniques. Traité Théorique et Pratique des Maladies Mentales, par M. Morel. Tome I. p. 332.

§ Westminster Review, Oct. 1859.

with delusions and disorder of the intellect, is begun by doubts and difficulties and recriminations, by

“Night-riding incubi  
 Troubling the fantasy.  
 All dire delusions  
 Causing confusions.  
 Figments heretical,  
 Scruples fantastical,  
 Doubts diabolical,”

and results in a settled belief that the sufferer is eternally damned ; that he is the chief of sinners ; that he has done that which will entail everlasting misery upon him. “Falret mentions a case of a fine, spirited boy, of eleven years of age, who was so deeply affected by the unmerited severity of his teacher, that he resisted him in every thing, became sad and sleepless ; resolved to starve himself to death, and then made several attempts to drown himself.”\* In another recorded case of melancholia, the patient had “spectred illusions, when seven years old, of a peculiar character. He saw visions of human forms, the bodies of which were well shaped, but the faces were like those of spectres and distorted in every possible way. As he had experienced those spectral illusions from early infancy, they attracted little of his attention, except when a sudden sensation of fear was excited by some peculiarly horrible grimace ; and it was only with increasing religious terrors that he began to think them spirits of the devil.”†

Whilst speaking of melancholia, we must devote a few words to the consideration of suicide in early life. Even in infancy and childhood, when cares and sorrows are comparatively unknown, and when sensations and feelings, pleasurable or painful, are transient and evanescent, we frequently meet with deliberate acts of self-destruction. In Berlin, between the years of 1812 and 1821, no less than thirty-one children, of twelve years of age and under, committed suicide, either because they were tired of existence, or had suffered some trifling chastisement,‡ and from the following sentence, it would appear that the number of juvenile suicides in Berlin is gradually and steadily on the increase :—

“La statistique nous demontre, dit le docteur Lisle, que le nombre des suicides est sept fois plus considerable aujourd’hui qu’ il y a trente ans chez les enfants âgés de moins de

\* Combe on Mental Derangement.—p. 178.

† Psychological Journal, Vol. I., p. 232.

‡ Stated by Schegel on the authority of Caspar.

seize ans et douze fois plus chez les jeunes gens. Le savant Caspar fait remarquer que depuis un demi-siècle le nombre des suicide de jeunes gens, a augmenté en Prusse d'une manière déplorable. De 1788 à 1797 on ne comptait à Berlin qu'un suicide d'enfant ; de 1798 à 1807 la statistique, en signale 3, et de 1812 à 1821 le chiffre monte à 31.—*Traité des Maladies Mentales, par A. Morel.*—p. 102., 1860.

M. Durand Fardel states that amongst 25,760 suicides committed in France in a period of nine years, 192 were under sixteen years of age.\* According to another series of statistics of 33,038, 238 were under sixteen years of age.† We have ourselves personally and carefully examined the records of twenty-one cases of suicide under the age of fifteen. Of those cases, thirteen were of the male sex, eight of the female. With regard to the respective ages, one was aged five at the time of his suicide, one eight, one nine, one ten, four eleven, four twelve, three thirteen, two fourteen, two fifteen, and two below fifteen, the precise age not being mentioned. Of these cases, two were caused by dread of punishment, four by those evil and revengeful feelings which invariably follow chastisement, four by scolding and altercation, one by the force of imitation, one by the desire to be talked about, one by grief for the death of a sister, one by the effects of a dream, one by disappointed ambition, one by want of a situation, one by misconduct of a brother. Of four cases, the cause is not recorded. In seven cases hanging was the mode of death selected, in other seven drowning was preferred, in two precipitation was had resort to, in two poison was taken, in two shooting was adopted, in one starvation. Some twenty-six ably arranged cases of suicide in youth, are given by M. Durand Fardel, ‡ and some isolated cases are recounted by Dr. Forbes Winslow.§ Melancholia of a religious cast, with manifestations of morbid appetites, and a tendency to suicide, is not unfrequently observed in girls about the age of puberty, Melancholia is generally dependent upon anæmia, or an impoverished condition of the blood, or an imperfect supply of nutrition, and is hence to be treated by generous diet, stimulants, attention to hygiene and iron. A mere desire and longing for self-destruction may exist altogether apart from melancholia, and is then called suicidal monomania. A case ||

\* Psychological Journal, Vol. IX., p. 296.

† Psychological Journal, Vol. IV., p. 418.

‡ Psychological Journal, Vol. IX., p. 296.

§ Forbes Winslow, M.D. Anatomy of Suicide.

|| Psychological Medicine, by Drs. Bucknill and Tuke. p. 539.

of this description is recorded by Bucknill and Tuke. The patient was a boy aged twelve years.

That fearful and fatal disease, the general paralysis of the insane, or the monomania of ambition, and of hope, with a peculiar form of paralysis super-added, has been seen and remarked even before the age of puberty. M. Rodrigues says he has seen it occur in three cases before the age of fifteen; in one of these cases, the sufferer was only three years of age.\*

Mania, a more general disorder than those which we have lately considered, in all its various forms, may occur during infancy and childhood. In mania the mental faculties, as a whole, are deranged, and the mind is in a state of confusion and excitement. The ideas are incoherent and disconnected. The language is loose, voluble, and wild. The mental affection consists in a supremacy exercised by the lower over the higher faculties of mind, and is often accompanied by bodily disease. During its continuance, the incoherence of language is due to the electric rapidity with which the mind acts, to the impossibility of giving utterance to all "the fast coming fancies," and not to any loss of the knowledge of the meaning of words and phrases. Delusions are much more frequent in this form of insanity, than positive hallucinations. We have previously alluded to mania, as manifested congenitally, and in early infancy. Haslam relates a most interesting case of congenital mania, in which, the mother having been frightened during pregnancy, startings, sleeplessness, and unnatural liveliness, were observed, immediately after birth, in the child. Other symptoms of mania continued to develop themselves with developing powers, until it was found necessary to confine the child.† Haslam likewise mentions another case of mania, supervening upon small-pox, at the age of three and a half years. We have the notes of a case submitted to our observation, in which a male child exhibited mania whilst at the breast. It was the offspring of robust parents, of sanguine temperament. Nothing occurred during utero gestation to attract attention. Incessant restlessness first attracted attention. It occasionally became excited and cried for hours, rolled to and fro in its mother's arms, bent back as if tetanic, grasped with its hands, and when applied to the breast bit and lacerated the nipple. It subsequently died of marasmus. A well marked case of mania in a girl six years old was admitted into Bethlem Hospital, in 1842; she had been subject to occasional attacks of mania, from the age of eighteen months. When

\* Winn, on General Paralysis. p. 3.

† Haslam's Observations. p. 185.

admitted into the asylum, her conduct was violent, excited, and mischievous. She tore her clothes, struck those around her, and destroyed everything within her reach.\* The case terminated in recovery. We will now give an account of a case of intermittent mania, with great development of the lower faculties, which we personally examined. C. C, æt. 13, until two years' ago, was a clever, good natured girl. At that time, she rose one morning at two o'clock, came down from the garret in which she slept, trembled, was labouring under palpitation, appeared panic stricken, leapt into bed with her parents, and from that period, has been changed in all moral respects. Her parents imagine that the whole was the effect of a dream. For a week or weeks she remains seated on the same spot, and perfectly silent. For a similar period, she is bold, loquacious and restless. When at school, she learned to read, and was acute. She cannot now execute a message correctly. She may have some religious impressions, but is so incoherent as to mingle prayers and blasphemies, and songs together. She would destroy or injure her sisters, and upon this account is not allowed to sleep with them; she is profane, untruthful, erotic, has exposed her person, and is suspected of prostitution. Catamænia not established. She is cunning and mischievous, unmanageable by her mother, and is only kept in subjection by threats, and by severe punishment, applied by her father; she eats voraciously, and strikes when unprovoked. There are four other children all healthy. She is of dark complexion, short, squat but well formed, and of not displeasing aspect. Her manner is indifferent, or bold.

A case of choreamania is to be found in a late volume of the *Psychological Journal*. The patient was a boy ten years of age, who having lifted an adder, supposing it to be a stick, was so much alarmed, though perfectly uninjured, that mania accompanied by involuntary and grotesque attitudes, and gesticulations, was induced.† Another case of choreamania, complicated with epilepsy, is given in an early number of the *American Journal of Insanity*,‡ We have observed the progress of an attack of hysterical mania, in a boy of nervous temperament, aged nine. The disease was supposed to be caused by prolonged excitement and exhaustion. It occurred in paroxysms of violence and incoherence, preceded at first, by a temporary loss of consciousness. During the paroxysm, he attempted to injure himself, and those about him, he sung snatches of songs, and

\* *Psychological Journal*, Vol. I, p. 317.

† *Psychological Journal*, Vol IX., p. 133.

‡ *American Journal of Insanity*, Vol. III., p. 197.

he invariably addressed those with whom he was constantly familiar by names other than their own. In this case an abundant supply of nourishment, a change of scene, and the use of iron and valerian produced an undoubted cure. We possess records of many other cases of mania in early life, but we have already quoted a sufficient number.

We have now hurriedly and imperfectly accomplished the task which we proposed to ourselves, upon commencing this essay. We have traced out and considered the various influences psychically affecting the human race during early life, and we have also considered those psychical disorders which may exist at that period. Lack of time has prevented us from dealing with our subject, as copiously and analytically as we could have wished, but from what we have said it must be obvious, that those influences which are productive of psychical disease are co-extensive with existence; that almost every form of mental disease which may attack the adult, may also attack the infant and the child; and that the subject which we have been investigating, is one of vast and ever increasing importance.

We would now repeat the opinion which we have before, in other words, expressed, that, for the remote causes of a great many cases of insanity, we must look to those eccentricities and peculiarities, those trivial deviations from mental health, which, occurring during infancy and childhood, either remain unrecognized, or, being recognized, are treated rather as voluntary mental conditions, to be reprehended, or encouraged, as the case may be, than as manifestations of morbid action, and as pre-monitions. We believe that early training, mental culture, and physical education act, not merely in modelling disposition, and laying the foundation of character, but in rearing up barriers opposed to the incursion of disease, and in furnishing weapons with which to resist its advance. We believe that states and communities will become great, and good, and healthy, and civilized, in proportion as they attend to early training.

*On the Want of Better Provision for the Labouring and Middle Classes when attacked or threatened with Insanity.*

By S. GASKELL, ESQ., Commissioner in Lunacy.

Before entering on the special subject, it may be well to state briefly the existing arrangements made for the poorest portion of the community throughout England and Wales.

For the pauper attacked by insanity, asylums are required by law to be opened in every district, and on behalf of this class little further is needed, except a more satisfactory recognition of the intention of the legislature, and the abolition of certain restrictions attributable to an incomplete abandonment of obsolete views and practices. But for those not included in the list of paupers there is a lamentable want of proper means of care and treatment in this portion of the United Kingdom. Benevolent individuals have indeed from time to time endeavoured to supply the deficiency; nevertheless, the few charitable institutions scattered over the country are quite inadequate, the amount of hospital accommodation for mental affections being far below the demands made for succour and relief, presenting, as it does, a striking contrast to the abundant provisions made for bodily ailments in every district.

The question naturally arises—how are the unfortunate individuals who belong to the labouring and middle classes accommodated and treated? It is too notorious that many are detained at home, causing sad disasters, confirmation of the malady, and reduction of the family to pauperism by the expense incurred; others, again, are sent to private asylums, where the cost of maintenance being necessarily great, a like pauperising result ensues; and in numerous instances admission is obtained into the county asylum, which, being strictly instituted for the reception of paupers, involves an evasion or infraction of the law.

Among cases such as the foregoing may be found many who have contributed to the rates for the erection of a county asylum, and yet when affliction reaches their own homes, they look in vain for succour and relief such as they have aided in obtaining for the poorest class.

In order, therefore, to supply a great want, to diminish the number of the insane by affording available means of cure, to prevent sad disasters, to keep the independent labourer off

the pauper list, to ward off permanent expense to parishes, and to check evasion of the law, it appears incumbent on the State to supply the needed accommodation.

It is satisfactory to think that only a moderate sum might be required for the purpose, for there is good reason to believe that if the land and buildings were supplied by the public, all other expenses would be met by the payments made for the patients under treatment, and thus the institution would become self-supporting.

If, therefore, by district rates alone, or by a combination of this means of raising funds with grants from the State, institutions could be established for the labouring and middle classes, a great boon would be directly extended to them in particular, and indirectly also the general community would benefit therefrom.

Many additional arguments might be adduced in support of the proposition now made, and much more might be said both on the general principle and also on the details; believing, however, that reasons sufficient to obtain consideration for the subject have been stated, I leave the question of provision as regards this class of life, and proceed to draw attention to the kind of accommodation needed for different forms of insanity.

In this respect also there appears to be a manifest want.

It is well known that diseases of the mind, as well as diseases of the body, assume an infinite variety of forms, varying both in kind and intensity. Indeed, few disorders to which the human frame is subject present aspects so dissimilar as mental affections, and hence the necessity of accommodation and treatment suitable to the severity or mildness of the attack.

In asylums, however, as at present constituted, the law recognises no distinction as regards the kind of cases needing care and protection, the same certificates, orders, returns, restrictive regulations, and penalties being applicable to all patients, whether affected merely by the slightest aberration, or suffering from total loss of mental power and self-control.

How marked a difference is here observable in respect to bodily complaints, for which we have hospitals both general and special, dispensaries for milder cases, as well as convalescent and sea-side houses. And why, it may with good reason be asked, have we not asylums adapted to the slightest as well as the most severe form of disease?

While drawing attention to this matter, I will not attempt to delineate the exact provision suited to the multiform aspects



in which insanity presents itself, but shall simply treat on the kind of care needed for mild, transient, incipient, and convalescent cases.

No one engaged in the practice of medicine can fail to have observed this great want, and instances innumerable must have been noticed of injurious detention at home ; of confinement in the houses of strangers, where neglect and severity is the rule ; and, lastly, of well-meant though injudicious discharge from asylums.

Under the present system, it may be remarked, not only are the sufferings of the patient aggravated and prolonged, but, moreover, the law is disregarded. It is notorious that many persons affected by the milder forms of insanity are placed in unrecognised houses, opened avowedly for the reception of nervous invalids. It becomes therefore a question, whether a continuance of this manifest breach of the law should be permitted, or whether enactments should be framed to meet the defect.

In many instances coming under this class the disease is so slight and undeveloped as to present few features recognisable as positive indications of insanity, the symptoms being rather of a negative character ; in others, again, although, the disordered action may be more manifest, yet the signs are of so slight a nature as to be scarcely sufficient to warrant a certificate as required by law.

All such cases clearly require remedial treatment of some kind or other, but it cannot be a matter of surprise that both on the part of the patient and the relatives there should be a repugnance to resort to asylums as at present constituted. An aversion is naturally felt against denouncing a member of a family as mad, to be consigned to a lunatic asylum, and subjected to the lunacy laws.

To obtain the object now advocated it seems desirable to extend legal sanction to a class of houses into which patients should be allowed to place themselves voluntarily, or be admitted on less complicated and stringent documents ; and further, that in them a limited control only should be exercised over the inmates, extending possibly to certain rules of the house, a required presence at the family table, return home at an early hour, and strict prevention of absence during the night time.

Such places offering an agreeable change of scene, quiet and retirement, as well as the benefit of good advice, would afford a means of treatment much to be desired for incipient and transient cases. For those also convalescent from the more

severe forms of the malady they would prove of great benefit as probationary houses, intermediate between the asylum and home. There is good reason to believe that detention under observation for a limited period, in houses so constituted, would have the effect of preventing, in a great measure, the grave accidents which sometimes occur after the abrupt removal of a patient from the care and supervision under which he has been placed. A short residence in them would bring into operation and confirm the power of self-control, and thus, by promoting complete recovery, diminish the risk of relapse to which patients are now often subject from a too sudden return to their ordinary mode of life.

Nearly five thousand patients are discharged annually from asylums in England and Wales.

A large proportion of private cases returned as recovered have first been removed under some kind of trial either with relatives or in lodgings, and ultimately they have been struck off the list as cured. For a majority of such patients, and for nearly all those sent out relieved, the modified control of a probationary house would prove of inestimable benefit.

Abodes such as are here contemplated, marked by an entire absence of offensive objects, sounds, or restrictive contrivances would invite early treatment, prevent the malady from running on to an incurable extent, and be the means of counteracting disasters to which the community are, unfortunately, too subject under the present system.

A few instances of this nature I now propose to enumerate, as illustrative of the want of a more comprehensive provision for the insane.

We have no available means of ascertaining the exact number of cases neglected, or of the amount of misery endured, owing to the want of timely care and protection. Through the medium of the daily press we, however, obtain an occasional glimpse sufficient to justify the assumptions already made.

In a single number of the *Times*, of May 15, 1857, we read the account of a woman killing her two children and accusing her husband of the deed. She had recently been discharged from an asylum, and was proved to be insane. In another column of the same paper we find, that a labouring man suffering under religious delusions destroyed the attendant placed by his friends to take care of him.

In the month of January, 1858, a young man who "for five or six years had not been of sound mind," and had lately become worse, put an end to his father's life by great violence.

In the following month the wife of a cabinet maker who "for four months had been suffering from aberration of intellect," committed suicide by cutting her throat.

In the following May a journeyman printer, who, according to the evidence of his medical attendant, had "for some time been suffering from unsound mind," suddenly and without provocation took the life of a fellow-workman in presence of his companions, and then mutilated the body.

In August following a farmer in good circumstances, who had been insane nine years, and had twice attempted suicide, fatally assaulted the man who was engaged to attend him.

In the next month a lady who had for "some time been labouring under mental depression," left her home, and after two days and nights, was found in an almost lifeless state on a hill side.

In the following November a seaman who had been several times in an asylum, and had twice attempted suicide, was placed on trial for killing his grandmother, which he did "in a paroxysm of mania, in the belief that he was destroying a man who was attempting his capture."

In the same month, a commercial traveller, proved to have been "for some time a raving madman," nearly severed the head of a sick friend with whom he was on good terms.

In the next month a wool-sorter, who "for some years back had shown a gloomy tendency of mind," which had increased, killed his wife by ripping open her abdomen with a razor, and immediately committed suicide by cutting his own throat.

In the same month, a working silversmith, "under medical treatment for a nervous complaint, was suddenly seized with a violent frenzy," and furiously attacked his wife with a poker, and then committed suicide by nearly severing his head from his body with a razor.

H. B., an agricultural labourer, first exhibited symptoms of insanity in the early part of 1856. In the month of June, in the same year he became violent and uncontrollable, was tied to his bed with ropes, handcuffed by the constable, and taken to the Macclesfield Workhouse as a lunatic. After remaining in the workhouse a month he made his escape and returned home. He continued to be manifestly insane, the money earned by him was entrusted to his wife; and in a journal kept by the patient frequent allusion is made to the temptations of the devil. On the 20th of April, 1858, he went to a relation at Stockport, who, noticing him to be "much worse," procured an order for his admission into the Stockport Workhouse; on the same day the patient returned

home and dashed his wife's brains out with a cleaver, saying, "I've killed the devil."

Early in May, 1858, A. L., a married "weak-minded" woman, living in Nottingham, who for a considerable time "had suffered much from depression of spirits," killed her infant, to whom she was much attached, and then attempted suicide. At the trial, the jury "without any hesitation," acquitted her on the ground of insanity, and she is now a patient in Fisherton Asylum.

G. R., who, "in the year 1857, was of unsound mind when he attempted suicide," cut his wife's throat in September, 1858, was acquitted at the Hants Assizes, on account of insanity, and is now a patient in Bethlem Hospital.

Towards the end of October, 1858, W. G., who had only recently been discharged from the Suffolk County Asylum, assaulted and killed his aunt and sister, and subsequently became a patient in the Hoxton Asylum.

The foregoing are merely a few instances of undoubted insanity which have been accidentally noticed in the newspapers—how many more have been recorded and have passed unnoticed it is not easy to say—many such must have appeared; and a multitude of like cases have undoubtedly occurred, the particulars of which have never been published, nor ever told, beyond the family threshold.

By thus viewing passing events, the conclusion is forced upon us that an appalling amount of untold misery is endured, and damage inflicted from day to day, owing to the want of due care. Neglect of the insane is obviously followed by a train of the severest calamities. Unprotected, the sufferer becomes a wreck; others fall victims; he himself is branded as a criminal, and remains in confinement for life. Whereas, were preventive means afforded, the course of diseased action would be checked, and many awful catastrophes prevented. The perpetrator of such acts as I refer to is usually regarded with severity; could he state his case, it might possibly be one of complaint, that neglect by guardians, more or less responsible for the public health, had allowed him to fall into a state of mind rendering him no longer responsible for his actions, and had failed to prevent a catastrophe which might have been foreseen and avoided.

How many of the seven hundred so called criminal lunatics now confined during Her Majesty's pleasure belong to the class here indicated?

Let us now return from the consideration of calamities resulting from a diseased action, which totally subverts all

natural affection, and briefly survey a somewhat similar class of occurrences arising from a loss of the strongest instinct implanted in us, namely, that of self-preservation. I refrain from detailing cases given in the daily papers, and simply state the fact, that there are upwards of one thousand instances of suicide each year, to which should also be added the unsuccessful attempts, which are doubtless large in number.

Judging from the statements made by those who have recovered from their wounds, we are justified in saying that many suffering from this form of temporary insanity might be rescued were timely care provided for those labouring under an uncontrollable impulse, and a great reduction of the instances of self-destruction be effected throughout the country, if the accommodation now advocated were afforded.

The short space of time allotted to the reading of each paper limits me to a brief and imperfect sketch of two large and important subjects which deserve fuller consideration; the mere outline of these I now present, in the hope it may prove sufficient to show the want of a more comprehensive provision for the insane.

Without being over sanguine as to the amount of benefit likely to arise by the provision of suitable refuges, if only the smallest fraction, say one per cent., could be saved, we should have sufficient reason for the establishment of institutions such as are now recommended.

NOTE.—The author of this paper will feel obliged, if the Members of the Association would communicate to the Editor or to himself, any instances of mischief from delay of care to insane persons, during the year 1858, and subsequently.

*Edgar Allan Poe*, by HENRY MAUDSLEY, M.D., LONDON,  
 Medical Superintendent of the Manchester Royal Lunatic  
 Hospital.

"Given a force acted upon by certain other forces, and the result is as good as mathematically sure. Men, like trees, grow according to their nature and their circumstances . . . Freewill is only force, and all force is determined, first automatically, that is by its own law or nature, and again by the action of other forces."—*Infanti Perduti, Edinburgh Essays*.

"All force in action is what we call free, but all force must be determined to action which is what we call necessity—A man does not stand distinct from nature but in it: the force which his will represents comes not entirely from without, nor is it generated solely within; it is the result of the action of a certain organization upon outer forces, a development of force into a higher manifestation according to fundamental laws of the universe."

It seems as though a man were necessitated for all eternity to say what has been over and over again said, if so be that he will not keep his mouth shut. There may be some consolation, however, in this sameness of wisdom, if we remember that the thing spoken must be wisdom in order to last; for a lie cannot bear repetition so often, but must by the very nature of it, sooner or later come across those everlasting laws by which it is surely crushed out and dies. The grievous part of the matter is, that the truth so commonly remains but an uttered word, and cannot be made available in the way of practical wisdom: lamentably men will act lies and talk wisdom. There are certain general principles which no one cavils at, which rather every one applauds, so long as they remain general and on the shelf; but if any one take them down and apply them to the concrete individual, he is sure to cause dissatisfaction, and to meet with opposition. Never, perhaps, do we find more frequent and marked illustrations of this than in the determination of the important problem as to what is rightly to be expected from a man in the universe. It may admit, indeed, of question, whether the world's judgment of a man is not mostly very erroneous; perhaps in the majority of cases not really relevant to him. The thing judged is not the feeble being such as he actually was, struggling with weakness in the midst of the irresistible, gasping painfully after development in untoward circumstances—such as he alone of mortals could feel how untoward—but a creation on the part of the censorious and complacent world; such an one

as it assumes according to its standard of judgment to have been then and there struggling. There is a wonderful constructive faculty, as well as a destructive faculty in criticism, whereby it happens that a man is often built up in order to be knocked down. The enlightened critic can for the most part see through all the intricacies of human nature as clearly as he can see an elephant in the sunshine, and sends forth his sentence as with the boom of a last judgment. Happily it is after all certain that mighty critics are merely mortals, manifesting in a notable way, now and then, their human littleness; especially when human nature is the subject upon which they exercise their art. Happily again, it is further possible that an unmitigated scoundrel never did actually exist in this world.

This is a proposition which is little likely to meet with acceptance from those complacent, stereotyped individuals, who, dwelling in snug cottage or in stuccoed villa, mightily observant of all respectabilities and conventionalities, gloat over the errors and evils of mankind, fatten on moral putrefaction, as the vulture on the carcass. Oh! the delightful contemplation that the stuccoed man is! Worldly prosperous, with a wife who looks upon him as a hero, considers the stucco to be no mere appearance but actual stone; and happy in children who are the most wonderful children in the world; capable, moreover, of a decided opinion upon all things under heaven; and surely convinced that an Englishman is the beau ideal of the universe, and that he is the beau ideal of an Englishman—what an admirable being! We may be thankful for the stuccoed man. Marvellous truly is it to observe the stoicism of his self-complacency, and the quiet satisfaction which, in an unconscious way, he exhibits, when some considerable misfortune has befallen his friend or acquaintance. He is profuse in commiseration, no doubt, but commiseration is so often nothing but a pleasant chuckle; and the expressions of compassion are manifestly bubbles on the quiet stream of self-satisfaction, which, flowing on, turns the mill of criticism, in which his unfortunate friend is ground down, his folly laid bare, the man reduced to his ultimate elements and these shewn to be rotten. And so onward flows the stream turning many mills in its course, until at length it reaches the ocean of eternity, where, happily, all muddy peculiarities disappear. Useful and necessary being in the world is this stuccoed man; but certainly not the highest possibility of a man; and, therefore, under grievous mistake

in supposing himself the legitimate standard of comparison for all mankind.

It is with the man as it is with the house. A cottage ornée is a pleasant sight enough, but a long line of such eligible residences becomes wearisome to the eye, which desires variety of some kind; and one is apt to think that the frequent repetition of the stuccoed villa might be advantageously relieved by an occasional change, even if it were with a pigstye. So also the stuccoed man becomes, in time, exceedingly monotonous; and perhaps it would be well were he to have his portrait painted, and then quietly to make his exit. In what attitude, in what dress, he should descend to posterity is a question not at once to be settled; but, as being most significant, he might be represented in the act of winding up his watch, with his night-cap on. And in bidding him good-night, there is at any rate to be noted in him this merit—that he has succeeded in feeding himself where brighter men have failed.

To discerning individuals it may sometimes happen to discover in out-of-the-way places, in streets scarcely heard of without a shudder, perhaps in back-attics, or in other such abode not indicating worldly prosperity, men of much originality of character and of wonderful endowments, such as, for the time being, it refreshes one to behold. By the necessity of living they now and then drag in the shafts, but soon kick over the traces, and in fitful gleams of bright originality manifest what they really are, and might, were there favourable possibility, always be—no stucco, unadorned brick and mortar may be, or real first-class stone. Alas! originality is a capital thing to starve upon. So these men are compelled unwillingly to yoke themselves in the conventional harness, and to drudge therein, until, broken down by the heavy and unsuitable work, they flare out, often with the aid of brandy and water, into speedy extinction. Have we reason to thank Heaven for such men? Yes, though it be with bitter, sorrowful compassion. For has not one of them now and then spoken a word which has remained to us as an inestimable possession, a *κτῆμα ἐς αἰεί* by aid of which the world has been helped forwards towards the unknown goal to which it is advancing. As to their morality, it is better perhaps than to cry out, to recognise this possibility, that the standard by which they can be judged may not yet have been discovered, tabulated, and made available for learned professors of moral philosophy to descant upon. The original man may have a morality of his own, which is



just as much a necessary expression of his originality, and a part of his nature, as any great truth which he may utter, or any great deed which he may perform, and which may turn out to be, palpably to the world in the fullness of time, natural and inevitable. Indeed, if we were to reflect upon the matter, it might be difficult to conceive how, if a man have an intellect of his own, he should not have a practical morality of his own. Suspended judgment is, at any rate, more judicious and more charitable than hasty decision and immediate action thereupon. Now that we have ceased to stone our prophets to death, it might be well to cease also attempting to crush them under a pelting storm of moral maxims. There is not much use in so doing any way; for, though we may contrive to make the mud stick to them for a period, yet time surely washes it away, and the man in the end stands, serene and grand, in the Hall of Heroes; and then we look foolish—little dogs baying at the moon; Lilliputians shooting our arrows into this big Gulliver, making comedy for posterity to laugh at.

It is a conviction not easily resisted at times, that the world must be wrong somehow; that it cannot be altogether right; or we should not surely have so many lunatics, so many too, which is more strange, who have just missed genius and fallen into madness. Why should men of notable merit be driven so often to shriek out wildly against the injustice of the world, ending, if they have not hard hearts, or be not much given to tobacco or other sedative, at the bottom of the fishpond or in the madhouse? Many more there are too who, although they have not so ended, yet have once or oftener shuddered, chilled, as it were, by the cold shadow of madness passing over them. There can be no doubt that the way of the world does press hard upon the young and honest soul, before the conscience has been seared with conventional iron; before the man has been pressed and stamped into the uniform currency of respectability. Happily has it fallen out for him personally if he has not flared up in momentary brightness; if the all-grasping fingers of respectability have clawed hold of him, and rescued him from madness or destruction. Aye, that, instead of belching forth the truth as it appears to him, and, if so be, dying of starvation, better for him he should take to himself a wife, become a hero to such discerning female, and come to the belief that conventionalities are "eternal veracities?" Yes, let it be wisely done, since the economy of the world requires it; let the man be fashioned into an artificial machine

since it must be. Is not this verily the age of machinery, an age in which the soul of man has entered into woodwork and ironwork, animating them; in which cotton has become conscience? What a magnificent metempsychosis?

May charity extend even to the brandy and water of genius? Why not? Blank, utter hopelessness in the world may palliate in part what it cannot excuse; and, on the whole it is probable, that there is more blank hopelessness in the world than is generally supposed. It needs not that we dive into the dark arches to discover it, if we only use our eyes aright. The shuddering ragged figure, crouching there by the muddy river's brink, is sometimes happy compared with the wearied hopeless soul, disgusted with the emptiness of all things on earth, and faithless as to anything after earth. Why should life be prolonged? It has hitherto been but a scene of intense but unsatisfied longings; a scene of dull-heavy wretchedness, a gloom relieved only by a rare flicker of murky brightness. It may admit of question whether it be not with certain constitutions more endurable to suffer the sharp pang of acute physical disease, than to bear that constant dull aching pain which accompanies certain chronic affections: and so with mental suffering. It is an old story, as old as life. "All things are full of labour; the eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear filled with hearing. The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done, is that which shall be done; and \*there is no new thing under the sun. Behold all is vanity and vexation of spirit. There is nothing better for a man than that he should eat and drink, and that he should make his soul enjoy good in his labour." "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." Let us drink then—drink away the weariness; for is not a drunken man for the time being happy? Yes, he laughs in his momentary strength at the voice of melancholy, laughs, triumphantly, and revels in an ideal world, where he can have his own way with this calm inexorable destiny of real life. He experiences the delightful sensation of power, and feels something of a realization of those inward aspirations—

\* "We have heard of an Englishman," says Goëthe, "who hanged himself to be no more troubled with putting on and off his clothes. I knew an honest gardener, the overseer of some extensive pleasure grounds, who once splenetically exclaimed, 'Shall I see these clouds for ever passing from east to west.' It is told of one of our most distinguished men that he viewed with dissatisfaction the spring again growing green, and wished that, by way of change, it would for once be red. These are specially the symptoms of life weariness, which not seldom issue in suicide."

While the fond soul,  
Rapt in gay visions of unreal bliss,  
Still paints the illusive form.

What though fierce repentance rears her snaky crest, she cannot steal away the pleasure that has been. Is it asked,

Who buys a minute's mirth to wail a week,  
Or sells eternity to gain a toy?

The reply is, that a minute's mirth may be worth the wail of a week: being so much mirth secured which sobriety could not have given; *that* being equal only to granting a little less intense wail for a life-time. "Crown me with roses, let us drink wine, and break up the tiresome old vault of heaven into new forms."

Furthermore, may it not be that by the aid of brandy man may get a quicker insight into things which can only be seen into with much difficulty and much labour without. True he thereby sacrifices time to power, but so pleasing is it to get a glimpse of that "Divine idea which lies hid at the bottom of all appearance" that many may be found who would gladly give up half their life for such an object. It may be a mere fancy, but it certainly seems that in some of the best writings of our best authors, one may detect alcohol. Be this as it may, however, and whatever genius may do, it is clear that in the world's movement onwards, alcohol plays an important part.

We shall best realize the importance of this agent, if we remember that the effect of an action, *however caused*, persists for all time, it blends itself with the universe, and has an influence in all that is to come whether for good or evil. Now, though we see much more of spirit-drinking than is desirable, yet there is much that we do not see; and perhaps, the gravest circumstance in the case is the great quantity consumed in secret; in the closet by respectability when it imagines that no eye sees it. It was the remark of a successful physician of long experience, when it was observed regarding the habits of a person of great attainments that although he did not appear to be given to drinking, "he might have been a gin drinker": which, by interpretation is that, as the result of a long experience, it had chanced to that physician to discover that many closets contain gin bottles.

It really is amazing when we reflect upon it—and the observation is by no means new—how little a man does know of his nearest friend or acquaintance, of his fellow-man in

any situation ; he sees but the appearance of him. Could he unroof his neighbour and look into the inner principles of him, what revelations might there be. It may happen to him to discover, in unguarded moments, that the insignificant little mortal, whom a puff of the breath would almost annihilate, had high resolves and wondrous self-conceit ; that the small curate had his eye fixed, with a sort of vacant flickering stare, on a bishopric ; or, on the other hand, he might find that the eloquent and earnest popular preacher was in secret addicted to alcohol or to opium. Well, if we receive the benefit of the man's self-indulgence in his writings, or in his sermons, have we much need to complain, or much cause to blame ? We act very strangely in this matter generally ; so long as the man keeps his vice pretty secret, we accept him at what he professes to be, and raise no clamour. Every now and then, however, some one appears who, disdaining all hypocrisy, perhaps incapable of it, drinks down his consolation in the face of all the world, and exhibits himself as he really is ; and then what a hubbub ! Heaven help him, it is bad enough ; but it is of no use howling at him ; it is better to be charitably silent, remembering that an immense quantity of alcohol and of opium disappears, of which we cannot say where it goes ; and remembering also that he is often most unmerciful to the sinner who is in secret guilty of the vice which he condemns.

What then, as the result of these reflections, is there left for a man of sensitive temperament, and of little self-control, to do in the apparent universal wrongness of things ? Go mad : well he often does, and so ends. Commit suicide : that also has been done by, amongst others, poor Chatterton. Or, take to opium eating, and afterwards come forth, like Coleridge, to censure De Quincey. Or, finally, if it must be false comfort, he may find consolation in drinking brandy. Many have done so, amongst whom, not the least notable, is Edgar Allan Poe, to a consideration of whose character and writings the foregoing observations are intended to be prefatory. They will have answered their purpose, if they have in any way served to indicate the difficulties under which men of certain endowments are by their nature placed in the struggle to live, and at the same time to develop according to their inward impulse.

But before proceeding farther it may be well to note this unhappy difficulty in the way of a man struggling through life—that he never discovers the laws by which he should be governed until it is nearly time for him to take

leave of existence ; only sad experience teaches him how foolish he has been, and only when the opportunity is gone is he able to see that it has been going. How many a noble existence has been wrecked by a false step in early youth ; and yet how could the unhappy youth know the painful and abiding consequences of his error ? the vessel is alive to the danger only when it has crashed upon the breakers.

“ Ah, heavens ! that it should be possible that a child not seventeen years old, by a momentary blindness, by listening to a false whisper from his own bewildered heart, by one erring step, by a motion this way or that, to change the current of his destiny, to poison the fountain of his peace, and in the twinkling of an eye to lay the foundation of a life-long repentance.”—*De Quincey*.

This is a serious consideration, and should at any rate, make us charitable towards any one who has turned in youth from virtue's paths, and whose way thence has been onwards to the black waters. It is so difficult, nay, it is impossible quite to retrieve an error. The act has gone forth from the individual, but has not vanished into space ; it meets him, as it were, at every corner, confronts him, it might seem almost miraculously, wherever he turns ; compels him to change the circumstances of his position, to change himself ; he cannot possibly be what he was before. Having yielded to temptation, he has weakened himself, and has added one to the number of the enemies who will meet him in the gate—one, too, who knows his infirmity, and is exactly qualified to cope with him in his weak part ; a portion of his force has, in fact, turned traitor, and gone over to the enemy with information. No wonder, then, that so many, having once gone wrong, flounder for ever afterwards. Even when they strive to avoid falling deeper, and labour to recover themselves, it is often labour ignorant and vain ; they do not recognise their change of position, do not feel that they have done wrong, and must accept the consequences, but hope foolishly, and endeavour vainly to go on as before, and the line of battle is broken from the want of concentration of force after so heavy a loss. It is truly a painful thing to watch a man fighting bravely, and yet quite hopelessly, from ignorance of generalship, like a brave army done to death by the folly of its leaders. But men are so unwilling to retreat ; even after grievous error, when circumstances are more threatening, and when they are much weaker, forgetful that it is better to gain small victories, and to be strengthened thereby, than to suffer one great defeat and to

be ruined, that it is better to take retribution to one's arms as a friend, than to make of it a constant and inveterate enemy. There are some, however, and they are the heroes of life, who are so strong that they cannot well be seriously beaten; they go in to win, not rashly and madly, for they are strong in reason, but wisely and firmly; they do not run their heads full tilt against circumstances, and fall down crushed and bleeding in consequence, but seize hold of circumstances, bind them together, and make of them a support. Perhaps this is the surest sign of calm real strength, the best test of a great man—this power of retrieving error, of dragging success out of misfortune, of asserting free will over necessity; what else, indeed, if we consider it, is a well lived life? It is, in truth, of all spectacles the most pleasant, to behold a man after mishap, gather up the reins with firm grasp, and firm resolve to recover the lost ground, to see him start steadily and cautiously, with that determination to succeed, which surely, sooner or later, effects its own accomplishment. There he stands, calm in the storm, clear in the gloom, solid amidst the changeable—

“Like some tall rock that rears its awful form,  
 Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm,  
 While round its breast the lowering clouds are spread,  
 Eternal sunshine glitters on its head.”

There can be no doubt who is the truly great man, convulsion, as Carlyle says, not being strength. Still it behoves us to credit a good sum to nature in the case of these strong men. For to every one has not been given the power to gather strength from weakness, and to pluck out from the withered leaves of folly and misery, the green laurel leaf of victory; in fact, a Shakspeare or a Goëthe is rather a rare phenomenon in this universe of ours.

It is always possible in passing judgment upon a man to look at him from two distinct points of view, and thus to arrive at two different opinions as to his individual responsibility. The net product may be taken, compared with some fixed standard, and pronounced deficient or otherwise accordingly; or the factors concerned in the sum may be regarded, and the opinion given on their relation to the product. The way of the world, for the most part, is to take a man as he appears in his actions, to measure these by a certain conventional standard, and then to go no further in the enquiry, but, forthwith to pronounce authoritatively—most likely, if there be any tincture of originality in the man—to damn

him pretty distinctly. Such a method is eminently unjust, its result on the whole being, that the man of sterling honesty and sincerity is branded as a serious sinner, or at any rate is marked with a note of interrogation, while the plausible hypocrite passes muster with commendation. Now, there are three facts which, militating against such a mode of procedure, suffice to upset it completely. The first is, that man is not the measure of the universe, nor of its Creator: the second is, the impossibility of any man producing himself, springing up by spontaneous generation just such a being as he might wish to be: and the third fact is this, that a man cannot, either mentally or bodily, live in *vacuo*. Admitting the standard of comparison to be correct, which it might be had the world ceased to move, there are to be taken into consideration then, in the formation of a just judgment, the original nature of the man, and the circumstances in which, happily or unhappily, he has been placed—the character of the modifying force, and forces amidst which this has been placed. It is from practically neglecting these important considerations that we sometimes stare aghast at a man in helpless paralytic attitude, as though he were some strange and inexplicable monstrosity in the universe. Science has satisfactorily demonstrated the so called physical monstrosities to be nothing more than particular arrests, exaggeration of development, still in accordance with a certain definite type; and so it may be probable, if we will but consider it, that moral monstrosities have come to that pass by sure laws. Edgar Allan Poe, therefore, “such a warped slip of wilderness” as he was, we cannot look upon as one rushing through space without purpose and without orbit; and black as his character seems, yet may there be, in an examination of circumstances, some explanation. Nay, if we reflect for a moment, on such a phenomenon as a scoundrel without excuse, is it not a physical impossibility in the universe? Effect coming in the form of “error and evil behaviour,” may have its cause somewhere back in the far past. For how much therefore are we to doom the man responsible?

By the necessity of its nature, genius is compelled to move more or less out of the beaten track; and the paths of knowledge and of morality, at any rate of practical morality, run parallel, so that when a man gets off one, his relation to the other is also considerably changed. Now, the greatest seem often to have the power to drag the unwilling world after them, in spite of its many-tongued cry of

“shame,” until by success they have stayed the noise, and have forced themselves into acceptance. But many, and many a one, wondrously endowed, yet of a lesser order, wanting that calmness of temperament and that control of reason, which are necessary to sustain them in great conflict, fight and fail. It is a grievous and painful spectacle to observe their tragical struggles, and miserable end—to see the taper, lighted from heaven, prematurely flare out in bitter sorrow and anger. Such have been called the *Infanti Perduti*.—*The Forlorn Hope of Humanity*.—“Looking back on their pale, disfigured faces, where the wrath of a Titan is so often blended with the weakness of a child, and the fury of a maniac with the light of immortal love, it is no weak, unintelligent, useless pity which loves to dwell there, and to find there if possible, instruction and hope.”—*Infanti Perduti*.—*Edinburgh Essays*.

We must, indeed, look back at such, so mighty, yet so fallen, in order duly to appreciate the gigantic nature of those who have fought the fight, and have won the battle. The strength of the building which has remained firm and uninjured after the earthquake, is best understood by contemplating the massive ruins around it. How otherwise can we feel the wonderful significance that there is under the ordinary, quiet, exterior life of William Shakspeare? What sufferings must he have undergone, who could create such characters as those of Hamlet, Macbeth, Othello, and Lear? and what power must he have had who after all, lived a quiet life, died in peace with all mankind, and might have had the epitaph of the most ordinary stuccoed respectable? Perhaps, great as his works prove him to have been, his life proves him greater. Is there anything in experience which can satisfactorily represent to the mind the compressed force that there was in Shakspeare? Were any conception of the final break up of the world possible, one might form some idea of the crash amongst moralities and conventionalities which would have been produced had he exploded. But he was far too great and too wise for that; and has left an example to prove to all ages, and to all spasmodic individuals, that genius can conform. Perhaps he has further proved that it is only the very greatest that, seeing beyond, can so conform; and that this of all others, is for genius the hardest task under the sun, being, when accomplished, the surest mark of the *greatest*.

Nevertheless, however reason may commend such men as Goëthe and Shakspeare, our sympathy will always be most



with the fallen—with Burns or with Poe ; the former appear so distant from us, almost Godlike ; the latter are near to us, and we feel them to be of the same nature as ourselves. It is a great service to render to humanity, for a man who has suffered, to embody his sufferings with beautiful art in a drama or in a novel, and there to let the evidence of them end ; but the feelings will always be on the side of the genius who could not be calm, and conform to the inevitable, but who bruised himself to death in the fearful conflict. And one cannot see how this is to be avoided, so long as humanity itself is not simply an exquisite drama, or a beautiful picture, or a cold marble statue. Perhaps there may be after all justice in the direction in which the feelings point, seeing that there is considerable selfishness often in self-control ; and seeing also that a man is not to be credited with his temperament as with a virtue. Goëthe, for example, when in the flush of youth, at that period of life when man is least apt to calculate consequences, and most prone to generous impulses, never appears to have forgotten his future interest. Falling in love (not once only) with a woman not his equal in worldly position, and engaging deeply her affections, he took his departure, suddenly, and without excuse, and left her disconsolately to pine alone, when the time for action came ; so that it is almost impossible to read the history of Goëthe's youth without hating him. Luckily, the sure ages always do bring justice, and we can forgive the resistings of Goëthe's youth when one sees him hag-ridden in old age. Now Edgar Poe, with such a temperament as he had, would most surely, under like circumstances, be rash and impulsive ; he would be the victim, not the victim maker ; there would be with him no calculation of consequences, no fear of frustrating his destiny, but an utter abandonment of himself heart and soul to the strong passion that was in him. There might, however, in this abandonment be as much of selfishness as in Goëthe's self-control ; little merit can be justly credited to either of them, inasmuch as the differences between them are constitutional and fundamental.

Edgar A. Poe was born at Baltimore, it is believed, in 1811 : was the grandson of a quarter-master-general, the great-grandson of an admiral, and the son of a father named David, who gyrated in an irregular manner through the universe. For he took to his arms in lawful matrimony "an enchanting actress, of uncertain prospects," of whom he begat three children—Edgar the eldest. Here now is the

place for respectability to make a moral demonstration ;—the son of a quarter-master-general and grandson of an admiral ;—so well connected,—to marry a strolling actress. How disgraceful! What will society say to it? Was it not possible for you foolish David, to have taken her as your mistress, and thereby to have kept yourself within the pale of decency—to have taken her for the better only? But to have taken her “for better or for worse”—it is pitiable, and the decencies discard you. So David Poe, deficient of decencies, bade farewell to law of which he had been student, along with respectability, and with Elizabeth Arnold, the beautiful English actress, went forth into the wide wide world. On the whole, the wide world cannot be said to be a very suitable place for a man to enter upon who has given up respectable routine for a beautiful actress—if he wants to do anything but die therein. Oh, it was pitiful, it was bad, irrecoverably bad, David Poe, for are not the sins of the father visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation? We grieve for the transaction, yet we cannot well regret it; for had not things so happened, there would have been for us no Edgar Poe, no Raven, and no Lenore. Strange, and the observation is very trite, how far back lies the origin of any event in this world. The thing done remains in action for ever. One cannot help thinking of the young lawyer sitting with enraptured countenance in the pit of the theatre, absorbed in the enchanting actress upon whom every one of the multitude present was intent in admiration—for she was a great favourite—who should have pointed to that face, and have said, that in the sympathetic and admiring glance which beamed therefrom towards that actress, lay the germ of things which were to occupy the world’s attention, as long, may be, as it existed. Edgar Poe, his poetry, and the amazement of mankind at his strange, lurid, irregular existence! nay, that glance is also actually accountable for this present waste of ink and paper.

David Poe, after discarding respectability, cast in his lot with his wife, himself became an actor, and after six or seven years of such life, fell sick and died, leaving in “utter destitution,” three children, Edgar, Henry, and Rosalie. His partner in sorrow, having accomplished what play within a play she was destined to perform, shuffled off the stage of life about the same time, to join him, we may fervently hope, in that kingdom where there are no more plays of the tragedy sort, but where the tears are wiped from

every eye. There can be little doubt that there was tragedy enough for them in their sojourn together on this stage of time—much angry recrimination, passionate outbursts, tragical remorse, and, at any rate, final departure in “utter destitution.”

Inasmuch now, as a man is not his own father, it is incumbent upon us to take these things into consideration in estimating Edgar Poe. For we may rest assured of this, that infirmities of mind are transmitted from parent to child by a law as sure and constant as is any physical infirmity. Consumption is not more constantly inherited than is insanity, and the peculiarity of temperament which manifests itself in moral disease, descends as surely as either. “The weaknesses and defects,” says Nathaniel Hawthorne, “the bad passions, the mean tendencies, and the moral diseases which lead to crime are handed down from one generation to another, by a far surer process of transmission than human law has been able to establish in respect to the riches and honours which it seeks to entail upon posterity.” If then a man have inherited the constitution and temperament of his father, and if that father went wrong in youth, living ever after in an irregular way, aggravating in fact, as far as possible, the inherent mischief, it can be no matter of astonishment should his son turn out to be an irregular being; for it is as certain that weakness added to weakness through generations, cannot produce other than weakness, as it is, that equals added to equals, cannot result in anything but equals. And if the circumstances into which the offspring is introduced, instead of being purposely and intelligently determined for combating the evil, be those which of all others are most favourable for fostering and developing it, what possible good can come? Then, again, there is much to be attributed to the mother’s influence during gestation. Before the child is born, it is certain that its after-constitution may be seriously affected by its mother’s state of mind. Numerous examples, in the shape of visible changes in nutrition on the body of the child, attest this fact; but these may, after all, be looked upon as coarse illustrations. It is the delicate and sympathetic nervous system that suffers most from shocks of the mind; and hence it happens that active emotional states of the mother’s mind are sometimes notably attended with a change in the nutrition of the nervous system of the unborn babe. The child may be born with a hyper-sensitive nervous organization, and may be no more able to help being excitable, or

having a vicious tendency, than the earth can help moving in its orbit round the sun, or than the sun can avoid shining alike on the just and the unjust. Thus, a mother, during pregnancy, is exposed to a sudden fright, and her child is born, subject for the first few years of its life to convulsions, it soon afterwards has a manifest affection of the brain, and ultimately gets into a state of terrorism, in which, as it grows up, it see persons armed with daggers and pistols, for the purpose of murder, and hears bullets whizzing through the air: the fright of the parent has thus been incorporated into the constitution of the child, and what was a temporary occurrence in the mother, becomes a permanent and, as it were, a natural constitutional defect in the offspring.\*

Such things happened during the French revolution, and in the fearful war in La Vendée. Let us apply such considerations to Edgar Poe. Given then in his case a father who had been defiant of respectabilities, and who had lived in an irregular way; given a mother who had been very beautiful, and who was an actress; given also 'utter destitution,' and the many untoward circumstances which two such words connote, and what, in the way of product, are we justified in looking for? Surely some such a child as that of which Poe was the development. Development—that introduces another important consideration, the circumstances under which it took place, excitable temperament and perverse disposition inherited from the parents; it behoves us next to examine how these were dealt with—what was the education? For it is a very unjust error, of which the world is guilty in its judgment of a man, to look upon him as solely responsible for all the error or evil which he may have fallen into. Might it not be almost as just to say to the tree planted upon a rock, "Why hast thou not grown?" or to the horse in the knacker's yard, "Why dost thou not shake thy mane, and laugh at the voice of the thunder?" Oh! is it not too true that man at the best, can only control circumstances in a pigmy way, not fashion them? And if there is implanted in him a principle which, by an irresistible sympathy, assimilates the untoward circumstances, stretches out towards them, finding there its suitable nourishment—the predominant tendency being so situate—what is to control circumstances? Accident, or what we in our ignorance call accident, often fortunately effects this for us. For in the endless variety of circumstances in which by possibility a man may be placed in this world, there is probability which

\* Esquirol, des Maladies Mentales.

is often realized, that the evil may be corrected, that something may occur to modify the peculiarity, that some result may be brought about antagonistic to the development of the inherent mischief. It is thus a happy thing when a man learns grammar in early youth, when he finds that as well as "I," there is a "thou," and a "he;" and by conjugating, comes to perceive that "thou hast a passion," and that "he has a passion." Edgar Poe never appears to have had an opportunity of learning this lesson until it was too late to profit by it. Let us hear him speak himself:—"I am the descendant of a race whose imaginative and easily excitable temperament has at all times rendered them remarkable; and in my earliest infancy I gave evidence of having fully inherited the family character. As I advanced in years, it was more strongly developed, becoming, for many reasons, a cause of serious disquietude to my friends, and a positive injury to myself. I grew self-willed, addicted to the wildest caprices, and a prey to the most ungovernable passions. Weak-minded, and beset with constitutional infirmities akin to my own, my parents could do but little to check the evil propensities which distinguished me. Some feeble and ill-directed efforts resulted in complete failure on their part, and of course in total triumph on mine. Thenceforward my voice was household law, and at an age when few children have abandoned their leading strings, I was left to the guidance of my own will, and became in all but name, the master of my own actions."

Here, then, we have it all; "imaginative and easily excitable temperament;" "development" thereof in Edgar; "wildest caprices, and the most ungovernable passions;" "weak-minded parents beset with constitutional infirmities akin to my own," and so on. There is one phrase in this bit of autobiography which it may be well to seize and dwell upon for a moment; his parents were beset with constitutional infirmities akin to his own, to which, "wildest caprices, and the most ungovernable passions," as might have been expected in the case of an individual who had run away from his prospects with a beautiful actress, and in the case of a beautiful and favourite actress, who had married an eligible match, and had found by bitter experience that there was nothing eligible in it. "Wildest caprice,"—poor David doing the most perverse, out-of-the-way things in a defiant, desperate way; and the once enchanting actress in no wise sparing him her tragic tongue; "the most ungovernable passions," perhaps what little

crockery ware or furniture there might be with "utter destitution," flying about the room; and over all a leaden cloud of repentance and remorse. Edgar Poe was thus born under a canopy of remorse, and imbibed as his first lesson, the melancholy dirge of "Nevermore! Nevermore!" Here was, indeed, an atmosphere of circumstances for educating, inducing, bringing out what good or bad tendencies nature might have implanted in him. Even in the earliest childhood the surrounding influences exercise a powerful effect upon the child; it assimilates them unconsciously, and they become a part of it. The mother who flies into a violent passion, and raves accordingly, does not rave idly; her infant, sprawling upon the carpet, may feel the effect, unconsciously incorporating into its system the power which passion represents—power persisting through eternity; there can be but few idle words or acts in the universe. Esquiroi relates an extreme case in which the effect of evil influence was marked. A little girl of three years of age frequently hears her step-mother cursing in her passions, and soon becomes, as it were, insane—wishes constantly for her step-mother's death, and, at the age of five years and three months, makes the first of several attempts to kill her. Whence it is manifest that passion and curses are not attuned to a healthy child's feelings, and further also manifest that they produce serious consequences, even though these be not apparent at the time.

What Poe's education was likely to be, we may easily conceive—an excitable and passionate disposition having been set to sail in a whirlpool of passion; the vessel in the midst of a raging storm, having to make the quiet harbour without rudder and without compass. Should the storm resolve itself fortunately and a propitious wind drive it to the haven, good and well; if not, there will be no cause for wonder if the vessel be lost. We have seen what Edgar Poe said of his circumstances; "feeble and ill-directed efforts," to correct an unhappy disposition, ended in his being left to the guidance of his own, and to the mastership of his own actions. So the unhappy child was placed; no propitious Deity to pour oil upon the troubled waters, nay, rather malignant fate in the form of unhappy circumstances, pouring oil upon the flames. Thus, native bad, by the addition of acquired bad, was made worse. The unlucky law-student, running away from respectability under that foolish enchantment, had not done in that act of his all the evil that destiny had doomed him to do. May we not surely depend

upon this, that consequences of evil action follow as inevitably thereupon sooner or later, as does the day on the night, or the night on day; that human actions are under as certain laws as is any physical phenomenon in the universe. The whole course of a man is changed by one act of his life, and not only so, but the course of his children. Whatever power the man may represent, whatever he may do for all his lifetime, the force that each individual embodies, dies not with him, but goes forth working to all eternity—ends not when the earth is shrivelled up like a scroll of parchment, persists through the courts of heaven, and in the cells of hell. It would be a sobering reflection for a man if he could but realize it, that he represents so much *force* in the universe, and that force cannot be annihilated; therefore, that every word and action which he launches on the ocean of time and space, goes its way and is never lost. Each individual represents, as it were, force self-conscious for a time in the conflux of two eternities—from everlasting to everlasting; and therefore that every word and act must, surely appear on that great day when all is completed. “It is a high, solemn, almost awful thought for every individual man, that his earthly influence, which had a commencement, will never, through all ages, were he the very meanest of us, have an end. What is done, has already blended itself with the boundless, ever-living, ever-working universe, and will also work there, for good or for evil, openly or secretly, throughout all time. But the life of every man is as the well-spring of a stream, whose small beginnings are indeed plain to all, but whose ulterior course and destination, as it winds through the expanses of infinite years, only the Omniscient can discern.”—*Carlyle*.

Thus considering our helplessness, and yet our importance, have we not abundant cause to admire the mighty, nay to us, fearful Intelligence, which conducts us so unconsciously upon our way, the “Providence that shapes our ends, rough hew them as we may?” Yes, wrong as it sometimes seems that we have gone, and bitterly as we may repent it, both the wrong and the repentance have their purpose in the sum-total that our existence is working out in the scheme of the universe. So, when respectability shrieks out at us for running away with an actress, or such non-defensible action, although we are sinning perhaps as regards ourselves personally, and respectability has a just right to clamour at us, yet we are not dashing blindly through space, but are guided to our destined end by the unseen hand of

Omnipotence. Men may shake their heads, or stand aghast at us ; but then men at one time stood aghast at the comet, as though a fearful and unguided danger were rushing through space, deeming, forsooth, in their wisdom, that the Omnipotent was asleep, or upon a journey. Let a man, then, having done grievously wrong in the world be fully prepared to accept the consequences of his wrong, whether these come in the form of injury to his worldly prospects, or in the form of intense mental anguish, such recompense being inevitable ; but let him not despair, as though he had frustrated the purposes of his existence, and were an anomaly in creation. He is going right, although he has gone wrong, and bitter repentance accompanies him on his way. Strange moral phenomena are not purposeless in the universe.

“ Yet they wha fa’ in fortune’s strife,  
 Their fate we should na censure,  
 For still the important end of life  
 They equally may answer.”

The circumstances amidst which Edgar Poe’s infancy was passed were the natural result of the conjunction of the actress and of the law student, and Poe himself the inevitable ultimate product. In the contemplation of his life it is almost impossible to avoid the conviction that circumstances were intelligently determined so that he might become just what he was ; for when his parents died, he, being a handsome and lively child, was adopted by a rich Virginian planter, who had no children of his own. Kindly as this was done, it was not altogether a blessing ; and perhaps this observation may be made, that if a rich and childless man and his wife adopt a lively and handsome child they are likely to make of it a kind of plaything. But a child is not a light and amusing thing to be played with, but a very serious thing to be worked upon ; and that, not by irregular and spasmodic effort, but by constant and sustained attention. Edgar Poe would above all other children, require such effort ; for had he not already been too much spoiled ? spoiled, as we have seen, fundamentally in his origin ; spoiled in his embryotic life ; spoiled in his earliest infancy ; spoiled by his father, by his mother, and by circumstances ? And yet had destiny reserved for him yet further unhappy influence ; for in the house of his adopted parents he was indulged and humoured, until, young as he was, he became master there. Evidently, the kind people who had taken pity upon the young orphan had no adequate idea of the responsibility which they had undertaken. Unfortunately,



there is nothing singular in such a circumstance; a child not spoiled is becoming every day a rarer and rarer phenomenon; and one might be tempted to conclude that it was, after all, natural and proper to spoil children, were it not that there is so much sin and so much evil in the world. General indulgence, relieved by an occasional act of capricious severity, and such act followed by sure extra indulgence afterwards—that is one method of training childhood. In process of time the result comes out, an Edgar Poe, or something of that sort, exactly what any reasonable being should expect; and then foolishly also often comes a howl of anger and astonishment, a sort of expostulation with Heaven, in that it had not reversed its laws, and planted the rose of virtue on the tree of folly. Have we not, in Poe's case, been so far prepared as not to expect "grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles"?

After so much of the malignant, came for a time a little sunshine. Poe was sent to England in 1816, where he remained for five years at school at Stoke Newington. "Encompassed" says he, "by the massy walls of this venerable academy, I passed, yet not in tedium or disgust, the years of the third lustrum of my life. The teeming brain of childhood requires no external world of incident to occupy or amuse it; and the apparently dismal monotony of a school was replete with more intense excitement than my riper youth has derived from luxury, or my full manhood from crime." We may consider this as the evidence of his having been at last under a beneficial system; for it appears that man always is in reality happiest when he is under some restraint; when by the force of rods or rules or conventionalities and respectabilities, in spite of ebullition of passion, he is forced into self-denial, and made a reasonable creature. What else, indeed, can be expected, seeing that happiness, such as is to be had, follows in the train of moral law, even if it be morality by compulsion? The greatest satisfaction doubtlessly results from self-government, by the laws of a wisely developed reason, but such development can only take place through the force of reason that exists in the rules applied for government in youth. Looking at his after life, we cannot suppose that Edgar Poe assimilated such reasonable restraint, and profited by it; and perhaps we have no just cause to expect that he would. For, that assimilation may take place, there must be an adaptability of the matter to be assimilated to the substance into which it is to be received; and, as we have already seen, in the present case, there was

on one side inherited, passionate and excitable temperament, aggravated by unhappy circumstances, and on the other routine and rule, whence came little in the shape of available nourishment. If there were any sense in regretting aught that has happened in this world, one might regret that such outer control had not been exercised on Edgar Poe for a much longer time, or at a much earlier period of his life. It were perhaps as well, however, to accept the government of the world as we find it, and forbear for the present criticising, from our point of view, the ways of Providence: sufficient it is for us to observe them, and to learn therefrom what lessons may be serviceable for our individual guidance.

Poe returned to the United States in 1822, went for a few months to an academy at Richmond, and thence to the university at Charlottesville. Think of him for a moment so sensitive and so excitable, in the spring-time of youthful manhood, in the novelty of new passion, thrown into the license of the university. When a man gets a new coat, he cannot rest quiet long until he has tried it on, and has looked at himself in it; and are we to wonder that a man should be eager to gauge a new passion; especially if he be one who by constitution is endowed with such an unhappy intensity of feeling as was Edgar Poe. It would have been amazing had he, such as we have seen him born and so far built up, resisted. No! he went his natural and inevitable course; he plunged headlong into dissipation, and became remarkable as the most wildly reckless and debauched of all students! and, yet he was noted for his quick intellect, his brilliancy and vivacity, and his skill in fencing, swimming, and all such feats—not incompatible elements with immorality in a character, as too many examples every day prove. Indeed, looking curiously at the young men of an university, one might be tempted to conclude that those with the best natural endowments were the most given unto dissipation; and that it was the moderate and plodding man who bore the best character and carried away the most honours. Perhaps this may be considered a wise dispensation, whereby the plodding man may have an equal chance in the battle of life; for what would become of him in the strife, if talent were always industrious and respectable. Opinion is very inconsistent in the sentence it pronounces at different periods on remarkable men. Now-a-days every one feels himself justified in sneering or smiling at the Justice Shallow, who prosecuted William Shakspeare for deer-stealing, though it might appear that the Justice was only doing his duty, and was sanctioned therein by the

unanimous verdict of respectability. But the after development of Shakspeare has put the Justice on the wrong side; and there he hangs, ludicrously gibbeted for ever. Is not this somewhat melancholy? That a man, according to the faculty that was in him, should do his duty, and yet should, in consequence, be gibbeted for after ages to laugh at by the criminal on whom he was exercising legitimate justice. Really, but it would be well as a mere matter of policy to be cautious in passing judgment on the extravagancies of exuberant youth, lest after ages may have cause to laugh. Learned professors, unhappily often ignorant of human nature, are apt to look severe, and to talk of "talents thrown into the gutter," forgetting that there is a great deal of humanity in the gutter, and the man who has rolled therein, and has struggled out, may speak with much likelihood of benefit to such humanity. Misapplied talents and wasted time, says respectability, in professorial gown, forgetful that some have a talent for the gutter—forgetful, in fact, that wheat is wheat and not mustard seed; and that, moreover, manure is very serviceable in promoting the growth of it. Here is a pertinent question: what would have become of our great men, had respectability only had its way with them? Would not one have jogged on to death as he jogged on to market; and might not another have spent his energy in pounding pills in an apothecary's shop?

All in this mottie, misty clime,  
 I backwards mused on wasted time,  
 How I had spent my youthfu' prime,  
     An' done naething  
 But stringing blethers up in rhyme  
     For fools to sing.

Had I to gude advice but harkit,  
 I might by this, hae led a markit,  
 Or strutted in a bank and clarkit  
     My cash accounts;  
 While here half-mad, half-fed, half-sarkit  
     Is a' the amount.

Perhaps most people will now be of opinion that it was well that Burns did not in his "youthfu' prime" hearken to good advice—that it was better that, "half-mad, half-fed, half-sarkit," he was occupied in "stringing blethers up in rhyme." Can a man sing, except like a jay, or speak, except like a parrot, who has not suffered; and furthermore, will a man who is always good, suffer? "The gold that is refined in the

hottest furnace, comes out the purest," in more senses than one. Herr Von Goëthe was guilty of many things in youth, antagonistic to respectabilities; but has not the after-development of him sanctioned these things as the right things for the youth? Heavens! let us cease, in common charity, if not in common sense, to direct a man, and to judge each action of his life by a certain high conventional standard. It is something more than absurd to seize upon a certain event in a man's life, and with doleful regret to whine, "What a pity that this so happened!" Let this question be pondered,—Should we have had the man, had such things not so happened? and if not, this further—was it not better on the whole that these events should have so happened than that we should have been without the man? The two greatest men perhaps that the world has seen, who seem, as far as can be judged, to have been fortunate in regard to equality of temperament and power of self-control, went not in youth exactly the way that respectability would have pointed out to them. Did any great man ever do so? The best thing then that we can do, seems to be to accept a man as we find him, not as though he were an anomaly upon earth, but as having a final purpose,

And trust the universal plan  
Will all protect.

Edgar Poe at this period of life took the wrong turning, and never afterwards recovered his way; he had been destined by constitution to it. Right was it that he should suffer in consequence, and suffer surely he did. The immediate result was his expulsion from the University; and when Mr. Allen, his patron, who had been very liberal to him in money matters, refused to pay some gambling debts, he wrote to him a violent and satirical letter, and embarked on board a ship, with the avowed intention of joining the Greek insurrection, and of freeing Greece from the Turkish yoke. "We rarely hear of a more heroic project," remarks one commentator. It may have been so, but we cannot see anything heroic about a man's weaknesses; they may have been inevitable, and must be accepted in the course of things, but they are none the less un-heroic. Heroic project! it was best but an impulse rising out of weakness; a passage out of the diary of a spoiled child; ungrateful pettish anger, with much of malice in it; gratification of his own personal resentment, with speedy forgetfulness of Greece and insurrection there—if such were ever seriously thought of at all. Heroic! Don Quixote,

rushing at the wind-mill, was a hero in comparison. It would have been infinitely more heroic had he struggled to free himself from the dominion of his own passion, and from the taint of base ingratitude, which must now for ever abide by him. Such as he was, however, the event is not to be wondered at—impulsive act in a sensitive and excitable temperament under the painful feeling of obligation. It is characteristic of human nature, when a rupture has taken place, to hate the giver of benefits, especially when the intent of these has been frustrated by wilful and wicked conduct on the part of the recipient. Hence it seems almost inevitable that Poe should have acted as he did; for the benefits had been so great, and his was a disposition in which self-feeling was everything, and reasonable will nothing. It is not, moreover, a characteristic of human nature, when it has been constantly bolstered up by indulgence and assistance, to be in any way strengthened thereby. A being so treated when deprived of his supports is apt to have a sort of convulsive fit, and, fancying it strength, to fall down heavily in consequence. So it was with Poe when he spasmodically started for the Greek insurrection, and, as might have been expected, never arrived there. Probably Greek insurrection lost nothing thereby. He was not the man to sacrifice himself for Greece, or for any thing else; there was not born in him such capability; for had not his father sacrificed his life to a momentary passion for a beautiful actress, and transmitted to him such faculty for self-indulgence? Accordingly we find that after disappearing for a year he turned up in a state of intoxication at St. Petersburg, was relieved from his embarrassments there by the American Minister, and was sent back to his native land. On his return Mr. Allen was again kind to him; he was entered at the Military Academy, and in ten months was cashiered. Henceforth no good in life can be hoped from him. He had been tried in routine and respectability, and failed, which is at once damnation to a man. He had been left to his own resources to struggle amongst irregularities and non-respectabilities, and had failed there also. This latter failure indelibly stamps him with weakness; for had there been in him any of that high genius, which, although it goes off the beaten track, makes a clear track of its own, he could not have so missed his way. Is there power in a man he may laugh at circumstances, for in some position or another he must rise above them, by a law as sure as that by which a stone must fall. Edgar Poe had no such power, and, being worsted in his dealings with the world, he complained, and

whined, and begged : is not complaint in any case a sure sign of weakness ?

Little is to be gained by pursuing the story of his life to its end ; it is very gloomy. Cashiered at the Military Academy, he was received by Mr. Allen into his house, but behaved so badly, that writers only hint darkly, dare not venture to describe, how badly. He was turned out of doors. Next he enlisted as a private soldier, and in a very short time deserted. By birth and education he had now become what he was to remain, unstable as water ; no important change for the better could be looked for. "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots ?" Perhaps it is only in an asylum for the insane that the impossibility of reformation in a character which has grown after a certain type can be witnessed in its utter hopelessness. At times Poe seems almost to have felt that such an abode would have been fitting for him ; at any rate he sent on one occasion to a gentleman whom he had vilely injured, in the person of his sister, an apology, with a statement to the effect that he was out of his mind. Did ever mortal before make such an excuse ?

After his desertion he became very poor and exceedingly wretched. His next appearance was as the winner of a prize offered for the best tale, and on that occasion he was found haggard and in rags. Wonderful ability as had been noted at college, was unhappily not the ability to keep respectable garments on him, a thing which any vestry-man can do. Really, inexcusable as it doubtless is, there is yet something refreshing in the contemplation of a man who is not equal to a good coat ; it is the pig-stye interposed in the row of stuccoed buildings. Think of it thus—that this man alone in the midst of a multitude of featherless bipeds, has not the faculty in him to keep a coat upon his back : there must manifestly then be in him some singular other faculty. Spirit of Teufelsdröckh, what wilt thou say to it ?

There is one pleasing circumstance in the history of Edgar ; and it is this, that the world has no cause to reproach itself for neglect of him ; as it does so reproach itself in respect of its treatment to certain unhappy geniuses. Kindness interposed constantly from the cradle to the grave, and did what could be done to rescue him from the misery that he was ever bringing down upon himself. His case may, indeed, be cited as instructively showing how vain it is to reproach ourselves for not showering aid on such unhappy beings. Would not Chatterton, being such as he was, have died of arsenic, or even more miserably, whatever had been done for him ? And

Byron, would he have been more wayward and more wretched, had he been born to poverty and starvation instead of being born to an income and to a coronet? When a man cannot do something for himself he seems to be like a sieve, to let all the good that others may do to him run through. Is it not, moreover, somewhat inconsistent with the character of genius to look for such aid? If the man has been sent into the world, so pre-eminently endowed, he has been sent to enlighten and to benefit the world, and not to be nursed and coddled by it like a delicate child. It is a poor case when insight and strength come to rest for support on blindness and weakness. Better after all that genius should be miserable, and be cradled into poetry by wrong, "For they breathe truth that breathe their words in pain." After winning the prize for his tale Poe was sought out by a Mr. Kennedy, furnished by him with respectable clothes, and placed in the way of employment as a literary man. In this capacity he wrote successfully, but acted very irregularly and unsuccessfully. The details of his conduct are sickening, and are best left undescribed. During this period, however, he married his cousin, Virginia Clemm, who appears to have been a very gentle and affectionate being. And in spite of his many faults, in his family relations Edgar Poe attracted much affection to himself. His mother-in-law, who faithfully and devotedly tended him and loved him after her daughter's death, speaks of him as "more than a son to myself, in his long-continued and affectionate observance of every duty." One does not, however, wonder that women should have loved him; he was weak, exacting, and, no doubt, demanded much assistance. There is a wonderful love of self-sacrifice in a woman's heart; and her love increases by trial of it: it is not on the strong self-reliant man that it is poured out in greatest abundance, but on the poor, feeble mortal who can weep upon her bosom, and confide his sorrows to her ears, demanding sympathy, compassion, and help. And many a poor helpless being who reels about, it might almost seem purposeless, on the earth, has abundant affection lavished on him, simply from the capacity that he has of receiving. Did not Marlborough do the right thing to make himself loved, when he took money from his admirers? A lively and brilliant, but feeble and not self-reliant man who is often in conditions requiring sympathy and assistance, is well adapted to obtain all the love that a woman can give. All accounts agree in this, moreover, that in his intervals of sobriety Edgar Poe was refined and attractive in his manners and conversation. "I have never

seen him," says Mrs. Osgood, "otherwise than gentle, generous, well-bred, and fastidiously refined." Unhappily we know not his inner family life—a naturally refined soul under the most favourable conditions approached nearest that was possible to that ideal after which it thirsted. The mad fits of his drunkenness are the most palpable things in Poe's life; and so the world's judgment upon him is apt to be drunk or mad. It is the way thereof. When Hamlet asks the gravedigger, "how long hast thou been a grave-digger;" the reply was that he "came to it on that very day that young Hamlet was born; he that is mad and sent to England." That was all he knew about the affair. "How came he mad," asks Hamlet, anxious possibly to know if there was not some idea abroad of the fearful mental struggles through which he had passed in a mesh of tangled villainy. "Very strangely, they say," replies the Clown. "How strangely?" "Faith e'en with losing his wits." "Upon what ground?" "Why, here in Denmark." Just so; why ask so many questions, the man having been mad palpably, and that being sufficient. What are circumstances and conditions to us, who have only to do with the man as he actually appears as he walks amongst us? How came Edgar Poe to be a drunkard? Faith e'en with drinking. Upon what ground? On the public-house floor. And having thus settled the matter we pass on our way to the other side. Meanwhile there is a good Samaritan or two who tend him carefully, feeling instinctively that there is more in the matter than appears.

There are so many circumstances in Poe's life which might admit of blame, that it is not easy to fix upon one as notably so worthy; else his marriage with his cousin might, in a journal of this character, merit grave censure. Here was a man who by constitution and circumstances had developed into something as irregular and unstable as was possible without utter deliquescence; and by way of mending matters he marries his cousin. Had there been any offspring to such marriage, we should have been justified, by experience, in expecting that one would have been born blind or deaf, another strumous or deformed, another epileptic, and, perhaps, all mad at some time or another. Happily, however, one has cause, here again, to admire the wisdom which rules the world, and by sure laws obviates the mischief for which we so often lay the train. The eternal laws exhibit their warning in disease and deformity; and if such be disregarded, the end soon comes. A family given to frequent intermarriage, degenerates until there is no longer the capability of pro-



ducing offspring, and then mercifully dies out; whereby it happens, that aristocratic pride cannot perpetuate itself for ever. What would not man in his pride and in his folly make of himself, were it not for the powers that are above him?

During his marriage life, which lasted ten years, Poe subsisted on his literary labours, at one time as contributor, and at another time as editor, varying his work on one occasion by preparing, during the absence of the proprietor, the prospectus of a new magazine, by which he intended to supplant that which he had been employed to edit. Let this excuse, such as it is, be made for him—that it is very hard to make, contentedly, another man's fortune. Doubtless Poe felt, in a way he only could feel, that it was by him that this magazine was preserved in existence, and yet that he profited not most by it, but was rather employed as a literary hack upon it; whereupon, being a man who could only feel, could not look forward and reason, he foolishly and foully kicked. It is, indeed, foolish for a man to look only at his immediate position in the universe, and at what he may be doing therein, and thereupon to grow dissatisfied. What he should do, if he will do otherwise than act in his position, is to consider how he came there, and he will surely discover, if he have any faculty of insight in him, that he it was who placed himself wherever he may be. There is no accident in human life; "As a man sows, so must he reap." What is it then to a man that he should be making the fortunes of fifty persons, and should not be making his own, when their fortunes and his labour have come to that pass by equally certain laws. "Let the dead past bury its dead," if so be that it has an ugly aspect:

"Act, act within the living present,  
Heart within and God o'erhead."

When Poe's wife died, which event happened in 1846, he was in a very destitute state, and certain kind souls appealed for help on his behalf in the newspapers. Of course Poe, while gladly getting hold of money wherever he could, denied that he wanted any assistance in high theatrical style, and then attributed such denial to a "justifiable pride," which had induced him to conceal his wants. There is need of all possible patience with men who act in this manner; no justifiable pride with them in acting rightly, but a cheap pride in talking grandly—the "justifiable pride" of a lie. Accept whatever assistance to the result of folly may be needful and can be obtained, and then in place of gratitude, or acknowledgment, take oath that it was never wanted. It is pitiable, but like

other lamentable things, apparently inevitable. There are men who, like Poe, having such an intense *self*-feeling, cannot realize the fact of a not-self; they seem to look upon the world as a place created for them to play their pranks in, and accept whatever help they may receive, not as a charity or a kindness, but as a right, and are ungrateful accordingly. Insincerity of character, one might say; for sincerity involves the appreciation of relation—of the relation of the individual to something else, as well as of the relation of something else to the individual; whereas the vision of such men is so much perverted by their self-feeling, that they are positively unable to see themselves in relation to anything else. So that insincerity with them is not really so wilful and wicked as it might appear. A radical evil has never been corrected by circumstances. So it was with Poe, who could never feel for any one or any thing, except, as it were, through himself. And yet, from his poetry, it might at first sight appear that there was in him a powerful love for another; for has he not written some beautiful lines which have reference to his departed wife? Beautiful and melodious, truly, but yet no real feeling of sorrow discernible therein. One cannot but feel, on perusal of his poetical lamentation, that it is artificial and ingenious in construction, and must have cost him much labour in plan and pre-contrivance—that it is not nature, not even true art, which is the reflex of nature, but artifice. It does not “grow up from the depths of nature through this noble sincere soul, who is a voice of nature.” And withal there is noticeable a sort of selfish and unresigned tone about it. No solemn sorrow, or humble acquiescent resignation in the inexorable decrees of Destiny. When the wind came out of the cloud by night, killing and chilling his Annabel Lee, it was because—

“The angels not half so happy in heaven,  
Went envying her and me—  
Yes! that was the reason (as all men know  
In this kingdom by the sea),  
That the wind came out of the cloud by night,  
Chilling and killing my Annabel Lee.”

And again, who can help seeing this stage passion in those beautiful verses, addressed to “One in Paradise,” which may be quoted here in order to contrast them with the wail of real sorrow:—

“Thou wast that all to me, love,  
For which my soul did pine—

A green isle in the sea, love ;  
 A fountain and a shrine,  
 All wreathed with fairy fruits and flowers,  
 And all the flowers were mine.

“ Ah, dream too bright to last !  
 Ah, starry Hope ! that didst arise  
 But to be overcast !  
 A voice within, from out the Future cries,  
 (Dim gulf) my spirit hovering lies  
 Mute, motionless, aghast !

“ For alas ! alas ! with me  
 The light of Life is o'er !  
 ‘ No more—no more—no more.’  
 (Such language holds the solemn sea  
 To the sands upon the shore)  
 Shall bloom the thunder-blasted tree,  
 Or the stricken eagle soar !

“ And all my days are trances,  
 And all my nightly dreams  
 Are where thy dark eye glances,  
 And where thy footstep gleams—  
 In what ethereal dances,  
 By what eternal streams.”

With which compare what a poet, whose heart was full of  
 real sorrow, has said

“ Break, break, break,  
 On thy cold grey stones, O sea !  
 And I would that my tongue could utter  
 The thoughts that arise in me.”

\* \* \* \* \*

“ And the stately ships go on  
 To their haven under the hill !  
 But O for the touch of a vanished hand,  
 And the sound of a voice that is still.

“ Break, break, break,  
 At the foot of thy crags, O sea !  
 But the tender grace of a day that is dead  
 Will never come back to me.

No doubt Poe felt sorrowful when his wife died, for she had ministered kindly and attentively to him. Had not she and her mother come nearest to what he thought the whole world

ought to be in regard to him—the world forgetful of its destiny to wait upon him :

“ She tenderly kissed me,  
 She fondly caressed,  
 And then I fell gently  
 To sleep on her breast ;  
 Deeply to sleep,  
 From the heaven of her breast.  
 “ When the light was extinguished  
 She covered me warm,  
 And she prayed to the angels  
 To keep me from harm—  
 To the queen of the angels  
 To shield me from harm.”

Ah ! it was very hard to bear so great a loss, and hope seems for ever gone.

“ Shall bloom the thunder-blasted tree,  
 Or the stricken eagle soar.”

Yes ! within two years the thunder blasted tree began to put forth new blossoms, and the stricken eagle sought another mate. Within that time he became engaged to “one of the most brilliant women of New England ;” and one ignorant of Poe’s character might suppose from the lines which he addressed to her, that never man yet suffered from passion so intense and so exalted ; but we can see here, as we have seen before, only an artificial passion, a passion “from the throat outwards.” The verses are those commencing

I saw thee once—once only—years ago :

in which he informs the lady that, after her departure in the evening from the garden,

*Only thine eyes remained*

They would not go—They never yet have gone  
 They have not left me (as my hopes have) since  
 They follow me—they lead me through the years  
 They are my ministers, &c., &c. \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

They fill my soul with Beauty (which is Hope)  
 And are far up in Heaven—the stars I kneel to  
 In the sad, silent watches of my night ;  
 While even in the meridian glare of day  
 I see them still—two sweetly scintillant  
 Venuses, unextinguished by the sun !

Being congratulated, however, by some friends on his brilliant engagement, Poe replied ; " No, No ! you'll see there will be no marriage after all." And the way whereby he brought about the fulfilment of his prediction was to appear in the street and at the lady's house exceedingly drunk and outrageously extravagant, so that the police were called in, Poe was carried away, and the match was broken off. It has been surmized by way of explanation that he felt that this brilliant lady knew only the better part of him, and that the marriage would surely make her miserable ; he therefore, broke it off as he did, not having strength of purpose to do it in any other way. But such an hypothesis gives to Poe's character credit for an unselfishness and sincerity which it is certain that it never possessed ; and the strange circumstance admits of an easier and more natural explanation on the supposition of his selfishness and insincerity of character. He was possibly impressed with the feeling that a modest, lovely, unselfish Virginia Clemm was far better adapted to be his wife than " one of the most brilliant women of New England"—that on the whole it was very probable that the latter might make him miserable. " No ! no ! there must be no marriage." So one day, when in his drunkenness this feeling came very forcibly over him, as on such occasions similar feelings are apt to do, and when drink had inspired him with that courage which, weak mortal as he was, he possessed not without, he started off suddenly with the determination to break off the affair somehow. And he succeeded by, perhaps, the strangest method that ever was adopted under like circumstances. Can we forget his apology on the occasion of previous discreditable behaviour—that " Poe was out of his mind."

Soon after this unpleasant event, being, through further excesses, reduced to a condition in which he was obliged to beg money at Philadelphia, he made a sort of convulsive effort to reform by signing the pledge. Not the least certain evidence of his weakness of character, nor the least curious phase in his history this—Edgar Poe, a teetotaller ! Here at Philadelphia, a few months after his last escapade, this " stricken eagle" again proposed to a lady and was accepted. So he set out for New York to prepare for his marriage ; but on his way entered a tavern, where he met some friends, and, what more need be said—gave himself up to a night of furious " debauchery," in the morning was carried to the hospital, where he died, aged, as far as is known, 38 years. Such a leave-taking is not altogether

unexampled. Some nine months before his death, Burns dined at a tavern, returning home about three in the morning *benumbed with cold and intoxicated*; he had in consequence an attack of rheumatism, and from that time gradually failed until he died. So pass away some men indubitably marked with the stamp of genius, leaving for our reflection the important question—how happened it?

Of all men of note who have walked upon the earth, it is scarcely possible to point to one whose history discloses more of folly and more of wretchedness than that of Edgar Poe. It was not because he sinned often and sinned sadly that his anguish of mind was lessened. Black-plumed remorse, as sure as death itself, visits all who invite it; and croaks its grating dirge of sorrow in the ears of the most abandoned, as loudly and harshly as in the ears of the occasional sinner. Those fitful gleams of sunshine in his life indicate to us too plainly Poe's misery and remorse; and perhaps more painful evidence thereof than all is that signing of the pledge. It was the convulsive effort of a miserable and feeble human soul to escape from its misery and degradation. But convulsion is not strength, and we wonder not that the act was followed by a speedy fall. Alas! imagination cannot penetrate the thick gloom of remorse which enshrouded this weak child of nature. Through life accompanied him "vast formless things,"

Flapping from out their condor wings  
Invisible woe!

Acute sensibility is the prominent feature in Poe's character, and an intense love of the beautiful, the genuine element in his poetry. It was through the former that he was rendered such an unhappy being in the world; it was by the latter that we recognise in him a spark of the divine light of genius. And among the unhappy tendencies which his father had transmitted to him, let us not forget to give due credit to David Poe for this exalted feeling. Had not the father been so sensible of the beautiful as to sacrifice all his prospects in life to the pursuit of the concrete beauty, his son might have wanted that intense aspiration after the ideal, without which we should have wanted his poetry. Every day life does not unfortunately afford much satisfaction to such a feeling, and a man so endowed is apt to become wearied of the everlasting sameness of things, and desperate at the coarseness and selfishness of humanity. Not feeling calmly he cannot think calmly, and hence comes to express himself strongly—to speak of "Fate, whose name is also Sorrow," of society as "being

principally composed of villains," and of the earth as "a hated world" and a "damned earth." So spoke Edgar Poe; and one cannot avoid contrasting with such outbursts the more calmly expressed conviction of a stronger and more far-seeing genius.

"I'll na say men are villains a'

\* \* \*

But oh! mankind are unco' weak,  
An' little to be trusted."

It requires a genius of a still higher order to be able to see through the crust of evil, and to discover "good in everything." Poe, having just escaped madness, took refuge from the anguish of his crushed feelings in alcohol, and sought for consolation there; in intoxication he endeavoured to realize his ideal of the beautiful. Doubtless whilst the excitement lasted he experienced joys which he could not grasp otherwise; but the reaction, which must to him have been so terrible, followed, and has left its stamp upon his poetry.

The truly genuine, the—so to say—sincere elements in his poetry are thus, his intense aspiration after the beautiful, and the melancholy of remorse. Everywhere, both in his prose and his poetry, do we find the expression of his keen love of the beautiful.

"Alas! alas!

I cannot die, having within my heart  
So keen a relish for the beautiful,  
As hath been kindled in it."

And again, of Helen's eyes he says—

"They fill my soul with beauty (which is hope)."

One of his earliest poetical compositions, written when he was but a boy, was that chaste and beautiful address "to Helen," which is notable partly for the absence of the usual sepulchral gloom, in consequence of having been written before remorse had marked him for its own.

"Helen, thy beauty was to me  
Like those Nicean barks of yore,  
That gently, o'er a perfumed sea,  
The weary, way-worn wanderer bore  
To his own native shore.

"On desperate seas long wont to roam,  
Thy hyacinth hair, thy classic face,  
Thy Naiad airs have brought me home  
To the glory that was Greece,  
And the grandeur that was Rome."

“ Lo in yon brilliant window niche,  
 How statue-like I see thee stand,  
 The agate lamp within thy hand !  
 Ah, Psyche ! from the regions which  
 Are Holy Land!——

In his prose writings he even maintains “ that Beauty is the sole legitimate province of the poet ;” that “ the pleasure which is at once the most intense, the most elevating, and the most pure,” is to be found in the contemplation of the Beautiful—nay, he actually offers one of his productions as “ this book of truths, not in the character of truth-teller, but for the beauty that abounds in its truth, constituting it true.”

Unhappily he could find no satisfaction for so keen a sentiment, and became somewhat desperate in consequence :

“ Oh ! I am sick, sick sick, even unto death  
 Of the hollow and high-sounding vanities  
 Of the populous earth.”

The melancholy tone of his poetry must be regarded as the effect of his melancholy view of life, but by no means as an unconscious effect. He considered a tone of sadness, as he informs us, to be the tone of the highest manifestation of beauty ; —“ Beauty of whatever kind, in its supreme development, invariably excites the sensitive soul to tears. Melancholy is thus the most legitimate of all the poetical tones.” And his poetry is all most ingeniously, one might almost say, cunningly constructed in accordance with such a view. Does it not consist throughout of beauty and sorrow—of Psyche and of death, which is the greatest sorrow, “ of all melancholy topics, what, according to the *universal* understanding of mankind, is the most melancholy ?” “ And when is this most melancholy of topics most poetical ?” “ When it most clearly allies itself to beauty. The death, then, of a beautiful woman is unquestionably the most poetical topic in the world ; and equally is it beyond doubt that the lips best suited for such a topic are those of a bereaved lover.” Hence Psyche is brought “ in the lonesome October,” with her wings “ sorrowfully trailing in the dust,” “ by the dank tarn of Auber, in the ghoul-haunted woodland of Weir,” until she is “ stopped by the door of a tomb.”

“ By the door of a legended tomb ;  
 And I said, ‘ What is written, sweet sister,  
 On the door of this legended tomb ?  
 She replied—‘ Ulalume, Ulalume—  
 ’Tis the vault of thy lost Ulalume ! ’ ”



Hence also we hear of

“The lilies there that wave,  
And weep above a nameless grave.”

He embodied the spring blossoms of his life, his hopes and aspirations, which had all been blasted and wrecked, in the form of a beautiful woman, as the form most beautiful on earth; and this he chained to a vault, or otherwise represented under circumstances of intense gloom. In this way he blended the actual and the ideal in his poetry.

“My love, she sleeps! Oh, may her sleep  
As it is lasting so be deep!  
Soft may the worms about her creep!  
Far in the forest dim and old,  
For her may some tall vault unfold,” &c.

Gloomy gates open to disclose the beautiful statue of Psyche, and sorrow and “dying embers” in the “bleak December,” accompany “the rare and radiant maiden whom the angels name Lenore.”

“Ah! distinctly I remember, it was in the bleak December,  
And each separate, dying ember wrought its ghost upon the  
floor.

Eagerly I wished the morrow—vainly I sought to borrow  
From my books surcease of sorrow—sorrow for the lost  
Lenore—  
For the rare and radiant maiden, whom the angels name  
Lenore,

Nameless here for evermore.

As he “nodded, nearly napping, suddenly there came a tapping” at his chamber door; and in steps a “stately raven of the saintly days of yore.” Passionate appeal then is his to this embodiment of utter hopelessness for “respite, respite and nepenthe from the memories of Lenore.”

“‘Prophet!’ said I, ‘thing of evil! prophet still, if bird or  
devil!

Whether Tempter sent, or whether tempest toss’d thee here  
ashore.

Desolate, yet all undaunted on this desert land enchanted—  
On this home, by horror haunted—tell me truly, I implore—  
Is there—is there balm in Gilead? tell me—tell me I  
implore!’

Quoth the raven, ‘Nevermore!’

“ ‘Prophet!’ said I ‘thing of evil—prophet still, if bird or devil!

By that heaven that bends above us—by that God we both adore!

Tell this soul with sorrow laden, if, within the distant Aidenn,  
It shall clasp a sainted maiden whom the angels name Lenore

Clasp a rare and radiant maiden, whom the angels name Lenore!’

Quoth the raven, ‘Nevermore!’

A notable feature is the absence of anything sensual from Poe’s poetry; the beautiful is as chaste as a statue; it is not Venus, “not even a lissome Vivien,” but Psyche—always Psyche from the regions which are Holy Land. And this pure passion for the beautiful, so much above earth in its aspiration, which was inherent in him, would but tend, being rudely crushed, to increase his degradation, and to aggravate his remorse. Unhappily endowed being! probably few people have lived upon this earth as miserable as was Edgar Poe.

The genius of Poe lies in his keen sentiment of the beautiful; therein had he a glimpse into that “mystery of the universe what Goëthe calls ‘the open secret;’” the possession of a faculty of insight into which on one aspect or another, is necessary to constitute a man of genius. Dr. Johnson has said—“As among the works of nature no man can properly call a river deep or a mountain high, without the knowledge of many mountains and many rivers; so in the production of genius nothing can be styled excellent till it has been compared with other works of the same kind.” But in adopting such a canon of criticism, it behoves us to be very careful that we do compare things of the same kind. It does not follow most certainly that, because we attribute genius to a man, we are justified in dragging forward his production and comparing it with that of any other man of genius, and, forthwith, being disappointed by the comparison, pronouncing him inferior. As well might we compare the lilac of the garden with the banyan of the forest. There are men of genius belonging, so to say, to different species, as well as trees of different species; and in the one case as well as in the other, one may be beautiful and pleasing to look at and another mighty and useful to profit from. Heaven sends us both, and finds it not good to give to the laburnum the branches of the gnarled and knotted oak. The poet, the prophet, and the philosopher, the man of genius in any shape do, indeed, at bottom see but the same thing, and that what Fichte calls

“the Divine idea which lies at the bottom of all appearance ;” but they see it in different aspects. The poet sees the beautiful in it, the philosopher the true, and the prophet the good ; and yet the beautiful, the true, and the good are all aspects of one and the same. No man has genius who possesses not the faculty of seeing this in one form or another ; he may have talent, but talent dies with him. In his sympathy with the beautiful lies what of genius Edgar Poe had ; for we say nothing of the beauty of his language and of his melody here ; no other insight had he. His sorrow is nothing more than a morning headache after a night of intemperance, and his view of man’s life and destiny upon earth is nothing more than a perverted vision—by reason of which he was incapacitated from seeing ought but the “tragedy man.”

And much of madness, and more of sin,  
And horror the soul of the plot.

The question might arise for us at this stage, as to what view Edgar Poe entertained of man in the universe ; but, unhappily, as we have said, he does not appear to have been capable of any serious or comprehensive view at all ; merely felt that he was a very miserable creature with acute sensibility, and strong aspiration for something beautiful, for which he could by no means find satisfaction. In the conduct of his life, he made the important mistake of supposing that happiness was attainable by self-indulgence, instead of by self-denial, and acted accordingly. He sought his own pleasure, and never dreamed that the object of a man’s life might be the happiness of others, and therein the greatest happiness to himself. So he flung down the dice with a deeper and deeper stake on each occasion, and lost more and more peace of mind, until he thought that the dice must be loaded, that a conspiracy existed against him on the part of society, and deemed the earth to be a “damned earth.” And he poured forth his anger and his hatred together, with his sorrow for his lost love, and his blasted hopes, thus :

Ah, broken is the golden bowl ! the spirit flown for ever !  
Let the bell toll ! a saintly soul floats on the Stygian river ;  
And Guy de Vere, hast *thou* no tear ;—weep now or never  
more !

See on yon drear and rigid bier low lies thy love, Lenore !  
Come ! let the burial rite be read—the funeral song be sung !—  
An anthem for the queenliest dead that ever died so young—  
A dirge for her the doubly dead in that she died so young.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Avaunt! to-night my heart is light—no dirge will I upraise,  
 "But waft the angel on her flight with pæon of old days!  
 "Let *no* bell toll! lest her sweet soul, amid its hallowed mirth,  
 "Should catch the note as it doth float up from the damned  
 earth.  
 "To friends above from fiends below, the indignant ghost is  
 riven—  
 "From Hell into a high estate far up within the heaven—  
 "From grief and groan, to a golden throne, beside the King  
 of Heaven."

We wonder not that so weak a mortal, seeing life only through his own morbid soul, could find therein nothing but madness and horror and sin. Better and stronger men have with earnest supplicating cry questioned destiny, to whom it has given but a doubtful reply. Oh, that my existence had been postponed for some thousands of years, might be the prayer, not altogether of a madman; that it might have been put off till the end was nearer at hand—that I had been born when some reasonable guess might have been made at the final purpose! Better would it have been, than to live now, when desire is so intense yet without satisfaction, to have lived amongst the Titans, with Odin or with Thor; to have made bricks in Egypt, or to have defended the pass at Thermopylæ. But to be as it is—hemmed in by conventionalities, which are some of them manifestly not of eternity and heaven, but of time and the devil; madly thirsting after knowledge, but incapable of attaining it—it is difficult indeed to be calm and to steer aright. There is a just need of the rudder of a reasonable faith to enable a man to do so; a faith in God, rather than the devil, ruling the world. From certain passages in Poe's writings it might appear, were it legitimate in such way to draw conclusions, that his views were somewhat sceptical; that he had notable faith only in the 'conqueror worm.' "The boundaries which divide life and death," says he, "are at best shadowy and vague. Who shall say where the one ends and the other begins? We know that there are diseases in which occur total cessations of all the apparent functions of vitality, and yet in which these cessations are merely suspensions, properly so called. They are only temporary pauses in the incomprehensible mechanism; a certain period elapses, and some unseen mysterious principle again sets in motion the magic pinions and the wizard wheels. The silver cord was not for ever loosed, nor the golden bowl irreparably broken. But where, meantime, was the soul?" And

again in the conversation which the learned Doctor Pononner holds with the resuscitated Egyptian mummy, Count Allamistakeo, the following remarks occur, "But since it is quite clear," resumed the doctor, "that at least five thousand years have elapsed since your entombment, I take it for granted that your histories, at that period, if not your traditions, were sufficiently explicit on that one topic of universal interest, the Creation, which took place, as I presume you are aware, only ten centuries before?" "Sir?" said the Count Allamistakeo. The doctor repeated his remarks; but it was only after much additional explanation, that the foreigner could be made to comprehend them. The latter at length said, hesitatingly, "The ideas you have suggested are to me, I confess, utterly novel. During my time, I never knew any one to entertain so singular a fancy as that the universe (or this world, if you will have it so,) ever had a beginning at all. I remember once, and once only, hearing something remotely hinted, by a man of many speculations, concerning the origin of the human race; and by this individual, the very word *Adam*, (Red Earth) which you make use of, was employed. He employed it, however, in a generical sense, with reference to the spontaneous germination from rank soil, (just as a thousand of the lower *genera* of creatures are generated), the spontaneous germination, I say, of five vast hordes of men, simultaneously upspringing in five distinct and nearly equal divisions of the globe."

Such observations, however, are of no great import, since the character of Poe, as we see it in his writings and in the facts of his life, clearly makes manifest that, whether he were in the 'everlasting no,' or whether he had arrived at the 'centre of indifference,' he certainly had not attained to a knowledge of the 'everlasting yea.' Angry and envious, malignant and cynical, without sense of honour or love of his kind, he was utterly destitute of that faculty of reasonable insight, by which a man sees in human life something more than what is weak, sinful, and contemptible. If a man determine to reject all creeds and dogmas, yet, if he have any power of vision, must he surely discover 'eternal veracities' in the heaven, in the earth, and all that therein is; *feel* them as they are traced by the finger of Omnipotence day by day in his own moral experience. The highest devolpment of scepticism can in the end, but arrive at this conclusion, that sin is ignorance; and if a man have the capability of knowledge in him, is he not responsible for such ignorance? If, however, he grasp at the present, forgetting the eternal, and hope to

find pleasure or satisfaction in the fleeting things of time, he may say with Edgar Poe, dubiously and despairingly,

I stand amid the roar  
 Of a surf-tormented shore,  
 And I hold within my hand  
 Grains of the golden sand—  
 How few! Yet how they creep  
 Through my fingers to the deep,  
 While I weep, while I weep!  
 O God! Can I not grasp  
 Them with a tighter clasp?  
 O God! Can I not save  
 One from the pitiless wave?  
 Is *all* that we see or seem  
 But a dream within a dream?

There are many melancholy spectacles in the world, but, perhaps, none more melancholy and more pitiable than that of a man of genius howling out in his own weakness; a Byron shrieking curses to the listening stars; or a Poe doing evil, and angrily damning the punishment thereof. If a brave man struggling with adversity be a sight pleasing to the gods, surely the angels may weep over such a spectacle; for,

Hell rising from a thousand thrones  
 Shall do it reverence.

There appears no further possibility of 'explaining' Edgar Poe. We must accept the facts of his life, and in them we can only see the result of a fundamental constitutional fact and an unhappy collocation of circumstances. It seemeth good to the Ruler of the spheres to embody in human form now and then the various vices and weaknesses to which human nature is liable, and by the erratic and unhappy course thereof, to 'teach the nations wisdom and the people understanding.' It behoves us to look on, 'more in sorrow than in anger;' rather than to curse, to pray with the Arabian philosopher, "O God! be kind to the wicked; to the good thou hast already been sufficiently kind, in making them good."

Alas! it is exceedingly difficult to accept calmly such an anomalous being as Edgar Poe. Is no explanation of him possible? Is the tragedy played out with no unity preserved therein? For the present it is; but the time will surely come, when Edgar Poe may be proved to have been legitimate and no otherwise possible. Meanwhile the curtain falls.

Out—out are the lights—out all !  
And over each quivering form,  
The curtain, a funeral pall,  
Comes down with the rush of a storm,  
And the angels, all pallid and wan,  
Uprising, unveiling, affirm  
That the play is the tragedy, “ Man,”  
And its hero, the Conqueror Worm.

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*Consciousness as a Truth-organ considered, or Contributions to Logical Psychology.* By Rev. W. G. DAVIES, Chaplain, Asylum, Abergavenny.

(Continued from p. 119.)\*

PART I. . SECTION 2.

The first class of objects to be viewed as producing a distinct order of consciousness embraces the fundamental sensation, and its attendant sensations. But perhaps it is necessary to explain before entering upon the task of analysis, that it would be foreign to the nature of Logical Psychology to enumerate, and enlarge upon the objects contained in each class of that nature. The demands of that science are fully answered when we have pointed out that a certain class of objects—though we may know little else about it—marks out a distinct variety of intellectual power. Let it be remembered then, that it is the aim of these contributions to describe—not the objects of consciousness, even when these are mental in their character—but, exclusively, the cognition of them. The following table will, it is trusted, clearly determine the boundaries of that department of psychology to which these researches are confined.

\* Erratum. In the last at p. 118, for “it is not lying there unknown,” Read, “is it not lying there unknown?”

CONSCIOUSNESS.

SPHERE OF PRIMARY CONSCIOUSNESS (Or Logical Psychology.)		SPHERE OF SECONDARY CONSCIOUSNESS	
PERCEPTION	CONCEPTION	REASON	FORM.
Common nature—exhibited by FORM.	Whole nature—exhibited by FORM.	Ditto	Memory. Association. Imagination. Belief.
Species of—Elicited by the class of Object cognized or by a distinct Organ as below:—	Co-extensive with knowledge in general.	Ditto	These are only incidentally noticed in Logical Psychology.

SPHERE OF OBJECTS.

OBJECTS OF COGNITION.		ORGANS OR SEAT OF COGNITIONS.	RELATED SCIENCE OF OBJECTS.		
The Fundamental and Kindred Cognitions	The Fundamental Sensations fixed and unfixd†	Described by Physiology	. . . Physiology		
				The Non-ego The Organism The Feelings attendant upon Muscular Force exerted, &c.	Most Branches of Physical Science, . . . Physiology and Anatomy . . . Physiology.
The Objective Sense. Touch and Muscular Discrimination	The Quasi-objective Senses.	Co-ordinate.	. . . Optics. Theories of Paintings, Sculpture, &c. . . Acoustics. Theory of Music. ? ? ? ? ?		
				Sight	. . . Optics.
				Hearing	. . . Acoustics.
				Taste	. . . Theory of Music.
The Consciousness of Mental Emotions and Desires	The Mental Emotions and Desires . . .	Ditto	Moral Philosophy Æsthetics, &c.		
				Ditto	Ditto

† These last in Bain's *Senses and the Intellect*, page 122 et seq. are classed thus:—

- Sensibility of Bones and Ligaments
- Organic Sensations of Nerve
- Organic Feelings of the Circulation and Nutrition
- Feelings of Respiration
- Sensations of the Alimentary Canal
- Feelings of Electrical States

With these should be classed, it seems to us, the Organic Muscular Feelings, treated of by Mr. Bain, at page 85, et seq



*Perception relative to its different kinds of objects examined.*

*The Fundamental and Kindred Perceptions.\**—There is an act of perception which, from the highly important office which it holds among intellectual powers, claims more than common notice. Its importance arises, not from its dignity, but from its fundamental and abiding character, it being the basis of every other cognitive act. If it fails, the whole mind fails with it. This elementary perception seems to be that of ourselves as possessed of extended animation. Its two elements (*c + o*) appear to be, first—The consciousness; secondly—Of extended life. The most striking feature of this perception is, that it is permanent during our waking moments—always a perception, *c* in conjunction with *o*. Other psychical manifestations are intermittent, but as long as we experience any of them, we must be experiencing this. And while internal observation leads us to this result, reason also concludes that since all sensations, excepting that which is the object of this perception, whether they occupy the whole body or but a part; since all our appetites and emotions; and, since all our mental operations come and go with more or less frequency, they must of necessity involve a sensation which is abiding, within the boundaries of which they must need have their habitation. Without this fundamental perception, all other acts of consciousness, on the supposition of their existence being possible, would be as entirely isolated from each as are the Isles of Greece. It is therefore the basis of our personality, and the bond which unites our other powers into one complete whole, forming the subject or *ego*. Our personality—such is the evidence we possess—is a whole, made up of many parts, some co-ordinate, and some successive; but like a piece of music written in one key, it combines unity with diversity. Of this whole, the element which forms the bond of union, is the ever fixed perception which we are examining. Upon this, as it were, or pre-supposing it, we have other, more or less variable, psychical attributes, those which are nearest the base being less subject to change than those which are considerably removed from it; it being a law of nature that the most fundamental is the most abiding, the most simple,

\*To prevent misapprehension, we here explain that fundamental perception is equivalent to both fundamental cognition and fundamental sensation; and that the former of these last means the *c* element—the latter, the *o* element of the perception, thus;—

Fundamental Perception	}	Fundamental Cognition or <i>c</i> .
	”	Sensation or <i>o</i> .

the most general ; while the superincumbent is ever tending to greater variableness and complexity, and less generality.

It may here be alluded to incidentally, so essential is it to establish the point under discussion, that comparative physiology fully confirms the view here taken, for it teaches that the principle of unity, or personality in man, is of the same class as that which in animals reaches very low down in the kingdom to which they belong, enabling each of them to realize its individual existence. Since, therefore, personality, or, if that term be thought too dignified to be so applied, the realization of individual existence in consciousness be similar in all the animated occupants of the earth, it becomes manifest that we must look for its characteristic, *not* in that in which man transcends the rest of the animated creation ; not even in that in which one animal rises into a higher sphere than another, but exclusively in that in which the meanest, as well as the greatest of mortal beings, resemble each other. And what is this, but the fundamental perception which now engages our attention ?

*Difficulty of Defining the Fundamental Sensation.* Since the fundamental sensation never exists without the accompaniment of other sensations, it is extremely difficult to detect its precise nature. Though its character as distinguished from all other psychical attributes is permanency, still it is never unattended, and possibly *cannot* be unattended, by some one or other of the variable manifestations of conscious life, in that sense in which it is essential ; for instance, that a day should be either long or short, bright or cloudy, warm or cold, but neither of these in particular.

But though it is so difficult to realize this sensation as clearly distinct from feelings which pre-suppose it, we may, nevertheless, in so far as it is permanent, and they not, run no risk of confounding it with them. What it appears to us to be, we have said, is a feeling of extended animation. May not the sense of touch have an inward operation, by means of which, though without realizing any knowledge of the organism as a body, which it does by its outward operation, it becomes cognizant that the several parts of the organism are external to each other ? And is not this the fundamental perception ? That touch proper cannot be the required perception, seems to us to afford no room for doubt, for it does not possess that character of permanency which is the distinguishing mark of the latter. By what means are we cognizant, say, of a finger which is kept out of sight, and free from contact with an external body ? Certainly

not by touch proper, which cannot, therefore, be the fundamental perception, seeing *that* is present where touch does not operate.

We have now laid the foundation, but there is much remaining to build upon it. All the knowledge that we acquire through the senses; all our emotional revelations; all our intellectual operations, one only excepted, and that of the lowest order, and capable of existing in a state more instinctive than intellectual, are as yet supposed to be unknown. And deprived of these what should we have left? There would be no notion of matter, because there would be no touch and muscular discrimination, in short no consciousness whatever of anything external, and consequently, of nothing but the pervading or extended animation, attended with some of the variable organic feelings.

That there are higher and lower faculties in the human mind is quite manifest to us, not only from the excellence of some over others, but from the fact that the superior powers of the mind pre-suppose the inferior, as the animal world does the vegetable; the teaching of comparative physiology on this head, therefore, is fully corroborated by reflective observation. And as to the question of the *intellectuality*\* of a faculty, we may safely conclude that it is in proportion to its dignity, and that this is determined by the purpose which the faculty has to fulfil. The final cause of some of our faculties is to be cognizant of feeling merely to that extent which is essential to the preservation and enjoyment of animal life. The final cause of other faculties is to extend our knowledge, so that we may walk in the light of it to a higher elevation of moral and intellectual existence, in short *to know* with a view to human progress. It can be readily understood, then, why it is that some objects of consciousness are so much more distinctly and vividly thought of than others. In one class there is not so much to think of, and not much to be gained by doing so. In another class, we find full scope for deep and constant thought, and reap from it a plentiful harvest of grand and precious truths. The faculty next to be examined is

*The Perception of the Non-ego.* It has already been stated that one of the conditions of consciousness is a realization of the *ego*. In the cognition of the external world this is a most salient fact. When we recognize the existence of an external object, we have on the one hand the *ego*, and on

\* See Bains on the Senses and the Intellect, p. 330. 7.

the other, the outward thing, which in contrast to the *ego*, we call the *non-ego*. Consciousness being by one act aware of the existence of the extended animation, as we have endeavoured to shew, thus realizing the basis of the *ego*; in an act of sensible perception, is furthermore cognizant of something possessing extension, equal to that of the extended animation of the part through which the perception is obtained. This something is twofold, first, our organism as a material subject, and the seat of our extended animation; and secondly, a material object possessing qualities similar to those of the material subject, as extension and impenetrability; but external to the extended animation, and therefore called not-self. We are, therefore, conscious of our organism as a *body*, not by any inward sense, but by means of the very same sense by which we become aware of the existence of the material world in general.

It is clearly impossible to confound the organism with the outward object in the perception, because the extended animation which pervades the organic man produces such a striking contrast between it and such object. They who deny the externality of the thing apprehended convict consciousness, therefore, of incompetency to discriminate between two things so widely contrasted as the organism and the outward object are. And what is the consequence? Consciousness having pronounced that to be the *non-ego*, which is the *ego*, clearly does not know the *ego* truly, since it has proclaimed a portion of it to be what it is not, a *non-ego*. After this we may reasonably infer that consciousness is wrong in distinguishing between itself and an object of any sort; what it pronounces to be an object, being not an object, but a portion of itself.

And again, that consciousness is wrong in discriminating between one aspect of itself and another aspect, what is pronounced to be a phase differing from some other, not being different, but identical with it. To question the reality of the *non-ego*, therefore, is virtually to question the existence of any object whatever, yea, in fact, to doubt the existence of consciousness itself; for if the declarations of consciousness are given the lie in this suspicious fashion, then that declaration by which consciousness announces its own existence, must be distrusted, and a blank nihilism be proclaimed. But happily, every such doubt loses its own life, in the act a taking away that of its victim.

*Media through which the non-ego is known.* These are touch and muscular discrimination. Touch reveals to us

something outside, extended commensurately with the extension of the fundamental sensation in the organic surface revealed to us in the same act of contact. The leading object, then, which this sense discloses is objective extension, namely, that of our organism as the material seat of the pervading animation; and also that of the material surface which is in contact with our organism. Objective dimension, therefore, appears to be made known, in the first place, by means of the fundamental sensation which spreads throughout the corporeal man—the measure of exterior dimension in touch, being the extended animation of the part in which contact takes place.

But it is necessary that the motive power should come to the aid of touch before the latter can possess its full power. By means of muscular discrimination we can actively test the resistance which exterior bodies offer to our flesh, bones, and muscular force, and these to external bodies. The impenetrability of matter, or its resisting power, as also the impenetrability of our corporeal system, and our muscular force are revealed to us by that force in operation. But what it is which resists—the extension, figure, quality of surface, &c., of a body—are revealed by touch. Were you to place your hand in contact with the table, and press it ever so hard, unless you had the sense of touch, you would have no knowledge of what it was which resisted you; you would merely detect that your motive power was opposed by some extrinsic cause. The sense of touch reveals to us what that cause is. On the other hand, this sense would be highly defective without the auxiliary motive power, as we can readily ascertain by placing the back of the hand upon some support, and requesting some one to put upon the fingers, while we refrain from looking, any thing the name of which we are not told. It will then appear that the sense of touch is comparatively gone.

This sense, as the complement of the fundamental perception, with muscular discrimination, seems to afford the origin of the notion of space. Space is not a notion simply, but an object which has its origin *for us* in perception, in which it is quite distinct from the cognition. It seems to have its rudimentary manifestation in the very groundwork of our nature, as the extended animation, which seems to be the medium through which all objective space is cognizable. Into the nature of space as an infinite and independent existence, we cannot enter at this stage of our enquiry. To

solve that question we need the aid of a law which remains to be enunciated.

We have now examined two kinds of consciousness, the fundamental perception, and the perception of the organism and *non-ego*. The next step is to examine, but from our special point of view—

*The four quasi-objective senses.* There are four senses which have for their objects something subjective, it is usually taught, but according to the evidence, something of a nature between subjective and objective. Touch, as we have just seen, boldly professes to be an objective or outward sense. The other four also appear to be objective, but since the evidence of their subjective character is too strong to be put aside, we suggest that they ought to be named *quasi-objective* senses, *i.e.*, objective practically, but subjective speculatively. The only positive experience (positive as opposed to negative) which we have of these senses is in their objective aspect. Their subjective character is known only as an inference, not realizable, (such is the stubbornness of their asserting force,) in positive thought. In confirmation of the view here taken, we proceed to state that the objects of these senses are not apprehended as emotional, though to a certain extent pleasure or pain, liking or aversion, accompanies the perception of them; and it is difficult to conceive why our organism, since it is a material subject, should not be the seat of phenomena of an inanimate nature, such as light and sound, if not savour and odour, are recognized to be. This seems the only description which is consonant with the declarations of consciousness as made by these senses; and which adequately accounts for the universal conviction, practically viewed, that the objects of these senses are non-egoistical.

Again, every one thinks that the extension of an external object, say this page, viewed at the nearest distance for distinct vision, corresponds very nearly with its extension to the touch\*; consequently, the visible dimension of the page is much greater than that of the retina, or indeed, of the cerebral centre with which that communicates. The consequence of this fact must be, that a visible object must be apprehended as external to that whose dimensions its own is felt to exceed. That is, the fundamental sensation

\* We may understand touch to include muscular discrimination, when the former term alone is used, and there is no occasion for distinguishing between them.

in and about the eye is cognised as much less in extent than that of the page upon which the eye gazes; and since the greater cannot be judged to be contained by the lesser, it must be regarded as exterior to the eye. To eyes newly couched, and which had not been able to see before, objects may certainly appear to touch the organ, but that must be, on the outside; and even then the extension of objects, and of the sphere of vision would be the same as in eyes in general. What would be wanting would be that which touch and muscular discrimination supply, namely, the notion of distance. Certain degrees of remoteness, by being constantly perceived in conjunction with certain variations in hue and outline, and optical adjustment, become so blended with these, that we actually seem to realize distances by means of the eye alone, and cannot bring ourselves to be sensible of the contrary.

From what we have now said, it will be discovered that we hold that doctrine which teaches that colour is apprehended as extended, in opposition to that which teaches that it is connected with this attribute by association alone. When we try our utmost to imagine colour which is not spread over a plane surface we find ourselves completely baffled. We can no more imagine an unextended colour, than we can imagine a square yard of sound. If it be granted that we cannot call up a notion of colour without dimension, then it is granted that colour deprived of this quality is inconceivable. But it will be argued, this quality is not a constituent part of colour, since that would make colour an external thing, but it is simply blended with it by means of association. In answer to this, it is urged, that the sense of sight, when interrogated ever so strictly, still avers that colour is cognized as possessed of *plane* extension by the organ of vision alone; and that it is solid dimension or distance only which is blended with it by association. It must be borne in mind that extension is not exclusively an objective fact, but a subjective one as well, as we have previously endeavoured to establish. The impossibility of imputing a subjective phenomenon, as colour, to an external body, by the law of association, therefore, does not clash with the fact that, colour is possessed in itself of plane extension, and that it is this *subjective* extension, which, by association, is admirably confounded with the objective dimension of an external body, and regarded as if inherent in the same.

How colour, if at first occupying no space, could afterwards appear to diffuse itself over an outward object, by the law of

association is inexplicable, and can be nothing better than a supposition, because it is impossible, by the most searching mental analysis, to conceive colour apart from extension, that we may verify the doctrine. Indeed, it seems to us that a doctrine so unlikely as that colour is not in itself extended, could never have suggested itself, but for the confusion of the plane dimension of colour, with solid dimension or remoteness.

*The five senses form one complex perceptive faculty.* Having endeavoured to prove that four of the senses, while cognizant of objects which have no existence independently of ourselves, are still cognizant of them as unemotional objects *quasi-objective*, and that touch is really conscious of an external world, the existence of which does not depend upon us—we next proceed to shew that in an act of sensible perception, although the qualities of a thing are discovered through five different inlets, there is but one thing or individual perceived. Now that round which the qualities apprehended by the four *quasi-objective* senses congregate, is the thing as cognized by the sense of touch. The other senses presuppose that of touch, as that and every kind of cognition presuppose the fundamental perception. The five senses therefore form together one complex organ of sensible perception. Touch makes known to us that substratum to which the qualities revealed by the other senses are imputed: another proof that such qualities are not apprehended as affections of the *ego* as animated, since then they could not be imputed to an outward substratum, but as purely unemotional phenomena.

Although it is to touch and muscular discrimination that we owe our elementary notions of the outer world—it is to the very efficient manner in which sight completes these senses, and forms with them a complex perceptive power, that we are indebted for the major portion of our knowledge of material reality. The visible, although it involves an extended, figured, solid, and remote substratum, involves at one view, it may happen, a substratum of such magnitude, that it would be quite impossible to grope an acquaintance with it by means of the objective sense alone. Sight, therefore, may be regarded as a sense which practically conveys touch out of the body, and diffuses it over areas of vast extent, and of various degrees of remoteness. If it is to touch, therefore, that we are indebted, in the first place, for a knowledge of the external object—it is to sight chiefly, as completing that sense, that we owe, in the second place, our knowledge of the material universe.



*The consciousness of our mental emotions and desires.* The only remaining class of objects, known to us, as determining a distinct kind of consciousness, is composed of our mental emotions and desires. In this inquiry we are called upon to do little more than draw attention to the single fact, that it is a class of objects manifested in a manner which clearly marks it out as separate from every other. In proof of this, we point out as a characteristic of our mental emotions and desires, that they are not localized, or which amounts to the same thing, are not possessed of the quality of extension; and that they require as their complement, a knowledge of a related object. There may be a knowledge of a certain object without the emotion which it is the occasion of calling forth; of which fact we have a very good illustration in those lines of Wordsworth, which, we believe, run thus:

“ A primrose by a river’s brim,  
A yellow primrose was to him,  
And it was nothing more.”

But there can be no emotion-related attribute without the object to which that attribute is ascribed by the emotion; for the latter always fastens upon something in the object as pleasing or otherwise, as the case may be; and without this something to be directed towards, may be supposed somewhat analogous to the condition of the organ of sight in a man who is confined for a long period in a place impervious to light.

That our mental emotions and desires afford the origin of many truths, for instance, those of a moral and social nature, is undeniable; for what, in general language may be styled heart-attributes, are all from this source. But it must be clearly understood in what manner, and to what extent, our mental emotions extend our knowledge. That there are moral maxims, or first principles; in other words, universal moral truths springing up out of the depth of our emotional nature, and incapable of reduction into simpler elements—we have no evidence. The reply which consciousness vouchsafes to our importunate enquiries on this point is, that mental emotions do not *know*; they are *known*. They are purely objects of consciousness, which last alone reveals to us what an object is. Now what consciousness discloses to us concerning our mental emotions is, that certain of them fasten upon certain perceptions or thoughts, which, in consequence, are looked upon as having certain attributes in addition to

those which they already possess, and aptly styled emotion-related attributes, *i.e.*, something in what we may call the *head*-attributes of an object are regarded by our emotional nature, as possessed also of *heart*-attributes. Thus, for example : good, beautiful, excellent, are names of certain emotion-related attributes in certain objects fitted to be the occasion of calling up the sentiments which correspond to those terms. What our consciousness furthermore reveals is, that universal moral truths are derived from our emotional manifestations by that intellectual procedure which elicits universal truths from perceptions of objects not emotional. The relations existing between our sentiments and desires on the one hand, and certain objects on the other, relations constituting heart-attributes, form a class of objects, which, like every other, is capable of receiving a full or philosophic development exclusively from the operation of those intellectual faculties, which, first, from our perceptions, educe the primordial universals ; and, secondly, by the help of these, construct a system of deductive truth. Instead of obtaining the primary universals of moral and social matters, therefore, immediately out of the depth of our emotional nature, we obtain the rudiments only, from this source ; the process by which moral and social *axioms* are deduced from these, is purely intellectual, as we hope to be able to prove when we examine the faculty of reason. Now, in accordance with the view here presented in faint outline, if it be asked what is beauty, for example ; there are two modes of answering the question, the one loose and popular, but most in accordance with the *a priori* method, the other scientific. Popularly speaking, that is beautiful to any one, which is regarded by his emotion of the beautiful, as having the related attribute. Scientifically speaking, that only is unmistakably beautiful, which answers to the definition of beauty ; a definition yet to be discovered perhaps, but which it is the mission of the scientific intellect to seek for, till its diligence be rewarded with success. Provisionally, we must call that beautiful which is allowed to possess some degree of excellence by the unanimous consent of competent judges ; and which, moreover, can be reckoned such without detriment to the true and the good, since, whatever is immoral, false, and unnatural, *ought* not, at least to be invested with the embellishments of poetic sentiment.

From the preceding observations, it might be inferred that moral sentiments, instead of being complete in themselves as regulators of conduct, require for their guidance a knowledge

of the relative universal truths ; and it is the perfect subservience of moral emotion to moral truth which constitutes genuine morality. Good done from a bad motive, or injury done unintentionally, from ignorance of the relative moral truth, with a good motive, have in each of them an element of evil, attaching to the agent in the one case, and to the action in the other. Pure morality results, therefore, from the harmony of the moral sentiment with the relative moral law : the nearest approximation to the last being a well grounded belief that a certain course of conduct is best.

One more remark which we wish to make on this head is, that a mental emotion finds its destination *simply* in pursuing the course of action enounced by the moral truth, that is, without reference to any ulterior principle, as utility, or the greatest happiness, as the end to which the action may be made subservient. There may be total ignorance of the final cause, yet the emotion would still find its destination in carrying into effect the moral truth. It is the law—the course to be pursued—and not the result to be obtained by the fulfilment of that law, to which the emotion is drawn, by a species of attraction, to its destined end.

But we believe that it is a dominant or arch-emotion which thus finds its destination in moral *truth*. It is the emotion which transmutes the True into the Good, and as such exclusively is actuated by it. Other emotions—the love of the excellent, or the poetic sentiment not excepted, which also appears to be a presiding faculty, though subordinate to the arch-emotion—are attracted to their relative objects, not as to a law or truth, but simply as to a concrete instance. The arch-emotion, however, acts in conjunction with these, and the result of their combined action is a work of love or desire presided over by a sense of duty, or reverence for a law. The sentiment of benevolence would, for example, prompt, when an occasion offered, to an act of generosity without reference to any *principle* of brotherly love, which would be the contribution of the dominant sentiment, or love of the good. If the latter emotion operated in the absence of the former, the result would be a sort of soulless imitation of a generous deed—a deed performed not from love, but from an instigation of conscience.

*Grand distinction between the objects of consciousness.*

This section of our inquiry, would be incomplete, did we not touch, before concluding it, upon two grand distinctions which exist among the objects of consciousness. Emotional

objects, local and mental, and also *quasi*-objective objects, form a distinct class, which must be called subjective; while the remaining objects must be styled objective. Now the chief distinction between these two classes is, that the subjective objects have no existence but when they are experienced. They have no existence but in us, and in us only when they are felt. The objective objects, on the contrary, though they can exist *for us* in the perception alone, yet have an existence in the perception—so consciousness—out of us.

From this, and from the fact of the external object being in the order of nature prior to the cognition—so Reason—it is concluded that the objective, unlike the subjective, has an existence, not only in the perception, but out of it, that is, when not known by us.

Another distinction which separates these two classes of objects from each other in a striking manner is, that the two elements—object and cognition—are confused in subjective perceptions, but not in objective. In the case of tooth-ache, for example, where is the object as distinguished from the cognition? It seems impossible to detect any difference between them, and yet to the perceptive faculty a tooth-ache is an object of thought, and can be predicated of as such like an external object. The same with a mental emotion, it seems impossible to detect the two elements of the perception in it, yet it is placed in the same category, as to form, as the most distinct exterior object.

But there is one class of objects which holds a place midway between these two. These objects are the *quasi*-objective. They stand aloof from the cognition in the perception, as if they were unwillingly detained within the sphere of the extended animation. In this respect they resemble objective objects, and therefore it is, that we have ventured to style them *quasi*-objective. In other respects they are purely subjective—they exist in us alone, and that only when experienced.

It is between the emotional and the objective objects, therefore, that the contrast which we are considering exists in full force. The *quasi*-objective objects hold a place between these two, being objective practically, but subjective speculatively.

In the perception of emotions, because the two elements seem to be confused, it is common to describe the whole perception in one only of its aspects. Thus, we speak of feeling, and being cognizant of feeling; or, having a sensation, and

being conscious of a sensation, as if one and the same thing. Hence, some metaphysicians have located all bodily pain or pleasure in the mind; and, to be consistent, they must have identified all mental emotion also, with consciousness. This was paying little deference to the persistent asseverations of consciousness, that a pain, *e.g.* is there where it is felt to be. Thus, if we feel pain in the foot, we say the pain is in the foot, the consciousness of it in the mind; although, at the same time, it must be confessed, that if we begin to distinguish between the one and the other, we fail to do so. Yet, in a certain way, we remember the pain, we make it the object of thought, for we predicate of it certain qualities or their absence, and treat it in respect of form exactly as we would any object which was not of an egoistical nature, all which to our minds affords good reason for classing it with the *objects* of consciousness. Indeed, the fact that the object is equally as much within the *ego*, as the consciousness of it, both practically and speculatively, is enough to account for this seeming confusion. If the object is not known as being in one sphere of extension, and the subject in another, as is the case in objective perception, it seems to us that this seeming confusion is a necessary consequence. If the object be located, but not the cognition, the latter will seem to be one with the former. If neither be located, they will seem mutually one; and this in each case, because there is no contrast to separate the consciousness from the object, or both from each other. We may, from this point of view then, describe objective perception as that in which the object and the cognition are known as being each in a distinct sphere of extension, and subjective perception, as that in which the cognition is not separable from the locality of the object, if that be in the organism, or cognition and object from each other, if each be unlocalized or mental, that is, are not apprehended as involving space; all that is known of them, in this respect being, that they are within the boundaries of the fundamental sensation.

It will be seen, from what we have now written, that we can find no reason for regarding sensations, feelings, sensibilities, sentiments, desires, passions, excitements, or whatever is akin to emotion, as one class of cognitions, and perception as another; on the contrary, we find reason for thinking, that the class emotion is a very distinguished body forming one of the wings of that grand army of objects, of which perception holds the immediate command. And when we enter upon the more logical sphere which forms the next portion of this

inquiry, we believe that reasons will emerge which will commend this classification to the reader's acceptance more effectually, than anything which we have been able to advance in its favour in the section which is here brought to a close.

*(To be Continued.)*

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BOOK NOTICE. *Histoire Litteraire des Fous*, par OCTAVE DELEPIERRE, fcp. 8vo., p.p. 184, London, TRÜBNER and Co. A delightful little work on a most interesting subject. The author displays, for a Frenchman, a remarkable knowledge of English literature. His bibliographical lore is wide and curious, and although he treats his subject almost exclusively as one of literary research, he affords abundant and rich material for the reflections of a psychologist. Want of space prevents us at the present time from giving more than the briefest notice of this work, but we hope on a future opportunity to give it the consideration it deserves.

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APPOINTMENT. DR. EDWIN WING, M.D., LOND., to be Medical Superintendent of the Hospital for the Insane at Northampton.

# THE JOURNAL OF MENTAL SCIENCE.

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*A Case of Homicidal Mania, without Disorder of the Intellect.* By C. LOCKHART ROBERTSON, M.B., Cantab., Member of the Royal College of Physicians; Medical Superintendent of the Sussex Lunatic Asylum, and Honorary Secretary to the Association of Medical Officers of Asylums and Hospitals for the Insane.

I. *History of the Case.* G. T., No. 279, age 30, was admitted into the Sussex Lunatic Asylum under an order from the Secretary of State, on the 14th November, 1859.

He was transferred (as belonging to the parish of Brighton) from the Kent County Asylum. I received the following letter respecting him, from Dr. Huxley, the Medical Superintendent of that asylum. It very clearly and accurately relates the previous history of the case.

The County Asylum, Maidstone, Kent,  
October 13th, 1859.

My dear Sir,—I this morning received the Secretary of State's order, directing the removal of G. T. (Brighton) from this, to your asylum. I have written to Mr. Thorncroft, assistant overseer, Brighton, to see whether he would prefer to undertake the removal. If I do it I shall only think it safe to proceed in one particular way. In a few days, then, when I have heard from Mr. Thorncroft, you may expect to have G. T., and I heartily trust he may not, with you, repeat all the mischief he has done here. It is my duty to acquaint you with the nature of the case, in order to put you on your guard against surprises, whether in the shape of violence to

the person or to property. Scarcely anybody who has been concerned with G. T., but has suffered more or less. One attendant, in particular, was very severely injured about the head, two or three years ago, in such a way as to endanger his life; but happily, he got over it. Others in a less degree. I have sustained malicious personal attacks twice; Dr. Hills, three times, until at length (and now for some considerable time) I have established extra precautions with this man, by which he is baffled; I say baffled, because his disposition to repeat his injuries as regards myself and Dr. Hills at least, has remained, and been often manifested in efforts which would be absurd if they were not insane, on account of the smallness of their chance of success. One point I wish particularly to mention: this man has never attacked with his fists in the fair English fashion; he always resorts to a weapon such as can be used stiletto-wise. In the case of the attendant badly injured, it was an old bone-knife, sharpened up and rigged with a strap to give firm hold of the handle, which he dug and drove into his scalp (which was seriously torn,) inflicting half-a-dozen blows in quick succession. In my and Dr. Hills' cases, it has been a bit of sharpened stick or wood split off something, held dagger-wise and driven at the face with the *expressed* intention of gouging out an eye. This man appears to me to be an assassin by nature. Another feature I have to mention. It is his treachery. His first attack on myself was made under peculiar treachery. Trust him not. He can calculate well his time for attack so as to have his intended victim at a disadvantage. In his first serious assault upon the attendant he took the occasion of the temporary absence of the second attendant, and fell upon his man when he had his hands full, carrying a large tray of plates and utensils. As for his destruction of property, one day, before we knew him, he broke more than one hundred squares of glass in no time with his shoe, (he didn't hurt himself!) and some other things, and for a year or two subsequently it was his constant and often successful effort to break all the glass he could get at in any way. He has left this off of late, but I don't think him really better. I must now give you some particulars of his history.

First admission, August 31st, 1855. Chemist's assistant. Age 25, single, supposed to have been nine months insane. Symptoms: Said he was a prophet and inspired and obliged to obey commands from above. Heard voices in the night which he was obliged to obey. A loaded revolver was found upon his person and he said it was necessary from the con-



dition of society. He sent a pistol to a gentleman whose wife he had taken a fancy to, and a message to meet him which could only be a challenge to fight. Has written many and voluminous letters to the lady above alluded to—subject, his own inspiration and gift of prophecy.

Removed, on his mother's undertaking, on October 31st, 1855. His conduct in the asylum had been quiet and harmless. Re-admitted, by Warrant, from Maidstone Gaol, on December 16th, 1856. Committed for twelve months for want of sureties in a breach of the peace. His mother had died in the summer, and it may be supposed that the necessary surveillance had thus been removed. The mental symptoms were as before, but, in addition, the violence was soon displayed and it has been continued. I think I have mentioned everything material to your proper information. The effort to do justice to the case itself and not, in any precaution, to exceed the actual necessity has, I assure you, been trying as well as long. I trust in your modern establishment you may find all the means, for this is an exceptional case, and requiring something more than the common securities. I shall be happy to answer any questions and satisfy you on any points which my letter may not meet, or not meet fully.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

JAMES HUXLEY.

Dr. Robertson.

On admission the patient was calm and collected in his manner. He gave a most accurate account of his previous history, expressing extreme regret at the misconduct of which he had been guilty. Altogether I failed, after repeated observation and examination, in detecting the slightest trace of intellectual disorder. Under these circumstances, I filled up the usual medical statement for the Commissioners in a qualified manner, by saying, with respect to his mental state, that "*He is, as I am informed by Dr. Huxley, subject to attacks of impulsive homicidal mania.*"

The patient continued under close observation, but still shewed no symptom of mental disease. I supplied him with books, the assistant medical officer, Mr. Gwynne (who thought he was quite sane) took him a walk round the farm; he came to our weekly balls; and, at last, so much did his apparent sanity throw me off my guard, I asked him (being a man of some education) to undertake the duties of Chapel clerk, and those he performed up to the morning of his homicidal attack on Mr. Gwynne.

During one of my conversations with him, he expressed his intention, when liberated, to apply a small sum of money he had in the hand of a relative, to make compensation to the attendant, whom he had injured at Barming Heath. He admitted that he was perfectly conscious of right and wrong, and said himself that if he committed murder, he ought to be made amenable to the law.

I certainly thought he was convalescent, and I entirely failed in tracing in him any deviation from the healthy standard, either intellectually or morally. He appeared to feel much the degradation of his position, and his plans of future amendment and usefulness were frequently spoken of by him. His general conduct, up to the moment of his homicidal attack on the assistant medical officer, was that of a person of sound mind.

In consequence of the qualified certificate which I gave on the 19th November, the Commissioners in Lunacy wrote, asking for a further report on the case. On the 6th of January, 1860, I consequently transmitted the following memorandum to their Secretary.

[Copy.]

*Memorandum by Dr. Robertson on the case of G. T.*

Sussex Lunatic Asylum, 6th January, 1860.

With reference to my certificate in the case of G. T., a criminal patient transferred from the Kent Asylum on the 14th November, 1859, I have now to state:—

1. That to the best of my knowledge the patient has, since his admission here, exhibited no symptom of mental disease.

2. That I believe him to be conscious of right and wrong.

3. That his conduct has been most exemplary. He has mixed freely with the other patients, and joined in our weekly balls. He has also, at my request, undertaken the duty of chapel clerk, and attends the daily morning prayer.

4. I consider this statement and opinion reconcilable with Dr. Huxley's report of his violence on many occasions and of his homicidal propensities if it be assumed that he is the subject of that form of mental disease termed by French writers, *monomanie meurtrière* (homicidal insanity) which form of mental disease certainly exists in spite of the opinion of the judges to the contrary.

Under these circumstances I am of opinion that G. T. should be detained here until such time as the Commissioners in Lunacy examine and personally decide the question.

(Signed)

C. L. ROBERTSON.

It will be seen by this memorandum, that my opinion leant to his ultimate discharge, and that I thought he had recovered from his homicidal mania.

This memorandum was written on the 6th of January. On the evening of the 18th of January, the patient who had continued to conduct himself with perfect sanity, was present at one of our weekly balls. I spoke to him, and he complained to me of not feeling very well, and his tongue was white, and he looked, I thought, rather out of sorts. While I was speaking to him, he complained of faintness, and I took him into the assistant medical officer's room, adjoining the ball room, where I gave him a glass of whisky and water, and he laid down on the rug. In a quarter of an hour he was better, and I advised him to go to bed, which he did. I recollect knives were lying on the table, and he could, had he been so disposed, then dangerously have injured either Mr. Gwynne or myself. Next morning (January 19th), while Mr. Gwynne was on his morning round in the airing court, the patient came up and shook hands with him, as usual, and said he wanted to speak to him about some money matters of his own; he then suddenly, and without the slightest provocation, attempted, with a sharp piece of wood he had concealed about him, to destroy Mr. Gwynne's eye. The blow fortunately glanced off his forehead, but was so severe as to knock him down. He then closed with him, and attempted to kick and injure him, but was speedily overpowered. He was placed in the padded-room, and visited by me an hour afterwards. His manner was much excited. He said he had done it; that he always had an objection to medical officers; that he would not injure any of the attendants; that Mr. Gwynne had a lucky escape, &c., &c.

He was informed that he would be kept under restraint, and secluded while here. He said he had brought it on himself by his misconduct, and that he had been leniently dealt with.

On the evening of the 19th of January, I addressed the following letters to the Home Office, and to the Secretary of the Commissioners in Lunacy.

[*Copy.*]

January 19th, 1860.

Sir,—I have the honor to enclose herewith a copy of a memorandum I have this day addressed to the Commissioners in Lunacy, having reference to the case of G. T., a criminal lunatic, removed under your Order of the 4th of October, 1859, (25153), from the Kent Asylum, at Barming Heath, to

this asylum. The arrangements of this asylum are so entirely unsuited to the safe detention of so dangerous a case of homicidal insanity in its most aggravated form, that I cannot longer accept, with any justice to my other patients, the responsibility of his further detention and custody. I venture, therefore, to solicit your authority for his immediate removal, at the cost of his own parish, to the licensed house at Fisherton House, Wilts, where, as I am informed, many such dangerous criminal patients are confined, and the arrangements adapted to their safe custody.

I have the honor, &c., &c.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State  
for the Home Department.

[*Copy.*]

Sussex Lunatic Asylum, Hayward's Heath,  
January 19th, 1860.

*Memorandum by Dr. Robertson on the case of G. T.*

With reference to my memorandum of the 6th instant, relative to the case of G. T., a criminal patient confined here, I have now to add, for the information of the Commissioners in Lunacy, that this morning he evinced symptoms of the homicidal insanity to which I referred, in an unprovoked and sudden attack on Mr. Gwynne, the assistant medical officer of the asylum. As in former cases at the Kent Asylum, this attack also was directed to destroying with a short implement the eye of his intended victim. It is interesting to observe that the attack was preceded by febrile symptoms (slight) yesterday evening.

I have to add that I have placed him in seclusion and under personal restraint, his hands fastened to a belt, and that I feel it my duty, looking to the safety of the other members of the establishment, equally under my protection, to keep him in this condition of seclusion and restraint so long as it shall be the pleasure of the Secretary of State that he be detained here. It is my intention to solicit his sanction to the removal of G. T. to Fisherton House, where a large number of criminal lunatics are, as I am informed, in safe custody. The arrangements of this asylum partake too much of those of a hospital for the cure of disease, to enable me to deal with so formidable a case of homicidal insanity. I venture to hope that the Commissioners will concur in this view of the case.

(Signed)

C. L. ROBERTSON.

The Secretary of State was pleased to grant my request,

and on the seventh day of February last, G. T. was removed to Fisherton House Asylum.

From the time of his attempt on Mr. Gwynne until the date of his removal he was constantly seeking for an opportunity to renew his attack. His countenance assumed a fierce expression, and his eye lighted up with the glare of a wild beast when visited and spoken to either by Mr. Gwynne or myself. As I said above, I did not give him another chance, but kept both his hands fastened in the ordinary police waist-belt during his stay here. Had that stay been prolonged to the day of his death, I should not, I think, have felt myself justified in authorizing the entire removal of the restraint. When the intellect is affected by disease, the precautions suggested by experience enable us to deal with the various manifestations resulting from that disease, whereas in one of sound intellect, and hence able to plan and arrange future schemes, no precaution could at all times in the crowded wards of a county asylum, and with the freedom and liberty allowed, protect the officials or patients from the sudden homicidal assaults of lunatics of the class under consideration.

II. *Clinical remarks on the case.* This case is instructive as shewing how morbid action of the will leading (contrary even to the knowledge of the wrongness of the act) to attempts at homicide may exist in a mind apparently sane. I believe any jury would have convicted the patient of murder had he been discharged from this asylum previous to committing the attempt. He was undoubtedly, as I have remarked above, conscious of right and wrong. No one could have expressed more fully or more properly, his regret at the acts of violence he had committed at the Kent Asylum; his intention hereafter both to conduct himself better and also to make what atonement he had in his power for the injury formerly done by him. He freely admitted that he was conscious of right and wrong, and that he should be made amenable to the law in the event of his renewing his homicidal attacks. And yet there can be no doubt that the attempt he did within a few days of this avowal make to destroy the life of Mr. Gwynne was the act of a person of unsound mind. It was made without provocation; indeed, in return for unvarying kindness and attention. It was done before witnesses and without the slightest chance of escape. He was in the airing court where two attendants were on duty and Mr. Gwynne was accompanied by the head attendant at his visit. Even had he succeeded he knew that such an act would certainly insure

his prolonged detention here, and yet when I pressed these points in conversation with him afterwards, the only answer I got was that he would not injure the attendants, that he had an objection to medical officers, and that Mr. Gwynne had had a fortunate escape. When told that the Secretary of State had decided on placing him in an asylum where he would enjoy less liberty and be subject to more restraint, he said he fully deserved it, that he had brought it upon himself, and that he acknowledged the forbearance with which I had treated him.

The previous history of this case, at once points to the existence of some deep-seated moral perversion, or lesion of the will more likely, or perhaps both, it is hard to say, from which these homicidal attempts resulted. There had been auditory illusions (one of the most intractable forms of partial insanity), and he had been the subject of delusions also, as is related by Dr. Huxley, in his history of the case. There had been violence and insane attempts to break glass and destroy property. These symptoms had, it is true, either been cured, or had passed into abeyance, but their result in the lesion of volition and perverted emotion which led to this homicidal attempt shew how deep-seated the morbid mental action had become, and may serve as a warning of how the utmost caution and circumspection are necessary in discharging from the controul of an asylum, any case in which this homicidal mania has ever shewn itself. Like a horse who has once reared, these cases are, in my opinion, never safe, and I should not sanction, under any circumstances, the entire restoration to liberty of any undoubted case of homicidal mania.

In an able pamphlet\* just published, Dr. Hood confirms with his experience this opinion. "Is it safe (he says) as regards the public, is it right as regards the individual, that the man, who, under the influence of insanity, has, deliberately or impulsively committed an homicidal act, should be again a free and irresponsible agent, permitted to wander at will, unrestrained as regards his actions, temptations, and with an aggravated tendency to insanity, if not to crime? The loss of liberty for life is a frightful doom, but is it not better that this should be endured by one, than that thousands should be exposed to danger, and live in dread? It is true that every patient is not desirous of being discharged—to some, return-

\* *Criminal Lunatics; a Letter to the Chairman of the Commissioners in Lunacy*, by W. CHARLES HOOD, M.D., Physician to Bethlehem Hospital. Churchill, 1860.

ing to society brings with it a remorse far more painful to endure than any imprisonment, and the recollection of the past inclines the individual to be thankful for a harbour of safety, and too anxious to escape from public gaze, and, probably, the finger of scorn ; but to others returning sanity brings no such reflections, and sanity is hardly established before dissatisfaction at the continued confinement is loudly expressed, hardship and injustice complained of, and if personal application for liberty are not effectual, friends, relatives and members of Parliament are enlisted in an attempt to wrench from the Home Secretary, the clemency of the Crown. There is a small class among those who may, perhaps, with a degree of safety, be liberated after a sufficient lapse of time, namely, those who have committed infanticide under the influence of puerperal mania after the period of child-bearing has passed, and the restoration to liberty of such is now, I believe, more frequently sanctioned by the Home Secretary of State than was usual before the subject was so ably treated by Lord St. Leonards."

The act of a sane man is judged by the motives which led to its commission. When a person of sound mind commits murder he is led to the deed by passion, misdirected it is true, but whose springs of action we are nevertheless capable of analyzing and explaining. In cases of homicidal mania without intellectual disorder on the other hand, all motive is absent, the deed, as in the case in question, is done without any object or chance of advantage, and no attempt is made to conceal the act or to escape from its consequences.

Farther, I believe that in every case a careful analysis of the history of the patient will shew that some previous morbid lesion of mind existed. Thus in the present case there had been both auditory illusions and intellectual hallucinations, either of which morbid actions are sufficient to break up the unity and harmony of the various elements of the mind, and so justly to render the object morally irresponsible for his acts.

In every genuine case of homicidal insanity without intellectual disorder, some previous aberration from the standard of mental health will be found. It may be an hereditary taint conjoined with symptoms of passive congestion of the brain ; or again the homicidal act may be in intimate relation with disorder and irregularity of the catamenia. I entirely doubt whether in a mind perfectly sound and without any previous premonitory symptoms, mental or physical, a so-called instinctive impulse to homicide ever does by disease

arise.\* It would be contrary to our belief in the responsibility and freedom of the human will to hold this opinion, and no proof has yet been given of the existence of this form of mental disease. In every case, of which I have examined the history, in which this blind instinct to murder is said to have been the sole and only symptom of mental disease, I have found many other traces of disorder. Either there has been a previous attack of mania, which has laid in abeyance rather than been cured, or there has been some auditory illusion, deep-seated, and not often shewn, or some physical disorder, hereditary or otherwise, pointing to and causing mental disease. It is the gathering in and weighing of these symptoms and bringing them to the test of experience which constitutes the value of medical testimony in medico-legal cases of presumed insanity. The homicidal act is, I hold, only the overt and most striking symptom of the disease not its essential nature. That lies deeper far, often beyond the reach of our analysis, in the intimate and unfathomable relations between mind and body—between slight intellectual or moral disorder, and morbid impulse of and overt acts of violence. In Dr. Morel's *Traité des Maladies Mentales*, just published, I find in his chapter on the relations of homicide to its morbid causes, the following foot note. "Les annales de la médecine légale des aliénés contiennent plusieurs faits de ce genre et l'on

\* I copy the following remarks bearing on this point from Dr. Henry Monro's *Remarks on Insanity*, (London, 1850.) "That form of the disease called instinctive madness is neither so common nor so distinctly marked as intellectual insanity; that there are such forms as these where the intellect is clear, but the impulse to some unnatural or rather outrageous acts is violent, there can be little doubt; and that these are not the ordinary results of the evil principle residing within us, but require the supposition of morbid action in the sensorium, is equally clear; on no other supposition can we account for persons imploring others to keep out of their way for fear they should kill or otherwise injure them; an act which they feel impelled to irresistibly, though their reason and moral sense convince them of the horror of the deed. Again, of the existence of that form called moral insanity, where the moral sense is unaccountably and suddenly changed, while the judgment remains pretty clear, there can be no doubt, *though I believe that this form is much more mixed up with intellectual deficiency than is generally acknowledged in the present day.* . . . I refrain from dwelling much on these forms from a sense that it is most difficult, and replete with danger both socially as well as religiously, to decide where actual physical disease of such an amount as to incapacitate the mind from its proper action steps in; for nothing can have the cover of disease except that condition which is really beyond the control of the will; and the distance between what a person evilly disposed (as we all are by nature) imagines to be the boundary over which he really could use control if his whole will were bent to the effort, is immense; and thus, while I feel it to be necessary to think that some are really the victims of a disease which they cannot resist, and would endeavour to shield them from punishment which otherwise they would deserve, I should fear very much to extend this shelter further than the real facts of the case would require."



peut citer comme un spécimen de cette espèce de délire, l'histoire de Joberd, qui le 15 Septembre, 1851, à Lyon pendant une représentation théâtrale tua une jeune femme enciente qu'il ne connaissait pas. L'histoire médico-légale de cet individu faite par le docteur Arthaud, nous représente un aliéné de la plus dangereuse espèce. Outre des tendances héréditaires incontestables, il existait chez lui un état nécro-pathique de plus prononcé, dû à des excès vénériens, à des habitudes onanistes effrénées remontant à la première enfance."

This is a very interesting case and one bearing directly on my observation, that in these cases of so-called instinctive impulse to homicide, there is some deeper seated and more real trace of mental disease than the homicidal act, to be found by those who know how to look for it. Thus in the case referred to by Dr. Morel, the patient evinced to a superficial observer, doubtless, no trace of mental disease, yet the skilled psychologist found the seeds of the malady, of which the unprovoked homicidal act was but a symptom, in a confirmed hereditary taint, and in a shattered nervous system resulting from gross and continued acts of onanism.

*This accurate diagnosis of homicidal mania is always a most difficult problem.*

I cannot better illustrate this difficulty than by quoting two cases referred to by Dr. Hood, in his pamphlet, and with the history of which I am familiar; in one of which a sound prognosis, upheld amid much opprobrium from the public press, saved an undoubted lunatic from execution; while in the second instance, a mistaken opinion enabled a very wicked man to escape the just punishment of his crime. Both cases occurred in the practice of the same physician. It will suffice for my present purpose to quote the short summary of these cases from Dr. Hood's pamphlet.

"M. B. was tried at Guildford, in August, 1854, for the murder of six children; the principal medical witness, who had had great experience in cases of lunacy, and obtained a considerable popularity, as connected with the treatment of mental disease, stated that, in his opinion, the prisoner was of unsound mind, and entered into a scientific explanation of the evidence of insanity. The accuracy of this opinion was not challenged by the prosecution; nevertheless the jury consulted two hours before they could agree to acquit the prisoner of legal responsibility by a verdict which was afterwards severely commented upon by the press and ill-received by the public. Time, however, has proved the accuracy of

the medical diagnosis ; the most incredulous jurymen must be now convinced, and the greatest stickler for retributive justice would admit, could they now see the unfortunate woman that, instead of the gallows being cheated of a victim, her execution would have been a faint echo of her crime. It appeared upon the trial that only twenty-four hours before she killed her children she was in a composed and rational state of mind. The jury very properly hesitated before accepting a statement that twenty-four hours could work so frightful a mental change ; but had the trial been postponed, the opportunities for increased medical surveillance would have given the medical testimony greater weight, and would have prevented that erroneous impression which was formed by the public. There can be no doubt but that the prisoner was most justly acquitted, for the disease, of which this frightful tragedy was the manifestation, had then commenced."

Case II. "J. A. was tried at York, in December, 1858, for murder ; three medical witnesses of considerable reputation formed an opinion, after two hours' interview with the prisoner whom they had never seen before, that he was insane and an irresponsible agent. It is not necessary to go into the evidence given undoubtedly with all the solemnity and consideration that the case deserved ; but the conclusion arrived at by these gentlemen in so short a space of time, and which influenced the jury in their verdict, was opposed to the prisoner's previous life, and most diametrically at variance with his mental state and general conduct from the close of the trial to the present date. He is a shrewd, designing, bad man, and had either of those medical gentlemen who gave their evidence had a prolonged opportunity of testing his real character, they neither could nor would have sanctioned by the weight of their testimony a plea of insanity, which was unfounded in reality and unjust and dangerous to society."

It is foreign to my present observations to refer at any length to the several forms of homicidal mania. These are :

1. Homicidal mania without disorder of the intellect, as in the case of G. T., which I have related in this paper.
2. Homicidal mania with delusions bearing directly on the act. Auditory illusions are a frequent variety of this form.
3. Homicidal mania with epilepsy, with weakness generally of the mental powers, with confirmed chronic mania.

In the two latter varieties of homicidal mania, whether complicated with delusions or with imbecility, epilepsy, or confirmed chronic mania, no medico-legal questions are likely to arise. Homicide committed by persons so afflicted is ad-

mitted on all sides to be the irresponsible act of a lunatic. It is only in cases such as the one I have related in this paper, where homicidal mania exists without any intellectual disorder, that the question of responsibility can be raised. Were the homicidal act really the only evidence of morbid mental condition, I for one should pause before admitting a doctrine so subversive of all moral responsibility, as that in a mind otherwise healthy, the homicidal act should be received as conclusive evidence of insanity.

The object of these clinical remarks has been to shew that such is not the case, and that to the experienced observer other and deeper seated traces of mental disorder will appear. In their discrimination lies the skill of the medical jurist, as on their presence should alone be based the acquittal of the accused.

Hayward's Heath, Sussex, June, 1860.

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P.S.—While this sheet was passing through the press, I have received the following letter from Dr. Finch, relating two similar homicidal attempts by this patient.

Fisherton House, Salisbury,  
May 30, 1860.

Dear Sir,—I have to apologize for not replying to your letter of the 5th instant before. It was by some means overlooked at the time, and I have only just come across it.

G. T. made an attack on one of our attendants on the 8th of April, striking him on the back of the head with a short piece of wood. Stabbing him with it twice. And on the 2nd inst. he struck another of the attendants (evidently aiming at the eye) on the face, about half an inch below the right eye, with a bone penholder, the end of it being shaped like a hand, and consequently rather pointed. Half an inch higher and it must have gone right through the eye-ball.

On the first occasion I talked to him, and he promised not to attempt anything of the sort again; and on the second attack, I blistered the back of his neck, and gave him some sulphate of magnesia and small doses of antimony together with low diet for three days.

With the exception of these two attacks he has behaved very well. We never use any restraint or seclusion, so we have not adopted any means of this sort.

I do not consider him the most dangerous man we have. Though he is undoubtedly very dangerous and requires constant watching.

I shall be happy to supply you with any other particulars that you may require.

I remain, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

W. CORBIN FINCH.

Dr. Lockhart Robertson.

*Histoire Litteraire des Fous; par* OCTAVE DELEPIERRE.  
London: Trübner & Co., 1860.

The author of this little work, which will be found interesting to every one, and may be instructive to those who are afflicted with an *insanabile cacoëthes scribendi*, supposed, in first considering his subject, that he had proposed to himself a not altogether difficult task, and one which would require only a little patient research for its accomplishment. But as investigation proceeded and materials were accumulated, the work assumed gigantic proportions, and it appeared as though a biographical account of literary madmen would involve in the end nothing less than a history of the world. "For madness enters in some measure into the history of most of the great minds with which history makes us acquainted, and it often becomes very difficult to establish the difference which predispositions to madness present, from certain conditions known as those of reason." The authority of M. Lélut is invoked to prove that Pythagoras, Numa, Mahomet and others, whose influence has been of such vast moment in the world, were all in some measure affected in mind. "They were simply men of genius and enthusiasm, with partial hallucinations." The good dæmon which so often whispered counsel in the ears of Socrates, and the amulet discovered after death in Pascal's pocket, have convinced M. Lélut, who has ingeniously attempted to convince others, of the insanity of those great philosophers. An English philosopher will feel rather uncertain about the foundations of Berkeley's fame, and a Berkleian may not be undisturbed when he is informed

“That a person possessed with a hallucination realizes up to a certain point the supposition of the Berkleians, who pretend to decide that it is not positively necessary that the existence of the universe should be real, in order that we should perceive it as it appears to our senses.”

Is the world then moved by madmen, we may naturally, in some trepidation, ask? Or is it with M. Lélut and others of his school, as it was with the people of Abdera when they took Democritus to be mad, and sent for the learned Hippocrates that he might exercise his skill upon him? “When Hippocrates was come to Abdera the people of the city came flocking about him, some weeping, some entreating of him that he would do his best. After some little repast, he went to see Democritus, the people following him, whom he found (as before) in his garden in the suburbs, all alone, sitting upon a stone under a plane tree, without hose or shoes, with a book on his knees, cutting up several beasts, and busy at his study. The multitude stood gazing round about to see the congress. Hippocrates, after a little pause, saluted him, whom he re-saluted, ashamed almost that he could not call him likewise by his name or that he had forgot it.” And thereupon ensues a discourse, in which Democritus shows that he had good cause to laugh at the miseries, the madness, and the follies of mankind. “It grew late: Hippocrates left him; and no sooner was he come away but all the citizens came about flocking to know how he liked him. He told them in brief, that notwithstanding those small neglects of his attire, body, diet, the world had not a wiser, a more learned, a more honest man; and they were much deceived to say that he was mad.”\* The opinion of so illustrious a judge should be decisive; and yet there are some who will not be convinced that the laughing philosopher was not, after all, mad; for, cogently remarks one author, “considering the way in which he lived, either he was insane and the people of Abdera like the rest of the world, or else they were all really mad, and Democritus alone was wise. A strange supposition.” Strange enough truly, but scarcely more strange than that which regards as madmen so many of the great men who have left their stamp upon the history of the world. Who in history can escape the critical minuteness of M. Lélut’s special eye? Numa was mad inasmuch as he professed that a certain nymph appeared to him in a cavern, whom he called Egeria; would not such an acknowledgment be a decisive ‘fact’ in any medical cer-

\* Burton’s *Anatomy of Melancholy*—where the account is quoted almost *verbatim* from Hippocrates’ Epistle to Damagetus.

tificate? Notwithstanding which, however, some may be of opinion that of the two hypotheses—the first, that Numa was mad and yet capable in his madness of thinking out much legislative wisdom, and of establishing many prudent institutions; the other, that Numa being of sound mind, was politician enough to perceive that superstition was the most powerful instrument by which to impress new doctrines upon a primitive people—the latter has about it a far greater appearance of probability. “*Nihil æque valet ad regendos vulgi animos ac superstitio,*” says Tacitus. But fraud, M. Lélut believes, could never have had such great power in the world. Why, even if Numa were mad, was not the nymph still a lie? And the wisdom which he somehow acquired not a lie? A madman’s delusion, though it be true for him, is not true for the universe, and cannot therefore but die with its author. That fraud cannot live, but must inevitably some day perish, is, or should be, an axiom; but truth, though wrapped for a time in lies, must as inevitably live, and in the end it casts off those temporary wretched rags, and appears in its own glorious nakedness. So Numa’s wise laws have had their influence and are still working in the world, while the temporary accessories by which they were rendered acceptable to the barbarian mind have long since vanished—gone to the halls of their author, the father of lies.

Mahomet mad too! because, amongst other things, the angel Gabriel was said to have paid visits to him. “The lies which well-meaning zeal has heaped round this man are disgraceful to ourselves only. When Pococke enquired of Grotius where the proof was of that story of the pigeon trained to pick peas from Mahomet’s ear, and to pass for an angel dictating to him? Grotius answered that there was no proof! It is really time to dismiss all that. The word this man spoke has been the life guidance now of one hundred and eighty millions of men these twelve hundred years. These hundred and eighty millions were made by God as well as we. A greater number of God’s creatures believe in Mahomet’s word at this hour than in any other word whatever.”† And we are asked to believe that it was the wisdom of madness! Well, if so, a reflective mortal can have but little hope of his race.

Of Cromwell’s grievous madness there will be little doubt in certain minds. Did not a spectre appear to him in the open day, or some strange woman open the curtains of his bed at night, and predict to him that he should be king of England? And a Huntingdon physician told Sir Philip Warwick that he

† Carlyle’s *Lectures on Heroes*—Mahomet.

had often been sent for at midnight ; Mr. Cromwell was full of hypochondria, thought himself near dying, and had "fancies about the town cross." Moreover, he was subject to uncontrollable fits of laughter on serious occasions. "One that was at the battle of Dunbar told me that Oliver was carried on by a Divine impulse. He did laugh so excessively as if he had been drunk. The same fit of laughter seized him just before the battle of Naseby."† Divine impulse leading him on—so madness comes. "Deorum afflatu hic furor provenit," says an ancient writer on insanity.

"Mad call I it ; for to define true madness,  
What is't, but to be nothing else but mad."

Again, there was once a "report raised by the devil, that Mr. Whitfield was mad," and he himself says, "he might very well be taken to be really mad, and that his relations counted his life madness." Here is an account from his journal, of what seems to have been a compound of indigestion and nightmare, wherein may be discernible by certain mortals something of a mad ring : "One morning rising from my bed, I felt an unusual impression and weight upon my chest. In a short time the load gradually increased, and almost weighed me down, and fully convinced me that Satan had as real possession of my body as once of Job's. . . . I fancied myself like a man locked up in iron armour ; I felt great heavings in my body, prayed under the weight till the sweat came. How many nights did I lie groaning under the weight, bidding Satan depart from me in the name of Jesus."

But why continue a list, which by a "speciality" criticism might be made to include almost every great actor in this mad world—George Fox stitching for himself a leathern suit ; Ignatius Loyola, "that errant, shatter-brained visionary fanatic," as Bishop Lavington calls him ; St. Francis, founder of the Franciscans, who was wont to strip himself naked in proof of his innocence, and to appear in fantastical dresses ; and many others in whom appears a mixture, more or less, of fanaticism and imposture. "The windmill is, indeed, in all their heads." Perhaps if there is one man to whom a reader of English history would point as having seen more than what lay immediately under his nose, as being that rare animal in political life, one who entertained wide and philosophical views instead of having faith in the expediency-doctrine of the moment—that man is Edmund Burke. "He possessed (says Coleridge) and had sedulously sharpened that

† Aubrey's *Miscellanies*.

eye which sees all things, actions, and events in relation to the laws which determine their existence, and circumscribe their possibility. He referred habitually to principles, he was a scientific statesman." Truly a *rara avis*, a bird whose appearance might be welcome to some in these times! But what is the use of setting up any idol in the nineteenth century, unless it be for some one to batter down? Buckle, in that learned work on the *History of Civilization*, has brought forward certain ingenious reasons to prove that Burke was for a time mad. "Nullum magnum ingenium sine mixturâ dementiæ."

A biographical account of celebrated madmen would be an exceedingly interesting undertaking, but it had better on the whole not be attempted if it be necessary for its completeness that it include such men as Socrates, Pascal, Mahomet, Cromwell, and Burke. When a few people put their hands on a table expecting that it will move, it generally does move; and when a professed psychologist investigates minutely the history of any very notable man, he is pretty sure to discover somewhere therein a taint of insanity. So that, since this class of investigators has multiplied so greatly of late, an unbiassed observer might be apt to think that there is a madness-finding epidemic abroad.

Considering the immense labour which a complete history of literary madness would involve, M. Delepierre determined to confine himself to a sketch of certain madmen whose mental derangement had been very decided; sufficiently so to render precautions on their account necessary. Thus limiting himself, he, to avoid confusion, makes four divisions of mad authors; the first consisting of theological madmen, the second of literary madmen properly so-called, the third of philosophical madmen, and the fourth of political madmen. At this stage aptly is this reflection made, 'that the psychological problem, a few elements of which are here collected, may exercise in every reflective mind, a painful but salutary influence upon the feeling of pride and conceit which the power of intelligence sometimes gives rise to. This mixture of greatness and weakness is well adapted to give us, in a practical form, a lesson of profound humility.' 'The hallucinations and madness of Tasso, of Benvenuto Cellini, of the painter Fuseli, of Cowper, of Swift, of White, and of many others whose names press under the pen, exhibit a page in the history of the human mind, which would almost make us agree with Aristotle, that it is of the essence of a good poet to be mad.' Humility is a lesson which man individually, and humanity generally, are very slow to learn; but perhaps



no reflection can be better calculated to teach it than this—that in some of the highest illustrations of human intellect, a curious observer can discover the indications of madness ; and this further one—that many of those who have exercised the greatest influence on mankind may actually enter into a history of insanity, as written by certain psychologists. On the other hand—and this is not calculated to increase our vanity—some are found to look up to, as heroes and prophets, those whom others designate as insane. Even Carlyle, as some suppose, in his zeal for earnestness and sincerity, gets hold now and then of a questionable hero, and appears to forget that a madman is generally the most sincere of men, and for the most part madly in earnest.

The first division of literary madmen to which we are introduced is that of theological madmen. “ Religious madmen differ in many essential points from others in their aberrations ; their objects are the emotions, the passions, and the instinctive impulses of the soul. A boundless horizon is presented to the religious mind, in which conjectures, hopes, and fears assume every variety of form which the imagination can lend them. The realities of material existence disappear with the fanatic or religious madman, not in consequence of reasoning, as in certain philosophical systems, but because he believes it his duty to annihilate them in the interest of his soul. His entire existence is absorbed in that thought which not only exercises an immense influence upon his madness as cause, but modifies every phase of the external manifestations of his mind. His chimerical conjectures have no limit, and reason may convince us *a priori* that theological doctrines, opinions, and theories form not the least curious, nor least fruitful part of the literary history of madness.” The devout theologian, as an article of his creed, passes beyond the confines of reason, and calmly reposes on his faith amidst the mysteries which he desires not, and attempts not to comprehend ; but the theological madman, by striving to extend the domain of reason into the sphere of the unconditioned, overstrains and cracks it, rendering it henceforth powerless even in its own sphere. While the former, therefore, rests securely on the Infinite, and, asserting the imbecility of reason, admits no argument from its armoury against the evidence of faith in what eye cannot see, nor ear hear, nor can it enter into the heart of man to conceive ; the latter projects the fantastical creations of a disordered reason into the field of faith, and claims the evidence of a valid witness to a manifest absurdity. What then can argument do? Reason has no valid standing ground ;

we have entered upon the region of the Infinite, the unconditioned; and the religious madman may oppose to us a witness, the validity of whose evidence in another case we admit. So it comes to pass that theological doctrines and opinions form such an important part in the history of literary madness. But there is often another reason which may be indicated by this question: What in the world could have induced this being, nowise particularly endowed among mortals, to fancy himself the favoured depositary of Heaven's secret mysteries? Clearly, it is oftentimes vanity that has so worked, excessive self conceit, "un amour propre colossal;" a morbid exaltation, as one might say, through unfavourable circumstances on a naturally weak character. "Vanity, or self-conceit, is another circumstance that for the most part prevails in the character of an enthusiast . . . and the breath of that inspiration to which they pretend, is often no more than the wind of this vanity."\* And when in the lines of a mad face Heaven itself has written with no uncertain hand, vanity, vanity, it is for ever the *mene, mene, tekel, upharsin*, of reason; for to argue with vanity is to pour water on a wax-cloth. There is yet another circumstance which will tend to increase the number of theological madmen; if a man of little education takes to writing and teaching, it must necessarily be on religious subjects; for, from the poverty of his education, he has none other than religious knowledge. Strange, indeed, are sometimes the compositions of those who have so written. Here is the title of a book, *Spiritual Syringe for Devotionally Constipated Sinners*; and this the title of another, *A Spiritual Snuff Box to make Devout Souls Sneeze*. A Jesuit named Paoletti, who, in the middle ages, wrote against Thomas Aquinas' doctrine concerning Predestination and Freewill, and who had been in confinement five years when he wrote, composed a treatise in which he 'demonstrated that the aborigines of America were the direct descendants of the devil and one of the daughters of Noah; consequently it was absolutely impossible that they should ever obtain salvation or grace.' A certain Guillaume Postel, who lived in the sixteenth century, maintained that Jesus Christ had only redeemed the souls of men, and consequently that women remained yet to be ransomed, which they would be through the mediation of *Grandmère Jeanne*—said *Grandmère* being an old courtesan with whom Guillaume was infatuated. He believed, moreover, that he was inspired, and that it was the Spirit of Christ

\* Lyttleton's *Conversion of St. Paul*.

which wrote in him ; this was the end of him—*'il fut condamné à être brûlé vif.'* Geoffroy Vallée, another Frenchman, who had a shirt for each day in the year, and who used to send his shirts to a certain spring in Flanders to be washed, composed a book after being placed under care for insanity, the title of which clearly indicated madness, but which resulted nevertheless in his being condemned as an atheist. He and his book were burnt together the 9th February, 1574 ; and as he was conducted to the stake, 'he cried out with a loud voice that the people of Paris were putting to death their God upon earth, and that they would repent of it.' So lunatics were treated at that time, or rather heterodox lunatics ; for the Catholic Church has exhibited considerable policy in dealing with its mad folks. If they were orthodox and could be employed for the advancement of religion, they were not unfrequently canonized ; if heterodox, they were burnt. Simon Morin, who had published an absurd book, was arrested by order of the French Parliament, and was ordered to be sent to a mad-house for the rest of his days. But, having abjured his follies, he was released, and soon after published another book in which he maintained that he was no other than the Son of Man. 'He was condemned in 1662 to be burnt alive with his books, and his ashes to be cast to the wind.' So Simon Morin and his heterodoxy were extinguished. On the other hand St. Francis, the founder of the Franciscans, who loved to strip himself naked, and to appear in strange garb, who saw visions, 'as of an angel with six burning wings, bearing a figure nailed upon the cross,' and who at any rate was at one time chained down in a dark room by his parents, and was 'deemed to be mad both by the learned and vulgar' ; he was canonized.\* Another saint, St. Rosa de Luna, mixed gall and fœces with all her food ; Agnes de Jesus opposed, from humility, the destruction of the vermin which swarmed in her hair ; and St. Catherine de Sienne was received as a veritable spouse into the bosom of the Saviour. "It is true, indeed, as the Legendaries own, 'that St. Catherine was slandered as a fond and light woman ;'" but, as the Church says, 'this a wicked woman gave out by the devil's instigation.'† There can be little doubt as to the insanity of

\* Here is a fact which may be worth consideration by certain authorities, when they find the pillows of pauper lunatics too thin and feel moved to recommend thicker ones :—"St. Francis happening once to use a pillow on account of illness, the devil got into his pillow, and made him uneasy all night. But upon his ordering the pillow with the devil in it to be carried away, he presently recovered."

† *Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared.*—Bishop Lavington.

some of these so-called saints, brought on, as seems probable, by the long fastings, the watching, want of cleanliness, and the great severities practised upon the body; they are not, however, illustrations of our author, but are here interposed for consideration.

The author's illustrations of theological insanity are by no means confined to France. Amongst others in England, he mentions the well known Mrs. Elizabeth Cottle, of Kirkstall Lodge, Clapham Park, who 'is ready to put an end to all the little political and social difficulties of our epoch, and to regenerate the human race.' With this object she is in the habit of addressing letters to the Queen, Prince Albert, the different ministers of England, and the principal sovereigns of Europe. It appears that at the commencement of the present year, Bright received a letter from her couched in apocalyptic style, informing him that she had become his enemy because he wished to extend the right of voting. The Emperor of the French and the King of Sardinia have been lately favoured by her. The fact related in the Gospel of St. Peter being guarded by four centurions, is, according to her, an allusion to the quadruple alliance of 1815, and to the Austrian quadrilateral in Italy. It is a fair illustration of the curious association of ideas that not unfrequently occurs in insanity—*incoherent ideas associated through vague resemblances of terms or sensations.* A similar incongruity of ideas is produced many times a day in the soundest mind; and a man of the most vigorous intellect may, by careful observation, discover the most extravagant ideas combined in the most whimsical fashion; were he to body them forth in words, he would be deemed mad. The most striking examples of such incongruous creations are to be met with, however, in that border-land which intervenes between waking and sleep; it is a land peopled with the strangest phantoms, such as we meet also in that other stage through which we must pass previous to the final sleep, the Valley of the Shadow of Death. Every one knows how pleasant it is as the consciousness gradually fades and the strange frolic of ideas begins just before sleep; but one is apt to look upon it as a painful thing when manifested in that mild delirium which often immediately precedes death. Nevertheless experience confirms the conjecture which from analogy we should form, that this delirium of ideas is as pleasant in one case as in the other; and we are fully justified in the conclusion that the act of dying is generally very agreeable. It was either Dr. Cullen or Dr. Black, who told his friends, when dying, 'that he wished he could be at the

trouble to tell them how pleasant a thing it was to die.' But this is rather a digression, and the fact on which attention is to be fixed at present is this—that the best plan of obtaining sleep when tossing restless on the bed, is *voluntarily* to create and associate the most incongruous ideas, and the better we succeed the sooner shall we be asleep. Strange indeed, that voluntary association of incongruous ideas, wilful insanity in fact, should at times be a serviceable exercise in a sound mind. But the insane man believes that there are facts in the universe conformable to his extravagant ideas: he does, but how happens it? By virtue of that very tendency which is so powerful in the sound mind, and which has produced so much error in philosophy, the tendency to suppose that an idea involves an existence conformable to it; that the same order must exist amongst the objects of nature as exists amongst our ideas; that man is the measure of the universe. When Descartes assumed as the fundamental principle of his philosophy that “*omne id quod valdè, dilucidè, et distincte concipiebam, verum esse,*” he would seem to have left knowledge at the mercy of any madman. Metaphysical philosophy, some might then think, exists by reason of the same vanity in the human mind, whereby comes so much insanity. This gives scarcely a cheering reflection, when analyzed, of man's destiny. Shadows from the regions of madness project over us every moment of our lives, and there is not a single link wanting, not a single link defective in the chain which, running through humanity, connects in uninterrupted series the wisest and most exalted with the lowest and most idiotic of mankind.

Johanna Southcote, is the last example given by M. Delepierre of theological madness; she is dismissed in a few words, being not very gallantly described as “*cette hallucinée laide, vieille et ignorante;*” but who had at any rate the faculty of persuading that she was pregnant with the Messiah many who, in their “*inexplicable enthusiasm,*” actually provided a cradle and splendid garments for the forthcoming prodigy. Well may we say “*inexplicable enthusiasm,*” and grieve over so humiliating an exhibition of human credulity and folly. But men are unhappily liable, as all history shows, to epidemics of madness; and there is nothing so monstrous and absurd but what, if it be proclaimed only with sufficient audacity, will find many believers. At this moment, on the other side of the Atlantic, is a colony of human beings who have forsaken country and friend, and are prepared to suffer any persecution for the Gospel according to Joseph

Smith—he, self-styled prophet, a foul emanation from the dregs of society, stained with most of the vices and crimes which can sully human nature. But epidemics spare neither high nor low, and even society's holy of holies has been entered by an epidemic of spirit-rapping; so that minds equal to the closest logical problems are now believing in the existence of "mediums," through whom spirits communicate the secrets of the unknown world. Such things have always been, and are well calculated to teach man a lesson of profound humility. In the eighteenth century commercial manias were the fashion; the Mississippi Scheme in France and the South Sea Scheme in England proved that gold was as potent for evil over mankind then, as it was when Jupiter in its form introduced himself to the charms of Danæe. In that century, too, a whole nation went mad; and the French Revolution, almost a puzzle to philosophers, remains a fearful exhibition of the capabilities that there are in man. The most notable madmen of the sixteenth century were the Anabaptists; and in the centuries preceding their appearance, witchcraft seems to have been an epidemic mania. Numbers of supposed witches in those days actually confessed to sabbath meetings with Satan, whom they found to be a very pleasant companion, asserted that they were constantly being changed into cats, in such form committing numberless homicides, and in that faith were burnt by authority, which was all the while unable to discover any increase in the mortality. In the 14th century, there swept over Europe in connection with that most fearful epidemic, the Great Plague, or Black Death, certain moral epidemics; the Flagellants or Whippers, and the Dancing Maniacs, reflected in the human mind the fearful epidemic which was destroying the human body. But why enumerate more instances? Is not history, if we reflect upon it, but a history of human madness, speaking to us in the ruins of once flourishing cities, and in the extinction of once mighty nations, of the madness whereby they came to destruction! History writes plainly enough, when it writes too in such characters as the Sphynx and the Pyramids of Egypt.

But it is full time to proceed to M. Delepierre's second division, that of literary madmen. "Here the digressions of the human mind only glance at the objects; imagination touches them with a light hand. Figures, tropes, and whimsical analogies are the instruments which it makes use of. It gallops and bounds like a horse without bridle, or revolves upon itself like a top, which seems to have less motion, the

more rapid its movement is." The madmen of this class, do not occupy themselves with deep speculations on abstruse subjects; they rarely go below the surface of things, and are concerned rather with the mode of expression of common ideas, than with the nature of the ideas themselves. And thus, "the intellectual powers of the individual being less concentrated than in those who are occupied with philosophical or theological ideas, the exhaustion is much less." Many belonging to this class would appear to be persons who, in madness, are still afflicted with the insanabile scribendi cacoethes, and who "write out of the itching humour that every man hath to shew himself; they commonly pretend public good; but, as Gesner observes, 'tis pride and vanity that eggs them on. . . . Bewitched with this desire of fame, etiam mediis in morbis, they must say something" (Burton.)

Yet some there are, who, out of decay, emit bright phosphorences of genius, and compose, in good style, what a professed philosopher may read with advantage; the writings of Nathaniel Lee, born about the end of the 17th century, have been praised by no less illustrious a judge of English composition than Addison. One night when Lee was composing one of his dramas in his cell in Bedlam, a cloud passed before the moon, by the light of which he was writing, when he suddenly cried out: *Jove, snuff the moon.* Dryden relates how this same Lee once replied to a bad poet who had made the foolish remark, that it was very easy to write like a madman: "It is very difficult to write like a madman, but it is very easy to write like a fool.

Alexander Cruden, whose 'Biblical Concordance' is still the standard concordance, became insane while at the University, in consequence of falling violently in love with a young lady who, unhappily, could not reciprocate his passion. He was sent to an asylum, but after a short time became so calm that he was set at liberty; and it was after that event that he wrote his Concordance. The most remarkable feature in his case was the immense labour which he accomplished; spasmodic efforts of occasional brilliancy we are prepared to expect in insanity, but the spectacle of a madman undertaking and executing so much patient research, we can scarcely witness without some astonishment. He was three times placed in confinement, and after his release on the last occasion, despairing of obtaining what he deemed justice for his wrongs, he wrote to his sister and several of his friends, proposing, with the utmost simplicity, that they

should in an easy way afford him a slight compensation. His proposition was simply that they should subject themselves to imprisonment for a time in Newgate. Heavenly voices towards the end of his life, informed him that he had a divine mission ; and he demanded that he should be recognized of the King in Council, and that he should be created by Act of Parliament, ‘*Corrector of the People.*’

Living at the same time as Cruden was a certain Christopher Smart, who, after a brilliant career at Cambridge, unhappily became insane. During his confinement he wrote, by means of a key, on the panels of his chamber, a poem of nearly a hundred stanzas to the ‘*Glory of David, King and Prophet.*’ Here are some of his verses—

“ He sang of God—the mighty source  
Of all things—the stupendous force  
On which all strength depends ;  
From whose right arm, beneath whose eyes  
All period, power, and enterprise  
Commences, reigns, and ends.”

\* \* \* \* \*

“ Glorious the sun in mid career ;  
Glorious the assembled fires appear ;  
Glorious the comet’s train ;  
Glorious the trumpet and alarm ;  
Glorious the Almighty’s stretched-out arm ;  
Glorious the enraptured main.  
Glorious—more glorious is the crown  
Of Him that brought salvation down  
By meekness, call’d thy Son ;  
Thou that stupendous truth believed,  
And now the matchless deed’s achieved,  
Determined, dared, and done.”

Here are a few lines of a poem by one Thomas Lloyd, who passed most of his life in a mad-house ; for, though he was several times set at liberty, it was always necessary in a short time to put him under restraint again.

“ When disappointment gnaws the bleeding heart ;  
And mad resentment hurls her venom’d dart ;  
When angry noise, disgust, and uproar rude,  
Damnation urge and every hope exclude ;  
These, dreadful though they are, can’t quite repel  
The aspiring mind that bids the man excel.

\* \* \* \* \*



To brighter mansions let us hope to pass,  
 And all our pains and torments end. Alas !  
 That fearful bourne we seldom wish to try,  
 We hate to live, and still we fear to die.

\* \* \* \* \*

Methinks that still I see a brighter ray,  
 That bids me live, to see a happier day,  
 And when my sorrows, and my grief-worn spirit flies,  
 My Maker tells me—fear not Lloyd—it never dies.  
 This cheering hope has long supported me,  
 I live in hope much happier days to see.”

A lunatic in the Bicêtre, who had unsuccessfully attempted suicide, thus writes—

Mon Dieu vous m' avez vu chaque jour vous prier  
 De terminer la vie que je n' ai pu m' ôter !  
 Ami, qui m' empêchas, viens donc me consoler !

John Clare, the peasant poet of Northamptonshire, who was so remarkable when insane for the tenacity and accuracy of his memory, does not escape mention. He could depict with an accuracy extending to the minutest particulars, and in so graphical a manner as to excite admiration, the execution of Charles I., of which he professed to have been an eye witness. In the same way he would give, with wonderful exactness in the nautical terms, an account of the Battle of the Nile, and of the death of Nelson, maintaining that he was one of the sailors present at the action ; and yet he had never seen the sea in his life. “ C'est une pareille lucidité que les partisans du magnétisme animal qualifie de *Clairvoyance*,” remarks M. Delepierre.

In 1811, Thomas Bishop published a drama, which had cost him three years labour, entitled “ Koranzo's Feast, or the Unfair Marriage, a tragedy founded on facts, 2366 years ago, and 555 years before Christ, &c. Amongst the actors in this tragedy, are the King of Babylon, the King of Persia, Lord Strawberry, Dr. Pill, four Queens, Mrs. Hector, three Savages, and five ghosts. The stage directions for the last scene run thus: “ On one side representation of a forest, part of which is in darkness, two sofas and the appearance of a clock. Three savages in the distance.” Sofas and savages, forests and clocks, “ founded on facts,” how different must things have been 2366 years ago ! There is a contempt for common-place facts among such writers which is quite superb.

A bold and original thinker, and an eloquent and vigorous writer has said : “ I have a sympathy with these mad men.

Were the world's ways wiser than they are, these unfortunates had not gone mad. It is chiefly the most thoughtful and best intentioned men amongst us, that now become demented; men who think, till they know not what to think, then, soul-sick, mope or rave, or smile on vacancy, till death enlightens them! A chaos is theirs of glory and misery; particles of the ineffable light of Divinity, glittering here and there amidst an ocean of gloom; the light supplied by nature interposed with the darkness supplied by authority, and called light, no marvel they are mad! they are, however, wiser than the sane; for they have seen that evil is paramount on the earth, and have had some glimpses of a bright hereafter: and to both these experiences most of the sane are strangers. Sanity signifies an inordinate love of self.\* It may be, and doubtless is so, in some cases; but on the whole it would be as correct to say, that insanity signifies an inordinate conceit of self. If a man cannot reconcile himself with circumstances, it argues frequently a too high opinion entertained of himself; and there is no feature so striking in a history of literary madmen, as their excessive vanity. If a man cannot in some measure bend circumstance to a reconciliation with himself, it argues weakness on his part; and that also is a feature abundantly manifest among these madmen. They have mostly too much feeling and too little knowledge; their power of insight is not equal to the feeling which they have of their own importance in the universe. Insignificant atoms in a world which is itself but an atom in the universe, they are possessed with the delusive fancy that the whole creation should reconcile itself with their inward life, instead of striving to bring their life into harmony with the creation; and destiny being much stronger than they are, they break down in the unequal conflict, and go mad. But their vanity persists, nay flourishes, amidst the decay of better things; and volumes are published by them to revolutionise a world, which is wrong mainly in having failed to recognise their importance. Philosophy is in consequence a favourite subject with those of the insane whose education has introduced them into its courts; and the feeble mortal who could not keep himself right in his small sphere, claims the faculty of being able to put a world right. May we not depend upon this, that any one who suddenly discovers that the world has been going hitherto altogether wrong, and who aspires to force the current of progress into

\* *The Alpha, a Revelation but no Mystery.* By Edward R. Dennys.

a different channel, is more or less affected in his thinking faculties. For the question simply is, whether the universe has advanced up to its present point upon a false system, and can now be turned round and pushed into a true one, or whether the individual who so believes, is or is not in his right senses.

Philosophical madmen are then in a somewhat similar position to that in which theological madmen are; they are mostly vain persons who have lost their way in matters too deep for them, and by reason of their vanity and of the nature of the subject of their pursuits, they are as hopeless satisfactorily to deal with as those who speculate on religious mysteries. A deplorable instance of the class is afforded by Thomas Wirgman, who, after making a large fortune as a goldsmith, squandered it all as a regenerating philosopher. He had paper made specially for his books, the same sheet consisting of several different colours; and as he changed the plan of the work many times while it was passing through the press, the cost thereof was in the end by no means slight: one book of four hundred pages cost two thousand two hundred and seventy-six pounds sterling. He published a grammar of the five senses, which was a sort of system of metaphysics for the use of children, and maintained that when it was universally adopted in the schools, peace and harmony would be restored to the earth and virtue would everywhere replace crime. We believe, although the fact is not mentioned by M. Delepierre, that the Guardians of St. Pancras actually allowed him a trial of his system among the pauper children; and at the end of a week or two he, at an examination, demonstrated the wonderful superiority of his method over others by this question, 'How do you know the existence of a God?' Answer by small boys in full chorus—'By intuition.' Wirgman made a table of the 'Science of the Mind,' containing twenty elements, of which he says:—"The twenty elements which constitute the human mind are not only discovered, but so completely classified as to defy posterity either to add one more element or to take one away, or even to alter the arrangement so scientifically displayed in the *British Euclid*," (a book of his) "The work is done for ever; like the Pythagorean Table which was made six hundred years before Christ, and not only stood the test of ages to the present period, but actually defies succeeding generations to the end of Time, either to add to or detract from its perfection." In many parts of his works he complains plaintively that

people will not listen to him, and that, although he had devoted nearly half a century to the propagation of his ideas, he had asked in vain to be appointed Professor in some University or College—so little does the world appreciate those who labour unto death in its service! Nevertheless, exclaims Wirgman, after another useless application, “while life remains I will not cease to communicate this blessing to the rising world.” Can we refuse our tribute to the sincerity and heroic earnestness of the man?

The learned men of Italy in the year 1529, were much excited by the publication of a work on the *Anatomy of Language*, by Joseph Bernardi, composed while the author was in a mad house. In it he maintained, amongst other things, that monkeys had the faculty of speech, but were exceedingly jealous of exhibiting it, from a reasonable fear lest they should be made slaves of by men. This doctrine he professed to demonstrate by the anatomy of the throat of monkeys, which clearly showed that they had the faculty of speech and even of singing, and by the authority of Marco Polo, in the first edition of whose travels it had been established, said Bernardi, that monkeys could sing. Father Cremoni, a Jesuit, thought the doctrine worth refuting, and composed a treatise in which he maintained that, although his adversary had written very well upon the subject, yet his opinion was opposed to the testimony of Holy Writ, and must, therefore, be untrue. So that the argument which did service against Galileo was used to demolish Bernardi. Do the facts testify to one thing, and authority to another? Tant pis pour les faits. The reader will decide, says M. Delepierre, which (the Jesuit or Bernardi) was the more mad of the two.

William Martin, brother of the Jonathan Martin who set fire to York Minster, published several philosophical works in which he announces himself as having overthrown the Newtonian philosophy. Being rather rudely treated by the critics, he defied them in a publication entitled, *William Martin's Challenge to all the World as a Philosopher and a Critic!* Another of his titles is: *A Critic on all False Men who pretend to be Critics, not being men of wisdom or genius.*

“Well they know that William Martin has outstript Newton, Bacon, Boyle, and Lord Bolingbroke.”

He was “convinced that he was the man whom the Divine Majesty had selected to discover the great secondary cause of things, and the true perpetual motion.” “I supplicate

the English Government to put an end to the abominable system that is practised under the eyes of God and man. A fool may rise and make a noise, but noise is not argument, and whoever from among the servants of the devil oppose the system of Martin, let them stand up one after another, and give a good reason for their opposition." The irritated philosopher was evidently in earnest.

A certain John Steward, who died in 1822, travelled over a great part of the earth, with the object of discovering the "Polarization of Moral Truth." He published several books, and as he was of opinion that the kings of the earth would form a league for the purpose of destroying them, he begged of his friends that they would carefully wrap up some copies, so as to preserve them from moisture, and bury them seven or eight feet deep, taking care on their death bed to declare under the seal of secrecy, the place where they had buried them.

Let us glance at political madmen. "Political science must necessarily involve profound study, and exact a constant and vigorous use of the highest faculties of reason. In practice it excites passion in eager minds and blinds them, although superficially there reigns the appearance of calmness and coolness. It is this necessary appearance which strengthens twofold the energy of the conviction. And when the political sinks into the party spirit, and personal interest and ambition have an open course, a rich and fruitful field is offered to disordered thoughts." We can give but one example. A certain Davesne or Davenne, in the reign of Louis XIV., was of opinion that of right he ought to supplant that monarch, and mount the throne; and he proposed two plans of deciding the question. "Call the Cardinal, the Regent, the Duke of Orleans, the Princes Beaufort, and those who are deemed most holy in the world; have a furnace kindled; let us all be thrown into it, and he who comes out uninjured, like a renovated phoenix, from the flames, let him be regarded as the protégé of God, and be ordained prince of the people." Fearing however, naturally enough, that so severe a test might not be acceptable, he proposes another. "Let the Parliament sentence me to death for having dared to speak the truth to princes. Let them execute me, and if God does not protect me from their hands in a supernatural way, let the memory of me be extinct. If God preserves me not from the hands of the executioners, nothing shall be done to them; but if a supernatural arm tears me from their clutches, let them be sacri-

ficed in my place." Pretty clear evidence this of his sincerity and faith.

It appears, then, or should appear, from the free use which has been made of M. Delepierré's book, that he has given us much pleasant and interesting information on an attractive subject. A history of literary madness must, by the nature of it, be rather a sketch of certain prominent features in a deep mysterious whirlpool, than an attempt to sound its depths, and to come to some explanation of it. This must be the aim of a philosophical history of madness, should it ever come to pass that such an one is undertaken; a history which should aspire to establish some principle or principles, but which, at any rate, should not be content to occupy itself with a catalogue of appearances. The manifold varieties of insanity which we see are, so to say, crystallizations on eternal types; and it might appear to some, that there must be some unity discoverable even in madness. Is not this what we have to find out in the history of any madman, how it happened that he failed to reconcile himself with his environment? Were circumstances too powerful for one who possessed moderate strength, and wherein too powerful; or was the individual by nature too weak or otherwise unable to cope with ordinary circumstances, and wherein too weak.\* Such history is but a part of biography, which should teach us on all occasions, the way by which any mortal arrived at that pass at which he was when, his work done, he ceased to be mortal, and blended with the Infinite; how, in fact, the successful man came to the coronet, the beggar to the workhouse, and the madman to the madhouse. In an account of insanity in any form, there are thus two elements to be taken into consideration, one almost as important as the other; these are the subject and the environment, the man and his circumstances, subjective force and objective forces, both passive and active; and the problem for solution is, what there was in the one or in the other whereby harmonious co-operation between them became impossible, and a discord, was, of necessity, produced. And, inasmuch as every variety of insanity which has marred the harmony of existence since Adam's fall may be included in one of certain types, examples of

\* The great modern sage has thus quietly expressed deep truths. "Die Geschichte des Menschen ist sein character." *Wilhelm Meister*, vol. II., 216. and again, "Wie glücklich ist der über alles, der um sich mit dem Shicksal in Einigkeit zu setzen, nicht sein ganzes vorhergehendes Leben wegzuwerfen braucht. II., 238.

which are to be met with in any asylum of moderate size, it does not seem impossible that a general history of insanity should be written in a philosophical spirit, from materials which lie in profusion around every one who has devoted himself to the care and treatment of the insane. The unfruitfulness of the psychology both of the sound and unsound mind has been the inevitable result of its method; for the method has consisted in an enumeration and classification of results, a wearisome list for the most part of certain so-called faculties of the mind, with the occasional indication of some connection between one state of mind and another, while the forces by which such faculties are brought into active existence, whereby they are so much modified during their operation, and without which there would be no operation at all, are for the most part ignored. It is precisely the mistake which physiologists appear to have made in speaking of life; they have enumerated certain functions and have called such enumeration life; but function is, not life, but the result of life; it is *vital* organ in action. Bichat, who was of all physiologists the most philosophical, defined life as "the sum-total of the functions which resist death;" which amounts merely to this—that life is life. And a lecturer on medicine, of considerable note in the medical world, thus defines disease: "Disease is an altered relationship of action to structure or organic element, depending immediately on either separately, or on both conjointly." This is a verbal bombshell filled with wind, which on being examined amounts to this, that disease is a disturbance of function, which may or may not be attended with disease of structure, in fact, that disease, all things considered, is disease. "L'opium endormit parce qu'il a une vertu soporifique."

Bichat's definition of life is manifestly faulty in this, that it ignores the essential co-operation of the medium or surrounding circumstances in which an organization is placed, and is, therefore, as one sided and useless as any definition would be which might ignore the organism, and enumerate the circumstances as life. Circumstances and individual are correlative, both in psychical and organic life; and man's life, mental and organic, is the result of such correlation. This is what Coleridge indicated, when, in his "Hints towards the formation of a more comprehensive theory of life," he defined life as "the Principle of Individuation."† The consideration

† A plagiarism from the Germans, (in this case from Schelling) as so much of Coleridge's philosophy was.

is of as weighty importance in psychology as it is in physiology; it applies to life in all its manifestations, and should be a fundamental principle, in an investigation into the history of any madman. Might not, indeed, something profitable be obtained from a biography of insanity? It is remarkable how difficult a matter it is to recognise a madman, when his biography has been well written by one who knows how to do full justice to the man, and to the circumstances: witness Friedrich Wilhelm, as painted by Carlyle, and others of that author's questionable heroes.

An interesting feature in a general history of insanity would necessarily be an account of the various ways in which the insane have been dealt with at different periods, amongst different nations; on which subject this extract from a lunatic's diary may merit attention. "Some have defined man as a cooking animal, some as a laughing animal, some as a tool-using animal, and others as a tailless monkey; but the truth is that man is the animal which puts its fellow into a lunatic asylum." A rather hasty and unwarrantable generalization, dictated by feeling, rather than founded on knowledge; for history teaches us that among the many strange things which man has made objects of adoration, he has not failed to worship for a time even madness. Those who in ages past maintained the existence of spirits of different orders and qualities, founded their theories of insanity upon the intercourse which they supposed to exist between the spiritual and material world. "In some instances, the intellectual principle was believed to be merely deranged by the malignant influence of a demon, but in others where the change of character was more evident and more complete, an actual change of spirit was imagined to have taken place; and the maniac was consulted as the organ of an oracular spirit, or shunned as embodying an emissary of the evil principle."† Such being the diagnosis, it was natural that the treatment should be in the hands of the priests; for they were the only people in those days who pretended to have control over the invisible world. A "medium" is a thing of modern creation.

The system of treatment seems to have been excellent. At both extremities of Egypt were temples dedicated to Saturn, to which melancholics resorted in great numbers in quest of relief. In these abodes, surrounded by shady groves and beautiful gardens, varieties of games and recreations were established for the amusement of the mind and the invigo-

† Preface by Dr. Davis, to his translation of Pinel.



ration of the body, while the imagination was impressed with the finest productions of the sculptor and painter. This was nothing less than the treatment which Pinel laboured to restore when he struck off the chains from the lunatic, and by reverting to the system of a comparatively benighted age, destroyed that barbarous and cruel system which was disgracing the character and satirizing the vaunts of an advanced civilization. They were, indeed, wonderful people, those ancient Egyptians, with their tenets of a resurrection, a day of judgment, a future retribution and an incarnation of God; perhaps justice has scarcely been done them by those who owed so much to them. Thus Pythagoras, who was the first Greek philosopher who practised medicine, seems to have inherited most of his philosophy from them; and may well have introduced into Greece, with the doctrine of metempsychosis, the plan after which the Egyptians treated insanity. At any rate the method of Asclepiades, who is looked upon as the real founder of a psychical mode of cure among the Greeks, was Egyptian. "Music, love, wine, employment, exercising the memory, and fixing the attention were his principal remedies."\* He recommended that bodily restraint should be avoided as much as possible and that none but the most dangerous should be confined by bonds. It was reserved, as we have already seen, for more recent times to discover the ingenious plan of once for all disposing of lunatics by burning them alive, and to mingle with a barbarity scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous time the degraded folly which discovered in some of them saints worthy of canonization. The cells, the whip, and the chains were of even yet more recent date; but now happily, resting on the solid basis of the highest moral law, we apply every comfort which humanity can suggest, and every instrument which science can devise, to relieve the unhappy beings whom destiny has so fearfully afflicted. One would fain believe that no change will ever take place in the principle of dealing with the insane, and that whatever changes may occur in the application of it will be practical improvements or modifications in details, merely to adapt its operation to the altered conditions of society.

In gratefully taking leave of M. Delepierre's book, we cannot refrain from noting with pleasure and admiration, the profound acquaintance which he exhibits with English liter-

\* Feuchterleben's *Medical Psychology*. The work which would appear to give most information on this subject, but which we have not seen, is *Systematische Litteratur der Aerztlichen Psychologie*: Berlin, 1833.

ature. Here in fact we have a French author, who not only does not believe that it is an Englishman's custom, when tired of his wife, to put a halter round her neck, and lead her into the market-place to sell her, but who, in a book of 180 pages, quotes such English writers as Carlyle, Dryden, Shakspeare, Robert Hall, and Moore, with others, whom to know, argues much love of dusty shelves, and musty manuscripts. Happily amongst writers in France, ignorance seems to be the privilege of writers in newspapers; and so it happens that an interesting and instructive French book is rendered more gratifying and more complete by the intimate acquaintance which its author exhibits with English literature, current and past.

HENRY MAUDSLEY.

*On General Paralysis.* By HARRINGTON TUKE, M.D.

(Continued from page 205).

Among the symptoms of apoplexy, says one of the most distinguished of our recent writers on medicine, that are more especially of evil omen, are those which can be traced to the involvement of the automatic functions of the cerebro-spinal axis; nineteen out of twenty patients will die, in whom the phenomena appear which indicate derangement of this portion of the nervous system. I fear that in cases of the special disease we are now considering, the loss of power over the "sphincters" is almost of equally fatal import, but still it very naturally differs from the same symptom in ordinary apoplexy, inasmuch, as it may exist for many months, before the fatal issue of the complaint. Apparent want of power over the sphincters may arise in general paralysis from various other causes besides absolute lesion of the cerebro-spinal axis, such as the presence of delusions, or the supervention of sudden spasm in the patient, and still more frequently from a want of attention on the part of the attendants, and these last are of course essentially distinct in their nature, and require a special treatment; but even in cases in which the loss of power has been sudden, even those in which paraplegia has appeared, and the patient, comatose and insensible, seems on the point of death, if they have before been suffering from

general paralysis, they may, and often do rally; in fact, the prognosis is less gloomy when there has been long-continued disease of the brain of this kind, than in patients in whom the symptoms have supervened upon perfect health.

The question arises, how is it that a symptom of such grave import, indicating in cases of ordinary apoplexy, the absolute tearing or "ploughing up" of the substance of the brain, should occur in general paralysis without an immediately fatal consecutive result, and even sometimes entirely disappear? The answer involves a theory, but it is still a very simple one, and is at least susceptible of verification; it is because a much less amount of mischief, in the already morbidly affected brain of a general paralytic will produce these serious symptoms, than is necessary in the heretofore healthy nervous centres of the suddenly apoplectic. I have seen a very small meningeal clot, produce paraplegia, and palsy of the sphincters in cases of general paralysis, because being an addition to already extensive morbid changes, it acted with as much force as a ruptured vessel in a previously healthy brain, producing the same effect as would follow the breaking down the substance of the corpus striatum, or the effusion of a large quantity of blood at the base of the cranium. The practical fact to be deduced is, that the supervention of these acute symptoms is less dangerous in general paralysis than in apoplexy.

The consideration of the various forms of real or apparent paralysis of the sphincters belongs to another part of my subject, as bearing rather on treatment than prognosis, but it may be said here, that it must not be imagined that in general paralysis, in its early stage, there is always relaxation of the sphincters; on the contrary, there is sometimes retention of urine with severe spasm; and there is in some patients often a difficulty of passing catheters, from the exaggerated reflex action of the uretinal muscles which is increased by the attempt to introduce an instrument. Cases also must be carefully distinguished in which only the voluntary power over the bladder is lost, the reflex function continuing in its integrity.

The derangement of the excito-motory function which the paralysis of the sphincters indicates may then be present for a long time in cases of general paralysis, yet slowly and surely comes on at last the inevitable termination of the disease, and the remaining groups of involuntary muscles—those essential to existence—are in turn attacked.

I have already alluded to the singular effect produced upon the action of the heart, in some cases even in an early stage;

as the disease progresses the powers of deglutition, digestion, and respiration are affected, coma sets in, and lastly the failure in the action of the orbicularis of the eye-lid, one of the most delicate tests of the continuance of the power in the cranio-spinal system, proves organic life to be at an end.

It might, perhaps, be difficult to prove that the constipation accompanying many cases of general paralysis depends upon the diminution of power in the muscular coat of the stomach and intestines, although no physician accustomed to watch these cases would, I think, dispute it, or doubt that the diminished peristaltic action fully explains the symptom. It may, perhaps, be only theory which ascribes the embarrassed respiration to the origin of the pneumogastric nerve becoming involved in the progress of the malady, but there can be no doubt whatever that the derangement of the function of deglutition, invariably more or less present, is clearly to be traced to the absence of normal reflex action in the muscles of the pharynx. From this cause arises great difficulty in feeding those patients who have lived to the last stage of general paralysis, a difficulty hardly to be appreciated by those who have not had practical experience of it. A still more striking evidence is the frequent occurrence of even fatal accidents to the paralytic, from the inability of the pharynx to carry down the morsel introduced into the mouth.

I would not only advert to the peculiar catch in the breathing which, in the last stage of these cases, precedes death, as indicating the still more extended implication of the origin of the pneumogastric nerve, but I would point to a symptom, which is very remarkable in general paralysis, is almost universal, and, as far as I know, has not been explained, I allude to the singular deposition of adipose tissue which usually occurs in the second stage of the malady; the patients become visibly stouter, and are therefore thought by their friends to be improving. In some cases this may arise, or be aided by the enforced inaction which the progressive paralysis of the lower extremities must entail; but this would not be a sufficient explanation in those cases in which increase of weight precedes incapacity for locomotion. I believe it to be the first symptom of a diminution of the respiratory function; the automatic movements of the respiratory muscles become slower, the functions of the lungs are no longer duly performed, and much of the starch, oil, and other non-azotized compounds are deposited as fat in the tissues, instead of being excreted through the air-cells in the form of carbonic acid and water. The disease, as I have said, commonly attacks the

most robust and powerful frames, men whose organs are healthy and digestion vigorous, the supply of aliment is therefore kept up, hence it is that almost mechanically an accumulation of fat takes place, from the failure of power in this important portion of the secretory apparatus of the body; the rapid emaciation which sometimes, although very rarely, takes place depending upon the existence of a tendency in the kidneys or other organs to take upon themselves compensatory functions of excretion.

The derangement in the functions of the skin in this disease must also assist in accumulating the components of adipose tissue in the body; excretion from the surface is almost at an end, it becomes dry and hard, a thick scurf forms frequently upon it, and the use of frequent baths and flesh-brushes, or coarse towels, becomes more essential to the preservation of cleanliness in these cases than in almost any other.

The paralysis of the reflex function of the nerves has been the subject of interesting experimental researches by Dr. Bucknill. I have, myself, nothing to add to his remarks upon the subject, which appear conclusive, and have been corroborated at his request by other observers; among them, by Dr. Manley, Dr. Boyd, Mr. Tyerman, and Mr. Ley. However, the talented and esteemed physician of the Morningside Asylum, Dr. Skae, at the Meeting of the Association of Medical Officers of Asylums for the Insane, held at Edinburgh, in 1858, controverted with considerable ability, in the discussion which followed my reading a paper on general paralysis, the views Dr. Bucknill entertains, and which he has published in the *Manual of Psychological Medicine*, upon this peculiar paralysis of the reflex function. Dr. Skae's remarks and Dr. Bucknill's reply will be found in the fifth volume of the *Journal of Mental Science*, to which I would refer those interested in the question. I agree entirely with Dr. Bucknill; but it appeared to me at the time, and the after perusal of Dr. Skae's observations did not alter my opinion, that the difference in the views held by these physicians is easily explicable: the brain being the seat of the disease, the reflex function is more or less universally affected, but in experiments as to the state of the reflex functions in the muscles of the lower extremity, those most remote from the diseased centre, very different results may be induced by the more or less dynamic condition of the spinal cord, in different cases, and the greater or less power of contractility in the muscular fibre in individuals. Reflex action cannot be entirely destroyed while life remains, yet nothing but the serious im-

pairment of its powers can account for the effects upon the muscles of deglutition and of respiration, together with the loss of the excito-motory power of the sphincters which I have described, and the existence of which no observer can deny. The grey matter of the brain is certainly affected, in all patients attacked with general paralysis; the reflex function of the same grey matter in the cord will vary in different cases, since it does not necessarily follow, that the ganglionic system should be universally and equally affected, either directly or sympathetically. Dr. Skae's experience and judgment must, however, give great weight to his opinion, and his views upon general paralysis, shared as they are by many of the French physicians, must again be referred to and examined with respect.

There are several symptoms in general paralysis indicating derangement in the physical system, more or less, associated with the same want of nervous power that produces the paralysis, but still very distinct from it; and it will be well to advert to the most prominent among them before entering upon the description of the mental affection. The first of these is the sense of fatigue so often complained of; the muscles are tired simply by the weight of the body, this is shewn by a characteristic stoop, and by the desire of the patient to be allowed to go to bed. A patient suffering from general paralysis, at least this is my experience in private practice, will seldom sit up late; whatever his former habits may have been he will retire to rest, if allowed, at an absurdly early hour, probably finding relief from the horizontal position; it by no means follows that he will sleep; on the contrary, patients suffering under even the first stage of the malady, are very wakeful, and often talk and mutter to themselves the whole night long; there is excitement of the brain conjoined with muscular prostration. In ordinary mania there is usually increase of muscular power, but this is not so in general paralysis, at least the rule is as I have stated it. There is sometimes a restless irritability; the patient will spend the whole day arranging and re-arranging papers, or turning over the leaves of a book, or taking off and putting on his clothes, but a quiet inaction is the ordinary characteristic, or if action there be, it is not one involving much exertion. The usual and persistent voracity of the appetite for food is another indication of the exhaustion of nervous power that signalizes this terrible malady.

In all the cases, but one, I have ever seen there was an entire absence of sexual desire, and I have on several oc-

casions ascertained that there had been this symptom before the disease had made much progress. Guislain, however, states that he has met with cases of an opposite description. The former being the more usual experience has probably led to the erroneous idea that general paralysis was necessarily attendant upon, or frequently accompanied, sexual excess.

The temperature in this disease, as in ordinary paralysis, of course falls, the sensations are blunted, and pain is little complained of. I have made no experiments myself upon the state of the skin as to the function of sensation; in private practice such experiments are not easily carried out. But an able article by M. Auzouy in the *Annales Médico Psychologiques*, gives the details of several ingeniously devised and carefully conducted experiments to elucidate this question through the agency of electricity, and the result he arrives at is doubtless correct; that the want of sensibility of the skin in all cases of insanity, is in definite proportion to the amount of diminution in the mental energy, and he finds, as might have been expected, a more decided want of sensibility in cases of dementia than in other forms of mental disease. M. de Croizart has called special attention to the failure of cutaneous sensibility existing in a marked degree at an early stage of general paralysis, and affording, therefore, a means of diagnosis. M. Baillarger, who quotes this opinion, does not appear to lay so much stress upon its value as its author; he, however, says that he has found the sensibility of the skin diminished in the greater number of cases he has seen, and this principally in the upper extremities, and comes to the conclusion that it may be an early symptom, but is more generally an indication of an advanced stage of the disease. The low state of vitality in the cutaneous surfaces in the progress of general paralysis, of which diminished sensibility is only an initial symptom, is shown by the tendency to sloughing of the skin and cellular tissue that is so frequent, and that is certain to lead to the formation of large and dangerous sores, without the exercise of incessant watchfulness on the part of the medical attendant. The danger of bed-sores in these cases is now understood, and prophylactic measures adopted, still the very slightest amount of continued pressure will occasion them. In cases of dementia, particularly in the dementia consecutive on general paralysis, I have even seen the bones of the pelvis exposed by large sloughs upon the nates, and in the old hospitals these terrible cases were not uncommon. The patients do not appear to suffer much pain, and a large sore

may exist without producing fever or indication of feeling. This is doubtless from the diminution of sensibility already referred to, but it is important to remember this as pointing to the necessity for a daily examination of the points exposed to pressure in patients confined to bed in any stage of the general paralysis of the insane. Head-ache is a symptom mentioned by one French writer, which I have not noticed in general paralysis. Infiltration of the eyelids, and even of the ears with blood or serum, is not unfrequently seen, but these symptoms appear to be the natural accompaniments of congestion of the vessels of the brain, and need hardly be examined as being special or distinctive.

In the foregoing description of the physical derangement, marking the course of general paralysis, I have not intended to convey the impression that I consider any of the symptoms I have detailed, taken alone, to be necessarily evidences of disease of the nervous centres so extensive as to render it impossible that the mental functions could be properly performed. It may be that they may co-exist with a perfect integrity of the reasoning faculty, and some remarkable cases on record would appear to give strength to this supposition, but I confess I think it unlikely, and am rather inclined to believe that those cases in which insanity is said to have supervened upon a paralysis, marked by such a series of symptoms as I have described, are only those in which the presence of mental disease has not been detected, either from a deficiency of experience in the observer, or from want of sufficient opportunity for investigating the particular case. I have myself seen instances of progressive and entire paralysis in which the mental powers were unimpaired; but the purely spinal origin of the symptoms, was clearly shown, the lower limbs were first affected; the speech was not impaired till towards the close of life, there were no convulsions, the limbs were wasted, and did not as in general paralysis present a fictitious appearance of health. In such a case the medulla oblongata becoming at last involved the brain may suffer secondarily, coma and even delirium may set in, but the patient is not a lunatic, and although he may be said to be generally paralytic, he does not suffer under the same disease as that which Calmeil and the French School of Medicine have taught us to recognize under the name of *paralysie générale*.

It has been said that there may be *impairment* of the mental powers, without delusion, associated with general paralysis, such as I have described, which I will call for the



moment, paralysis affecting the brain proper, as contradistinguished from spinal paralysis. Now this assertion appears to me to turn upon the question of the *degree* of insanity that may exist, and to divert the discussion from the true issue, which is whether the patient, has or has not exhibited symptoms of unsoundness of mind; is or is not insane?

It will be at once seen of what momentous importance it may become that the acts of a patient labouring under the physical symptoms of general paralysis, should not be judged by the same standard as is applied to healthy brains, and moreover that the exact date should be fixed at which the impairment of intellect commenced, when undoubted delusion has first appeared, or dementia clearly shewn itself. I think the presumption should be in all these cases, that mental alienation had long existed, the former history of the patient should be studied, eccentricities of conduct, even acts of crime should be impartially examined, and if irreconcilable with the previous bearing and character of the patient, they should not be too hastily condemned as the acts of a responsible agent. It may be our own fault that we cannot discover the malady that, nevertheless, has throughout existed, and rendered the unhappy sufferer entitled to our utmost consideration and pity. It can be easily understood that general paralysis may supervene upon chronic insanity; or that paralysis of every limb, of every muscle, voluntary and involuntary, may be present without intellectual lesion, may be conceded: but it is obvious that such a state of things can but admit of negative proof, the supporters of such a doctrine can only say it is so, because they could not or have not discovered any symptom of lunacy; the question is practically important, for to allow it to be possible that delusions or dementia are likely to, or do accidentally supervene on cases presenting the physical symptoms of centric general paralysis, appears to me to be most unphilosophical, and a distinction drawn between impairment of mental power and insanity as evidenced by delusion, not founded upon logical premises. I would strengthen this view, which involves a point of such interest, by a familiar example; a child, unable himself to describe his symptoms, is brought to a physician in the spring, his parents state simply that he has severe cough; in the summer an attack of hæmoptysis seriously weakens him, and in the following winter he dies of undoubted phthisis; the lungs are found to be studded with tubercles, a cavity with a small ruptured vessel upon one of its walls

accounts for the loss of blood ; it could surely not be fairly maintained that tubercle, hæmoptysis, and death had supervened upon cough, because cough is often presented without producing these results ; the physician on the contrary would infer, that the parents had overlooked the rapid emaciation, the night-sweats, the general weakness of their child, that probably had been present, and conclude, that even in the spring, the existence of tubercle was certain, although they had not suspected its existence, enquired for its further symptoms, or recognised the cough as its warning signal.

It may be truly said that such a case is hardly possible, it would be unpardonable in an educated practitioner to overlook so serious a disorder in the lungs as the one supposed ; his enquiries would be at once directed to the symptoms that usher in pulmonary pthisis ; and his experience would tell him what symptoms to enquire for, and what deduction he ought to draw from their presence or otherwise. It ought to be equally impossible that a practitioner called in to, or accidentally meeting, a patient presenting the early symptoms of paralytic insanity, should not at once suspect, even if he fail to detect the presence of mental affection, and be able to refer the change in the morale of his patient to its proper source ; but, unfortunately, for the reasons already stated, the general physician has not studied, or has no knowledge of such cases ; the early mental symptoms are therefore overlooked, and the nature of the patient's disease is only suspected when it is too late to arrest its course, or when some act, more or less insane, has damaged his fortune, and brought misery and ruin upon his family.

But strong as my own conviction is of the special nature of 'general paralysis,' and of the fact that it cannot co-exist with healthy action of the intellect, I can hardly venture to dispute the occurrence of some anomalous cases of the disease, in which the intellect has remained clear in spite of the presence of such physical symptoms as I have described, since it is attested by so capable an observer as Dr. Skac. In the French medical schools, M. Pinel and others also strongly assert the same fact, and even make two classes of the affection, one simple, the other complicated ; the first existing without mental disturbance of any kind, and being in fact the general paralysis described by our medical writers, the definition of which I have already quoted from Dr. Copland. Admitting then this as being possible, it must still remain as only negatively proved, and

the disease certainly must be very uncommon. Another question of practical importance is, whether the mental symptoms ever supervene upon the paralysis, as the paralytic symptoms certainly do upon the mental disorder? The great names of Esquirol and Calmeil are quoted in support of the hypothesis that the paralytic symptoms precede in some instances the mental ones, and the question is worth examining, premising only that neither of these two authors speak of general paralysis as existing at all, except as a complication of insanity. Esquirol, speaking of the malady, says, "*elle eclate tantôt avec les premières symptômes du délire, tantôt elle précède le délire, tantôt elle vient en quelque sorte se joindre à lui,*" this taken alone would appear conclusive, to those who reverence, as I myself do, the accuracy of Esquirol's descriptions; but it would appear to me that Esquirol does not intend to assert, that the mind is sound after the paralysis has appeared; it becomes with him a question of degree, and he would probably be found to agree in Dr. Skae's distinction between absolute delusion and an impairment of mental power. Monomania or violence may not indeed appear for some time after the development of paralytic symptoms, but Esquirol may be taken to admit some amount of mental affection being present at the commencement, as he goes on to say, that the disease "progresses in a way peculiar to itself, always increasing in intensity as it proceeds, while at the same time the understanding becomes weaker." And this *pari passu* advance would seem to be the meaning Esquirol intends to convey, as he afterwards uses the word paralysis generically to express mental and physical affection together, in the sentence *cette paralysie quelque soit le caractère du délire fait passer promptement à la démence chronique.*

Calmeil leaves us equally uncertain as to his opinion, although if his words are not examined carefully, they may be mistaken, and indeed have been, as decisively in favour of the opposite opinion to my own, and to that generally taught, it becomes important, therefore, to examine his words carefully. In page 337 of his work, *On the General Paralysis of the Insane*, Calmeil observes, "during a long time I was under the impression that the paralytic symptoms never preceded the insanity; in five or six cases, the relatives of the patients have told me that they had noticed the staggering gait of the sufferers, long before the symptoms of madness had appeared, but on cross examination, it always appeared that they used the word madness in the sense only of violence

or fury. *It is now certain, however, that the brain lesion which occasions general paralysis, may exist before the mind is affected.—See Case XVI.* This would appear conclusive, but the very case quoted, p. 61 *ibid*, exactly resembles the five or six cases already mentioned, for the existence of the paralysis for four months, without the appearance of mental alienation, rests only upon the fact, that Calmeil was assured that this was the case by the relatives of the patient. Calmeil did not speak from his own experience, and the next sentences show that he had only adopted the opinions of Esquirol.

The opinion of Guislain upon this subject, is strongly expressed, but, in my judgment, is invalidated by the want of precision in his account of the intellectual state, thus leaving it as Dr. Skae has done, a question of degree. Guislain says: "Since reading the recent publications upon general paralysis, I have had recalled to my recollection several cases which might really be classed among instances of this malady, existing without mental alienation. One such case was that of a young lady who died of general paralysis, but in whom during the whole course of the disease, there was no confusion of ideas, *seulement il y avait, chez elle une espèce de fatigue de l'esprit, une inaptitude aux travaux intellectuels.*" Guislain goes on to state that in his own private practice he has seen cases of progressive paralysis of the muscular system, without any symptoms of lunacy; but I have already alluded to these cases, and pointed out the difference between them and paralytic insanity, the one presenting spinal, the other mental symptoms.

The question in dispute is one of great practical importance, it may happen that a patient who has long presented symptoms of paralysis may commit some crime; undoubted lunacy of the particular kind Calmeil has described may supervene, while his trial is still proceeding; who among us will take upon himself to say, such a man is a responsible agent. There is only mental weakness, or fatigue of the understanding, but an unsoundness of mind only consists in the presence of absolute delusion or delirium.

The manifestations of insanity, which in my opinion invariably precede, or are synchronous in their approach with the morbid physical phenomena of special general paralysis, present also a marked analogy with them in their rise, advance, and progress, and may, in their description, be regarded also as presenting three stages; but these divisions of

the mental symptoms are by no means so easily demonstrable, or so clearly defined as the stages of physical debility, they are more apt to run one into the other, remissions of their intensity are more frequent, and they by no means constantly coincide; thus the last stage of mental derangement may co-exist, with the first stage of the paralysis, there may be very slight evidence of insanity with very marked loss of muscular power, or from the beginning there may be complete imbecility, terminating in the complete prostration of the physical and mental faculties.

In the course of Dr. Conolly's clinical lectures at Hanwell, I first heard the apt comparison of the progressive symptoms of cerebral disease in general paralysis to the stages of vinous intoxication, which gives so vivid an idea of the mental and physical phenomena presented by the malady. This exact and happy illustration, repeated in the Croonian Lectures for 1849, and since so frequently quoted, was, I believe, first employed by Dr. Conolly, and no one conversant with the disease, can fail to recognize and appreciate the justice of its application. The writer of an elaborate and clever article on general paralysis, in the *Psychological Journal* of last year, even believes that the "study of the phenomena of drunkenness will tend to throw much light upon the symptoms attendant on its early or congestive stage." The only difference between them being that "the one state is transitory, the other is progressive and permanent."

Although I cannot quite concur in this last opinion, I am quite prepared to admit to the fullest extent the analogy between the symptoms of alcoholic poisoning, and the slower progress of paralytic insanity, and I would apply this similitude as Dr. Conolly does, not only to the congestive, but to all stages of the disease. Dr. Conolly and the author whom I have quoted, are rather considering the physical than the mental symptoms of the malady, or at least lay no special stress on either; in my own opinion, the stages of mental alienation are even more signally like those of intoxication, than the stages of physical weakness, and while the clipped syllables, the gradually powerless extremities, the final immobility of the toper wonderfully mimic the gradations of paralytic disease; still more irregularly do the excited extravagance of the first, the wild folly of the second, and the entire extinction of reason in the last stage of drunkenness, find their analogues, in the mental symptoms that mark the course of the general paralysis of the insane.

It must, however, be remembered that while there is little discoverable difference between the bodily organs of one strong man and another, and that, therefore, under the influence of the same form of disease there will be a great resemblance in the bodily symptoms it produces, the case is far different with their minds. The varieties of idiosyncracies, the presence or absence of culture, the variable powers of self-control, of judgment, of memory, the differences of temperament in all of those attacked by general paralysis, alter, obscure, or exaggerate the manifestations of morbid mental action; and just as one man in his cups becomes quarrelsome and taciturn, a second, amiable, and talkative, yet both unmistakably intoxicated, so in paralytic insanity, one and the same cause produces diverse effects upon the intellectual faculties, although, if examined, they will be found reducible to the same type, and are, indeed, the results of an identical disease.

For this reason I am inclined to think that M. Jules Falret, in his admirable work *Recherches sur la Folie Paralytique*, has laid too much stress upon the division of the disease into varieties; the disease is indivisible, and Bayle is nearer the truth, and he has given the type of the disease better, in making it to consist in a *délire ambitieux*, falling at the same time into error, in considering the mental phenomena of general paralysis to be necessarily of the same character in all cases; a mistake apparently arising from his desire to force the symptoms to coincide with his theory of an invariably similar pathological condition in the brain.

The physician, unfamiliar with the various types of insanity will be surprised in going round the wards of Hanwell, or any other asylum in which the disease is not refused admittance, to find patients presenting almost every imaginable form of mental alienation, pointed out to him as suffering under general paralysis; he will wonder to see cases that appear to him simply those of mania or melancholia, rejected at the gates of Bethlem and St. Luke's, because rightly considered to be affected with this special form of malady, which their rules compel them to exclude; he will fairly ask how the diagnosis is to be made, what is the type of the uncomplicated disease, what is its effect upon the moral and intellectual faculties? and how is it to be distinguished from other affections of the brain? I do not know that I am justified in saying that in every case of general paralysis, the mental symptoms can be considered as peculiar in their nature; but, certain it is that

in most cases, at some period, they are as pathognomonic, as the special form of paralysis I have described, and if they exist, sooner or later muscular debility must supervene. It is only by long experience that the psychological physician can detect, in the raving of the violent maniac, or in the tearful complaints of the hypochondriac, the insidious approach of general paralysis, and it is difficult to explain the mental process by which he arrives at a correct conclusion. Esquirol instances a patient in whom he diagnosed the presence of general paralysis, from the facility with which he submitted to the restraint of an asylum. M. Jules Falret acutely points out that the delusions of the general-paralytic are more coherent and plausible than those of the insane; and Guislain follows Esquirol in stating that the patients attacked with general paralysis, however violent, are more amenable to discipline, and more easily manageable than in ordinary insanity. Their melancholia, also, is of a distinctive form; it is more allied to dementia than the acute form of melancholic disease, and resembles rather the *melancholia attonita* of the ancient physicians.

The great majority of the cases of general paralysis which crowds our English private and public asylums is in the second stage, and at this period the mental symptoms when once discovered, are easily recognizable; they present the features of a special form of delusion, which constitutes the *délire ambitieux* of Bayle, the 'expansive' variety of Jules Falret, the 'peculiar delusions' which I have alluded to in my attempt at a definition of general paralysis. Recurring to the analogy between intoxication and progressive paralytic insanity, we may consider the three stages of the disease to be,—first, excitement of brain and bewildered judgment; secondly, ambitious mania; and finally, dementia.

The last, as far as diagnosis is concerned, is not practically, of much importance, because in most cases in which dementia has set in, the former history of the disease will be ascertainable, and afford a sufficient guide to its nature and treatment; but even in this closing phase of the malady there is some degree of difference between the patient afflicted with chronic dementia, and the general paralytic; the expression in the face of the latter will be happier, and rather indicative of stolid indifference than of stupidity, and if any articulate sounds can be uttered, they will evidence the existence of contentment and satisfaction; the ruling

idea is still persistent, and such patients will die declaring to the last that they are quite well and quite happy.

The second stage, although confused with the usual symptoms that accompany much impaired power of memory and feebleness of judgment, is characterized by the same happiness that continues to be so remarkable to the very close of life; no sense of suffering is ever present, the restraint of an asylum is not needed, the departure or coming of friends is a matter of almost equal indifference; their own too often wretched physical condition is entirely ignored; such patients pass their lives in a dream of bliss, possessed with their own self-importance, absorbed in their ideas of long life, wealth, and grandeur, they amuse themselves with schemes for the future, or enjoy the present, with a delight that becomes painful to the observer, who recognizes the omen he cannot avert.

"I am," said one of my patients frequently, "Duke of Devonshire and Marquis of Westminster; I shall marry the Countess of Blessington, and live in the Vatican, which I have ordered to be pulled down and rebuilt at Kensington. My wife is the handsomest woman in the world, she and I are the best singers; I am to appear in Othello to-night. I have won five millions on the Derby; I am the strongest and the happiest of men."

Dr. Conolly, in his Croonian Lectures, refers to the case of one of his patients, who described himself as having "five wives, Jenny Lind being one, the Queen another. He further declared that he was a major in the army, a captain in the navy, a medical man, one of the judges, and High Constable of England, and particularly mentioned that he once held a capital place, being head Commissioner of the Customs, for which he received £12,000 a year, and had sometimes nothing to do."

I one day asked a patient under my own charge, afflicted with this terrible disease, whether he was fond of animals? With an air of profound conviction, he returned his usual and characteristic reply, "this kid that you call yours, and I am now feeding, I brought by a stamp of my foot from under ground; I have but to whistle, and thousands of giraffes, wild boars, and elephants would come over the walls; when animals die I can bring them to life again; I am going to make all England into a large Zoological Garden, and I shall be the richest man that ever lived, and yet you are silly enough to ask if I like animals?"

It is true that these are selected cases, but they well show



the type of the disease, and will be recognised as fair examples of it by every alienist physician; the delusions, however are sometimes more consonant with probability, and less easy to detect. "I can walk with ease eight miles an hour," was the assertion of a patient in whose case I was consulted, which gave me an instant impression that his disorder might be general paralysis, inasmuch as he was a merchant in the city of London, and obviously unfitted for pedestrianism. My suspicions were confirmed, when, on another visit, he shewed me a plan for making a new front to his warehouses, entirely of cedar wood, and expressed his conviction that he should be soon elected Lord Mayor. These delusions led me to the conclusion that the paroxysms of mania which he had suffered under were the initial symptoms of a special and perhaps hopeless form of insanity, and the result proved that my forebodings were correct.

The nature of the delusion agrees sometimes singularly with the former desires, pursuits, or habits of the patient; the lawyer imagines himself Chancellor; the rector becomes a bishop; and the sportsman shoots two hundred stags, and one hundred hares, in an imaginary day, with his own gun. "I am to be made commander of the forces in Ireland," said a captain in the army. "a patient whom I saw with my friend Dr. Meyer, "you, sir, shall be Inspector-General of Hospitals, and have £800 a-year; Dr. Tuke shall be Deputy Inspector, but shall have the same salary." "I am going to leave here to-morrow," said a paralytic to me at the asylum at Exeter; "I am to have £30 a week to be the Queen's coachman, and I shall drive her Majesty in an omnibus, *tandem!*" This man had been a coachman, and thus his delusion took the stamp of his former pursuits.

It would be a curious statistical problem if the materials were at hand, to enquire into the comparative frequency of delusions of this nature in insane of different nations. In France it seems more common than in England; it might be surmised that the temperament of the Gascons, would predispose them to this disease; and were such an enquiry possible, the sanguine disposition and mercurial liveliness of the natives of our sister land, would lead to the supposition that they were particularly liable to general paralysis. In American asylums, the malady is common and well known, and some of the cases quoted by Dr. Pliny Earle, in the *American Journal of Medical Science*, show the extravagance of the delirium more strongly than any I have yet quoted. That the type of the delusion is the same in

the New World as at home, a few specimens will suffice to prove. "Mr. — declares that he is to be the next President, that he is the Duke of Gloucester, and heir to the English throne, that the Supreme will come down at his birthday, that he will give to each of his attendants a carriage, horses, and twenty thousand dollars to start upon, that his legs are made of iron, that he wound up the sun yesterday; the last words he uttered contained an assertion that he was one of the personages of the Old Testament."

These examples are sufficient to show the type of the malady in its second stage, which, in default of a better term, I have called that of ambitious mania; they will also serve to show its great analogy to the delirium of intoxication; its resemblance, indeed, is so striking, as to have led to the expression of the hope I have already quoted, that the study of the progress of alcoholic poisoning may throw some light upon the nature of paralytic insanity. In describing ambitious mania as the characteristic of the second stage of general paralysis, I by no means intend to follow the clearly erroneous doctrine of Bayle, who wishes to prove that all cases of general paralysis must present first, monomania; secondly, mania; and, thirdly, entire dementia. This is certainly sometimes true, but not universally so, and I do not adopt his opinions in taking his expression *délire ambitieux*, giving it, however, a wider significance than it has generally received, for I think Bayle has been misunderstood in having had the words in question too rigidly taken as synonymous with delusions of wealth and grandeur; it appears to me that the *délire ambitieux* is the true and essential type of the disease, if only we take it in its fuller meaning; for even in cases in which the disease has been so severe at its outset, that imbecility becomes an initial symptom, the special nature of the imbecility is apparent in its happy type as well as in its rapid progression towards entire dementia. This feeling of self-contentment, this *bien-être*, this indifference to isolation, to physical pain, this unconsciousness of woes, present or to come, seems to me to be peculiar to the malady; it would be easy to coin a word to express this, but as the expression chosen by Bayle to designate the delirium is so constantly correct, it may be as well to adopt it, taking it to express the existence of delusions of gratified wishes, whether those of ordinary ambition or otherwise.

I believe that ideas of riches and grandeur are so fre-

quently pathognomonic of the disease, because they are the leading ideas in the minds of so many men absorbed in the pursuit of wealth, who fancying happiness to consist in its possession, naturally consider themselves wealthy and powerful, when attacked by a disease of the brain, whose essential symptom is a visionary happiness and success. The delusions will vary with the desires of the patient, but they present the same character; thus (and I am quoting from actual observation) the valetudinarian, in addition to all other blessings, becomes in imagination the most robust of men; the struggling professional man becomes possessed in idea of boundless wealth; the millionaire, to whom money can hardly be a want, deems himself a marquis; while the coachman is quite content with the illusory possession of thirty pounds per week to drive the Queen in an omnibus!

The wider acceptation of the term *délire ambitieux* may be taken as embracing all these varieties of day-dreamings. I cannot pretend that my own experience will go far to decide the important question of the greater or less identity of delusion in all cases of paralytic insanity, but I never myself saw a case of the disease, in which 'happiness' did not seem the characteristic feature. I am not dismayed by the peremptory *dictum* of Calmeil, who declares that the attempt to assign a constant form of delirium to cases of general paralysis, argues "*un mauvais esprit d'observation*;" and in the absence of statistical records will quote some of the authorities on the subject who support my view of the question. The opinion of Bayle I have already given. Esquirol, who says that paralysis may "complicate melancholia, mania, and ambitious monomania," adds that it more frequently accompanies the latter, and, as I have already mentioned, arrived rapidly at the conclusion that a particular case was one of paralysis, from the suspicious readiness of the patient to remain under restraint. "General paralysis, says Dr. Conolly, is so frequently associated with ideas of wealth and grandeur, that when these prevail strongly, we expect that disease to supervene." The expansive variety, observes M. Falret, is the most frequent form of general paralysis, and, under the name of the expansive variety, he describes the same symptoms as those Bayle has classed under the head of ambitious delirium; and Dr. Bucknill's opinion is still more strongly expressed; he says, "the form of intellectual disorder is frequently of a most remarkable kind; the patient fancies himself possessed of wealth and power illimitable, and is often fantastically imaginative. . .

When a patient exhibits this imaginative extravagance of idea, accompanied with slight emotional disturbance, any loss of clearness in vocal articulation will suffice for a positive diagnosis."—*Manual of Psychology*, p. 385. Even if we recur to the work of the first and greatest writer upon the disease, in spite of the trenchant opinion I have quoted, we shall find Calmeil himself admitting the existence of a "peculiar delirium" which, however, he strangely describes as "masking" the intellectual feebleness; this exists he says in a great number of patients, and he gives the following striking example of that which he himself names the *délire exclusif*: "A general paralytic will assert; I am the most powerful of Emperors, in four hours I shall build a new Paris, the streets paved with gold, a bazaar, with galleries around it, shall occupy the centre, everywhere will be found columns of marble, statuary and bronzes; I shall have a seraglio, the beds are to be made of rosewood, the curtains are to be mirrors, fixed to the four corners upon curtain rods (*quenouilles*) of diamonds."

It may then at least be admitted that in the majority of cases, delusions of an ambitious type are prominent; whether they are or are not invariably present, in a greater or less degree, remaining as a question open to further examination; but it seems certain that if with such delusions as I have instanced, the physician detects in his patient the characteristic and fatal embarrassment of the speech, or tremulousness of the hands, or symptoms of paralysis in the lower extremities, or even the dilatation of the pupil of the eye, the nature of the case should be patent to him; he may fear and anticipate that the delusions will rapidly increase in their number and intensity, that the powers of locomotion and prehension in the patient will become each day more feeble, and that the last period of this stage approaches, in which, before complete dementia and immobility set in, the patient will present the spectacle of a tottering imbecile, sometimes expressing the wildest delusions, at rare intervals singularly rational, yet always insanely happy, and full of confidence in himself and his fortunes.

Throughout the second stage of general paralysis; even in its worse phases there are occasionally extraordinary remissions of the malady—even delusive recoveries; these *pseudo lucid* intervals are of great importance, and will merit attentive consideration.

*On Physical Affections in Connection with Religion, as illustrated by "Ulster Revivalism."* By the Rev. W. Mc'ILWAINE, A.M., Incumbent of St. George's, Belfast.

In a former paper contributed to this Journal, containing a retrospect of "Ulster Revivalism," the writer took occasion to remark that the physical features of that extraordinary movement were to be considered not merely as an accompaniment or accident, but in reality as an essential and integral portion of it. This assertion will bear to be submitted to the most stringent test of fact, so far as its truth is concerned; and if borne out affords a most important and suggestive view of the entire subject; so much so indeed that its legitimate inferences will be found to throw an instructive reflex light on all past movements of the sort under consideration, as well as to afford some useful and practical considerations as regards the future. The intention of the present paper is to take a brief historical glance at the physical development of certain religious movements of this class, accompanied by an endeavour to trace these into that one which has just transpired, mainly for the purposes above indicated.

In so doing, it is important, *in limine*, to note the fact already alluded to, that the late Revival in Ulster was ushered in, extended, and continued throughout by these physical affections. Not one of its historians and panegyrists has ventured to deny this. These affections are variously viewed and descanted on by divers authorities, medical and other; but they are there all the while. As an example of the manner in which this part of the subject has been handled by medical writers, of the Revivalist school, I may be permitted to introduce an extract from *Three Letters on the Revival in Ireland*, by James C. L. Carson, M.D., Coleraine.

This gentleman writes as follows :

"In regard to the nature of the physical agent, I have no hesitation in acknowledging my utter ignorance. I know of nothing to correspond exactly with it in the whole range of philosophy. It is apparently more closely allied to electro-biology than anything else; but it still differs from it in some leading particulars. \* \* \* \* Be the physical agent what it may, it is evidently sent by God for a special purpose. What is this special purpose? Why, simply to

excite such a degree of attention to spiritual matters as, *humanly* speaking, could not be done by any other means."

If any person be anxious to ascertain the degree of "*utter ignorance*" thus frankly acknowledged by Dr. Carson, and to discover with tolerable precision the *curriculum* through which his researches have extended, in exploring, as above stated, "*the whole range of philosophy*," he has only to read the masterly demolition of the theory thus propounded, in a pamphlet, in reply, by Stephen Gwynn, jun., A.B., entitled *The Ulster Revival a Strictly Natural and Strictly Spiritual Work of God*. Although from a non-professional pen, this exposure of the inexcusable ignorance and really dangerous theorizing of the Coleraine physician is complete, and reads to all concerned as well as himself, a solemn lesson as to the rashness and presumption of asserting that the Author of all Good had condescended on the means of actually creating a new physical agent of evil, for the purpose of "exciting attention to spiritual matters."

Such a mode of theorizing, however, on the physical features of the movement is not confined to medical men; we find a similar attempt at their solution among divines and others. Very early in the history of the Ulster movement, a pamphlet appeared in Belfast, from the pen of a Presbyterian minister, of high standing in that town, the Rev. James Morgan, D.D. This tract, as the preface states, embodies a discourse delivered to his congregation by Dr. Morgan, and afterwards "published by request," and it contains the following passage. This writer having drawn attention to the fact that "the goings of God in the Sanctuary" had been manifested by "tokens of the Divine power and mercy graciously vouchsafed to his people at various periods of their history," as in his intercourse with the Patriarchs, and the cloud of the Shekinah, and the "rushing mighty wind," on the day of Pentecost, proceeds to illustrate his subject as follows:

"Keeping this truth in mind, it should not astonish or stumble us to observe *unusual tokens of His presence among ourselves*. Why should it be thought an incredible thing that *He should cause it to be seen or felt in remarkable affections of the body*? These are facts at present before our eyes, which, however they are to be explained, cannot be denied. In this and in other lands, hundreds and thousands of persons have been smitten by an unseen hand which they could not resist. They have fallen down under it, and been instantly prostrated in weakness. The bodily affection has

been universally accompanied by strong and new mental exercises. An agonizing sense of sin has seized upon the soul. *No remedy has been found effectual to meet their case, but the name of Jesus. That has been successful. By its application, body and soul have both been healed.* Balm has been found in Gilead, and a physician there, by which the *health* of the daughter of God's people *has been healed.* [sic] These are facts, patent to the observation of all men. We cannot ignore them. How then are they to be explained? There has been no solution offered independent of the Spirit of God, which could satisfy any thoughtful and reasonable mind. Indifference and scepticism and mocking are out of place. They are unworthy of rational and responsible beings. One thing is certain, that *it is in harmony with the past dispensation of the Spirit to give outward signs of His power now.*"

Not to notice the congeries of crudities which the above extract furnishes, viewed in a theological light, such as that of the great Scripture fact, of the descent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost being classed among the signs of the Divine presence, or the Jewish period being designated as "the past dispensation of the Spirit," what can be said of the assertion that this new, and, as it is represented, mysterious bodily affection, is to be accounted another manifestation of the Divine "presence among ourselves," and placed in parallelism with the presence of God "in his intercourse with Adam, and Noah, and Abraham," or with the symbol of the same presence in the cloud of Shekinah! Comment on such teaching is needless; yet this was offered among the most approved and accepted interpretations of the movement in Ulster, of 1859.

To return, however, to the purpose for which this quotation was introduced. Here have we once again, the fact of these physical accompaniments not only admitted, but spoken of with reverential thankfulness, and in terms very far from alluding to them as mere accidents. It may be noted that such was the language employed, and the views promulgated respecting these, in *the earlier stage* of the Revival movement.

Thus, at the Annual Meeting of the "General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland," in the beginning of the month of July, 1859, in the course of a carefully drawn up document, styled a "Report on the state of Religion" in that body, "the *leading features* of the *awakening*" are presented in a summary, the very outset of which is as follows—

"1. Persons of both sexes, of all ages, of different grades

of society, of various denominations of professing Christians, including Unitarians, Roman Catholics, have been at once convinced of sin, and apparently converted to Christ.

"2. These spiritual emotions have been accompanied in a very large number of cases, by physical impressions, producing bodily infirmity, and continuing, in some cases, for hours, and in others for days, occasionally terminating in peace of conscience, and sometimes in joy unspeakable and full of glory."

Here is a direct and unqualified recognition of the physical element, not as Dr. Mc.Cosh subsequently would have it accounted as a mere accident, but as a prominent and essential part of the movement.

At a future step, and when these manifestations amounted in number and in fearful results to an acknowledged epidemic, of a really disastrous sort, it became convenient to speak of them otherwise. Thus, at the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance held in Belfast during the month of September last, Dr. Mc.Cosh, Professor of Moral Philosophy in Queen's College, Belfast, in a paper read before that body, treats of the "physiological accidents," as he terms them, as follows :

"But I do not found my belief in the work, as a genuine work, on the bodily manifestations! This would be as contrary to Scripture as it is to science. Scripture sets no value on "bodily exercise," and nowhere points to any bodily effect whatever as a proof or test of the presence of the Spirit of God. Nor have I ever heard any one who takes an enlightened interest in this work ever appealing to any such evidence," &c., &c.

It is not unimportant to notice, in passing, the manifest difference existing between these two statements of Drs. Morgan and Mc.Cosh. Both, however, agree in admitting that physical agency, of the peculiar kind under consideration, had to do with the movement. My position is that it had so much to do with it, that without it we never should have heard of such marvellous results, be they really spiritual and desirable, as the gentlemen above quoted agree in believing, or be they in a much larger degree than they would admit, natural and transitory, if not positively evil. I may, perhaps, have another opportunity of testing Dr. McCosh's statements respecting the alleged connection of such physical manifestations with Divine agency : my reference to him, as an authority, is for the present answered, in directing attention to the sophism (doubtless unintentional, though not the less real)



which underlies his entire statement, namely, that the affections in question are to be viewed merely as "physiological accidents," and not essentials of the movement, considered in its integrity. It began with them, continued with them, progressed with them. They have ceased; and so has the spread of "Revivalism" in Ulster, at least for the present.

It is not my purpose, nor is it, indeed, my province, to enquire into the precise character of these physical affections. Their occurrence, however, in connection with a professedly religious movement is a fact which deeply concerns any christian community, and is one into which any christian teacher is not only entitled, but, in my judgment, bound carefully to enquire. These affections have been patent and prevalent in the late "Ulster Revival," and a little careful examination conducted historically, will go far to reveal their true nature and character, sufficiently for all practical purposes, without, as just noted, going into the depths of the subject.

That such affections have occurred, in connexion with religion, from an early date in the history of christianity down to our own day, and the late movement in this country, is an undeniable fact. The history of "The Flagellants" or "Brethren of the Cross," a sect extending over the greater part of Europe in the fourteenth century,—of the "Dancing Mania" in the Netherlands, at nearly the same date,—of "Tarantism" in Italy in the 15th century; and still more recently of the "Convulsionaires" at the tomb of the Abbe Paris, at St. Medard, in France, as well as that of the Presbyterian "Revival" in Kentucky and Tennessee in the beginning of the present century, which originated the exercise of "the Jerks,"—all demonstrate the fact that such affections accompanying religious excitement are no "new thing." This fact being once established, apprehended, and duly appreciated, might surely suggest caution in admitting the moral and spiritual value of the results flowing from a movement combining such manifestly opposite elements. An adequate investigation into such movements would, by right, lead to an enquiry into and comparison with the still earlier, though less understood affections which, unquestionably, found their way into Paganism, antecedent to the establishment of the christian faith. It is impossible to read of the convulsive contortions and weird utterances of the ancient Pythoness, or the priestess of the Delphic oracle, without being struck with their resemblance to some of the affections last referred to, and this but confirms the truth of the assertion that the alli-

ance between the bodily and spiritual elements in question is nothing new or strange.

In making this assertion, it is, perhaps, needless for me to add, that it is far from my intention to identify all that is above enumerated with "Ulster Revivalism." I am willing to allow its advocates full credit for sincerity, and to admit that the words uttered, the visions alleged to be seen, and even the hallucinations which confessedly existed, were all of the christian type. It might be even still further admitted that effects of a moral and, as some believe, a spiritual and beneficial sort have resulted; but, even with all these admissions, any person treating of the subject, and who has duly examined the past in connection with it, is, I submit, fully authorized to plead for great caution before any movement unquestionably attended, not to say originated, by such physical manifestations, is received either with confidence or approval.

Reverting to the particular history of this, the most recent manifestation of the sort, I imagine that it is a matter of but little difficulty to trace it, historically, and to furnish a tolerably accurate account of its rise and progress, which, accordingly, I shall proceed to essay, with as much conciseness as is consistent with the object at present in view.

It is in every sense worthy of observation, that the birth-place of these bodily affections, the class of religionists among whom they made their earliest appearance, and the peculiar circumstances which gave rise to them in the early part of the seventeenth century, are nearly all identical with their most recent development. We have authentic accounts of these remarkable phenomena in the Western parts of Scotland, as also in the counties of Antrim and Down at the date just noted; the instruments by whom they were propagated being the Presbyterian ministers of the Scottish settlement in Ulster, and their followers. It will be borne in mind that this was the date of the settlement of the northern counties of Ireland under the reign of James I., who planted colonists of his own countrymen there, in the room of the Irish insurgents who had forfeited their lands to the Crown by rebellion. These men, under the guidance, in many cases, and accompanied by their religious teachers, settled in this part of Ulster; and the persons, who, during the Revival of 1859, manifested the state of body and mind which has attracted so much notice, in most cases are the lineal descendants of these original settlers. It is extremely singular to find the features of these two periods of religious excitement so strongly re-

sembling each other, a fact which may well prepare us to look for similar results in both instances.

Among the Scotch Presbyterian ministers who visited Ulster at this time were Livingstone and Blair. The former had been assistant minister at Torpichen, in Scotland, and was silenced for non-conformity by Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, in 1627. It was during his ministrations in the latter county, that bodily affections, almost exactly identical with those of the Ulster Revival, made their appearance. These were noticed especially under the ministry of a person named Dickson, at Irvine, about the year 1625, and "by the profane rabble of that time, called the Stewarton-sickness," as Fleming states in his *Fulfilling of Scripture*. Fleming thus describes this state of things, as it afterwards manifested itself in the West of Scotland. "It can be said that for a considerable time few Sabbaths did pass without some evidently converted, or some convincing proof of the power of God accompanying His word; yea, that many were so choked and taken by the heart, that, through terror, the Spirit in such a measure convincing them often, in hearing of the Word they have been made to fall over, and thus carried out of the Church, who often proved most solid and lively Christians, and it was known, some of the most gross, who used to mock at religion, being engaged upon the fame that went abroad of such things, to go to some of these parts where the Gospel was then most lively, have been effectually reached before their return, with a visible change following the same. And, truly, this great spring-tide, as I may call it, of the Gospel, was not of a short time, but for some years' continuance. Yea, thus, like a spreading moon-beam, the power of godliness did advance from one place to another, which put a marvellous lustre on those parts of the country, the savour whereof, brought many from other parts of the land to see the truth of the same."

It is needless to invite attention to the strange coincidence between this account, given by Fleming, of the Scottish Revival of the seventeenth century, and that of Ulster in the nineteenth. Both, it will especially be noted, were ushered in, and accompanied by physical manifestations of precisely the same character. It was under the ministry of the same person, Livingstone, that the often-recorded scenes took place, at "the Kirk of Shotts," on June 21, 1630, and following days, when, under a sermon preached by him, the number of "stricken cases" was so numerous; and, speaking of which, Fleming, already quoted, asserts that "near five hundred

had, at that time, a discernible change wrought on them, of whom most proved lively Christians afterwards."

Such was the state of religion in Scotland, and especially in the western part of it at this date; nor can we feel surprise when we are informed that "in the year 1628 and onwards, powerful revivals prevailed in Ireland." Blair and Livingstone imported not alone the peculiarities of their religious creed, but these physical accompaniments of their preaching into the counties of Down and Antrim. Other ministers of the same persuasion and similar views were at that time located here, among whom we find the names of Brice of Broad Island, (near Larne) Cunningham of Holywood, Hamilton of Ballywalter, Welsh of Temple-patrick, Stewart of Donegore, and others, all of whom were men of precisely the same religious caste.

It may be interesting to notice, in passing, that although Presbyterian in principle, and fiercely opposed to the Episcopacy and ritual of the Church of England, these men were admitted to livings in the Established Church of Ireland, by a compromise with certain of the then northern bishops there (Echlin of Down, and Knox of Derry) and with the connivance, if not the approval, of Archbishop Ussher, whose charitable designs and wishes for compromise and comprehension are well known. Without questioning either the wisdom of the prelates of the Established Church, who admitted to benefices in Ulster, men who were not alone avowedly Presbyterians, but who opposed and even reviled "the *English Service Book*," or the state of moral feeling on the part of these latter who could thus accept, and endeavour to retain, such a *status* in a church not their own, it might easily have been foreseen in what this compromise would certainly end. They were eventually suspended (or most of them) from the benefices into which they had been intruded by Bishop Echlin of Down, and afterwards retired to Scotland, England, or the Continent.

Referring, however, to the physical affections which accompanied, and in a manner ushered in, this Scoto-Ulster Revival, with which we are at present concerned, it is most remarkable that even the men who at the first spoke of them as divine and with unqualified approbation, appeared eventually to have not only distrusted, but absolutely rejected and discountenanced them. A curious reference to them occurs, in the following terms, in an autobiography of Livingstone, lately republished. Writing of the proceedings instituted

against himself and others, as Presbyters, for Non-conformity, before the Bishop of Down, he remarks,—

“The primate (Ussher) very cheerfully dealt for us with the Bishop, so that we were at that time restored. But the Bishops of Scotland sent to the king information against us by Mr. John Maxwell, called Bishop of Ross; and thinking that Non-conformity would not be a crime sufficiently heinous, they informed that we stirred up the people to ecstasies and enthusiasms. There were, indeed, in some parishes, especially in Broad Island, where was a godly, aged minister, Mr. Edward Brice, *some people who used in time of service to fall on a high breathing and panting, as those who have run long. But most of the ministers, and especially those who were complained of, discountenanced these practices, and suspected them not to proceed from any working of the Spirit of God, and that upon this ground that those people were like affected whatever purpose was preached; yea, although by one who had neither gifts nor good affection to the work of God; and accordingly few of these people ever came forward to any solid exercise of christianity, but continued ignorant and profane, and left off that seeming motion.*”

It would be difficult to conceive of a more conclusive testimony against such novelties in christianity than the above. We have in this deliberate judgment their condemnation by one who was among their earliest abettors and promoters, as well as proof, not to be disputed, of the unsatisfactory results. Have we not a parallel at our doors? Where is the man of common sense, now, that will venture to defend or even speak apologetically of those phenomena, which, at the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in Belfast, last autumn, were looked upon as something marvellous, if not Divine? Need the parallel be further insisted on between the unsatisfactory converts of Livingstone, in the earliest Ulster Revival, and the scores of the deluded, or deluding victims of the latest Revival in the same locality, who, in 1859, were exercising the offices of preachers, teachers, and evangelists, and who have, in 1860, returned to all the carelessness and godlessness of the most barren profession, or even to the ranks of the scoffer and the profane? Let the “blind guides” of such followers bethink themselves of the fruit of such labours and be ashamed.

A remarkably similar narrative of the religious Revival in Ulster of the above date is given, authoritatively, by the late Dr. J. S. Reid, in his *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, vol. i., p. 102. The passage bears so fully on the physical affections that it shall be quoted at length.

“The singular circumstances connected with the origin of this religious revival, the first important incident occurring in the history of the Presbyterian Church in Ulster, deserve to be noticed, and are thus fully narrated by Stewart: ‘Mr. Blair coming over from Bangor to Carrickfergus on some business, and occasionally hearing [Mr. Glendinning to preach, perceived some sparkles of good inclination in him, yet found him not solid, but weak, and not fitted for a public place, and among the English. On which, Mr. Blair did call him, and using freedom with him, advised him to go to some place in the country, among his countrymen; whereupon he went to Oldstone near the town of Antrim, and was there placed. He was a man who would never have been chosen by a wise assembly of ministers nor sent to begin a reformation in this land. For he was little better than distracted; yea, afterwards did actually become so. Yet this was the Lord’s choice, to begin with him the admirable work of God; which I mention on purpose that all men may see how the glory is only the Lord’s in making a holy nation in this profane land, and that it was not by might nor by power, nor by man’s wisdom, ‘but by my Spirit,’ saith the Lord. At Oldstone, God made use of him to awaken the consciences of a lewd and secure people thereabouts. For, seeing the great lewdness and ungodly sinfulness of the people, he preached to them nothing but law-wrath, and the terrors of God for sin. And in very deed, for this only was he fitted; for hardly could he preach any other thing.

“But, behold the success; for the hearers finding themselves condemned by the mouth of God speaking in His word, fell into such anxiety and terror of conscience, that they looked on themselves as altogether lost and damned; and this work appeared not in a single person or two; but multitudes were brought to understand their way, and to cry out: ‘Men and brethren what shall we do to be saved?’ I have seen them myself stricken into a swoon with the word; yea, a dozen in one day carried out of doors as dead, so marvellous was the power of God, smiting their hearts for sin, condemning and killing. And of these were none of the weaker sex or spirit, but, indeed, some of the boldest spirits, who formerly feared not with their swords to put a whole market town in a fray; yet, in defence of their stubbornness, cared not to be in prison and in the stocks, and being incorrigible, were as ready to do the like next day. I have heard one of them, then a mighty strong man, now a mighty Christian, say that his end in coming to Church, was to consult with his companions how to

work some mischief. And yet at one of those sermons was he so caught, that he was fully subdued. But why do I speak of him? We knew, and yet know, multitudes of such men who sinned, and still gloried in it, because they feared no man, yet are now patterns of society, fearing to sin because they fear God. And this spread through the country to admiration, especially about that river commonly called the Six-mile Water, for there this work began at first."

It is hardly necessary here, again, to point out the strange coincidence manifest between the two Ulster Revivals under review. The results will present some other no less remarkable points of resemblance. We are told, further on, in Dr. Reid's narrative, that "when the multitudes of wounded consciences were healed, they began to draw into holy communion, and meeting together privately for edification, a thing which in a lifeless generation is both neglected and reprov'd." Further, "they spent their time in prayer, mutual edification, and conference on what they found within them. But these new beginnings were more filled with heart exercise than head notions, and with fervent prayer rather than conceit gifts, to fill the head."

All this religious fervour, however, we are permitted to understand, very soon came to an end; nor is the concluding notice of Mr. Glendinning, the author, as he is described, of the Revival in these parts, the least remarkable feature in the narrative. "Mr. Glendinning," we are told (p. 106) "was also at the first glad of the confluence of the people. But we not having invited him to bear a part in the monthly meeting, he became so emulous, that, to preserve popular applause, he watched and fasted wonderfully. Afterwards *he was smitten with a number of erroneous and enthusiastic opinions, and embracing one error after another he set out, at last, on a visit to the Seven Churches of Asia.*"

And thus ends this contemporary account of the great Ulster Revival of the 17th century, in one of its most favored localities: a most befitting one surely. Here we have a half-demented "preacher of nothing but law-wrath, and the terrors of God," inaugurating a Revival, with most striking physical accompaniments, and ending in delusion and heterodoxy, if not positive insanity, with "a visit to the Seven Churches of Asia." It were well that the Revivalists of our day, before they quote the former great Revival of the 17th century, dating from the Kirk of Shotts and Clydesdale, and concluding with the labours of Blair, Livingstone, and Glen-

dinning in Ulster, would make themselves better acquainted with its history and results.

The next point in the history of revivals which draws attention to their physical accompaniments is that of New England, wherein the celebrated Jonathan Edwards took so conspicuous a part. A full account of this remarkable religious awakening is given by Edwards, and deserves an attentive perusal. It would appear that in this Revival, which dates from 1735 to 1742, and whose locality was chiefly in the town of Northampton, Massachussets, there was but little of extraordinary physical affection, the manifestations which accompanied it being chiefly of a mental and spiritual sort, some of which, however, were sufficiently marked by paroxysms of violence, and not unattended by enthusiastic delusion, against which, in his review of the entire, Edwards felt constrained to utter words of very solemn warning. Closely following this revival occurred that singular work in New Jersey, which has been chronicled by the Missionary, David Brainerd, under the title, "*Divine Grace Displayed, or the Rise and Progress of a Remarkable Work of Grace, amongst a number of Indians in the Provinces of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. 1745.*"

The facts here recorded demand a careful consideration, inasmuch as the remarkable influence which Brainerd's preaching seems to have produced among these Indians was unquestionably accompanied by physical effects, closely resembling those of the Ulster revivals. Thus, in his Journal, under date Aug. 7, 1745, we have the following entry:—

"Preached to the Indians from Isaiah liii. 3—10. There was a remarkable influence attending the Word—a great concern in the assembly, but scarcely equal to what appeared the day before,—that is, not quite so universal. However, most were much affected, and many in great distress for their souls. Some few could neither go nor stand, but lay flat on the ground, as if pierced at heart, crying incessantly for mercy. Several were newly awakened; and it was remarkable, that as fast as they came from remote places round about, the Spirit of God seemed to fill them with concern about their souls. After public service was concluded, I found two other persons who had newly met with comfort, and of whom I had good hopes, and a third that I could not but entertain some hopes of, whose case did not appear so clear as the others. These men, now six in all, who had got some relief from their spiritual distresses, and five whose experience appeared very clear and satisfactory"



In other parts of the *Journal* we find similar scenes described, such as:—"They were almost universally praying and crying for mercy in every part of the house, and many out of doors, and numbers could neither go nor stand."

In endeavouring to come to a just conclusion respecting the true character of the physical affections above described, as well as regards the real value to be attributed to them, it is only right to remark that some features here occur which serve to draw a decided line of distinction between them and those of the *Ulster* revivals. The bodily prostration of Brainerd's converts may have resulted from strong mental emotion. We are not sufficiently acquainted with their physical character to know whether such occurrences were usual or not, but from all we know of Brainerd as a teacher—his austere and ascetic habits—the stern and awful character of his theology (sincere though his opinions may have been, yet mixed with much of gloomy terror), nothing which occurs in his *Journal* can well surprise us, nor can we be at a loss to account for it on natural principles, without having recourse to his own supposition, that any very extraordinary manifestation of Divine and spiritual power was present. Similar manifestations of intense feeling have unquestionably occurred under similar circumstances, and in the case of those who have had the awful realities of eternity for the first time presented to them. At the late meeting of the *Evangelical Alliance* in *Belfast*, a missionary (*French Protestant*) from *South Africa* detailed effects of his preaching among the aborigines extremely similar to those recorded by Brainerd among these *North American Indians*. A highly intelligent minister of the *Established Church*, long a resident, as chaplain, in *India*, informed me, some few years back, that he had witnessed agony of spirit, in the case of some partially enlightened *Brahmins*, which developed itself in the most violent manner. This gentleman described their depth of despair, under a sense of sin, as something extremely awful, and unusual among professing Christians. Such considerations will at once show that but little, if any real parallel, exists between the revivals in *New England*, during the early part of the eighteenth century, and those in *Ulster* at present under review. Neither will an intelligent or discerning observer confound these latter with the effect observed among the totally different classes of persons concerned, viz.: heathens, and those who have heard for the first time in their lives the truths of Christianity. As regards the final results of all such manifestations, and viewing them historically, it is

instructive to note their issue, as far as we can come to any just conclusion, and in so doing we cannot but be struck by the fact that these results are anything but either remarkable or encouraging. It would be difficult to discover any, even the remotest traces of the Indian congregation among whom Brainerd thus laboured, although he was succeeded in his mission by a brother of almost equal devotedness; a circumstance which reminds us of the fact that the tribes among whom his predecessor Elliott laboured, with so much zeal, have so entirely disappeared, that the very translation of the Scriptures into their language made by him, and which may be said to have formed the great aim of his missionary life is now unintelligible; the few copies which remain being thus now utterly lost to all practical use.

Such considerations may well lead us to pause before attributing any surpassing value to the physical accompaniments of religion, or asserting their extraordinary and Divine origin.

The period of the New England Revival was also that of the remarkable events, which, in England, Wales, and Scotland, accompanied the preaching of Whitfield and his fellow-labourers. These latter are too well known to require in this place any distinct record. It is quite evident that, as in the case of the Revival of 1859, the influence in these lands then came from America. In 1735, New England was undergoing the process described by President Edwards, while from that date, until 1742, Whitfield was preaching in England and Scotland, with very similar results.

It will be remembered that it was after Whitfield's first journey to America, and his visit to the scene of the New England revivals, and to Dr. Edwards, under whose ministry they had at first manifested themselves, that the number of alleged conversions, accompanied by bodily affections, took place in Great Britain. The link of connection between these extraordinary manifestations may be thus directly traced. The scenes which took place during Whitfield's preaching at London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Cambuslang, and elsewhere, are familiar to most persons at all acquainted with the religious history of the past century. An extract from one of Whitfield's letters thus describes what occurred on the 11th July, 1742, at the last specified place:

"Yesterday morning, (he writes) I preached at Glasgow to a very large congregation. At noon I came to Cambuslang, the place which God hath so much honoured. I preached at two, to a vast body of people; again at six in the evening, and afterwards at nine. Such a commotion was surely never

heard of, especially about eleven o'clock at night. It far outdid all that ever I saw in America. For about an hour and a half there was such weeping, so many falling into deep distress, and manifesting it in various ways, that description is impossible. The people seemed to be smitten by scores, were carried off, and brought into the house like wounded soldiers taken from the field of battle. Their agonies and cries were deeply affecting. Mr. McCullough preached after I had done, till past one o'clock in the morning, and even then the people could scarcely be got to retire. Throughout the whole of the night might the voice of prayer and praise be still heard in the fields."

It was at the same place, Cambuslang, that a few days afterwards, Whitfield represents himself as having preached, on one occasion to above twenty thousand people. This was on Friday. "On Monday morning," he writes, "I preached to nearly as many, but so general a stir I never saw before. The motion passed swift as lightning from one end of the audience to the other. You might have seen thousands bathed in tears, some wringing their hands, some almost swooning, and others crying out and mourning over a pierced Saviour. During the whole night you might have heard the different companies praying and giving praise to God."

It is impossible not to perceive the close resemblance between those scenes and the accompaniments of the recent Ulster Revival. The effects are stated, by the contemporaries and companions of Whitfield, as of the most extraordinary kind. Within the space of a few months it is stated that "in one locality alone, upwards of five hundred souls have been awakened; most of them it is added, savingly brought home to God." On one occasion of a communion, upwards of one thousand seven hundred communicated. On another, on one Lord's day, and in three tents, on a sacramental occasion, a multitude variously estimated at from thirty to fifty thousand are said to have partaken of that ordinance.

The above facts are selected from a volume published under the sanction of the committee of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, entitled *The Revivals of the Eighteenth Century, &c.*, by the Rev. D. Macfarlan, D.D., Renfrew; and the same volume furnishes a most instructive comment on them. Such was the state of things, and the aspect of religion in Scotland in 1743 and 1744. Nine years afterwards, that is in 1751, appeared *A Review of the Fruits of the Revival at Cambuslang*, from the pen of the Rev. W. McCulloch, one of Whitfield's fellow labourers, and a more

melancholy though wholesome comment on all such religious excitement, to any unprejudiced judge, can hardly be conceived. The writer of this report states—

“There were many in 1742 who, in time of sermon, fell under various bodily agitations and commotions, such as crying aloud, fainting, falling down dead, &c. Concerning such bodily effects, we cannot certainly conclude that the persons so affected are under the influence of the Spirit, whether convincing, comforting or sanctifying, because, for aught we know, they may proceed from the mere power of the imagination, or from some bodily disorder.”

Then follow some exceedingly sensible remarks on such bodily affections, which, it is much to be regretted, appear never to have met the eyes of the Ulster Revivalists of the present day. The following is a word of caution which might commend itself to all such.

“Meantime, we see in some things the malice of the wicked one. When he saw a number under deep convictions that were likely to issue well, as these appeared towards the end of 1741 and the beginning of 1742, he taught certain of his wretched bondmen to mimic them, crying out, falling down as dead, and afterwards reporting dreams and visions, making a high profession, some for weeks, some for months, and some for years, and when this was ended they were driven on in evil courses—some falling into habits of uncleanness, some of drunkenness, some of lying, some of cheating, and some of other abominations, utterly casting away from them all respect for religion.”

As regards the actual numbers of those who are reported to have maintained anything like a decent outward profession of religion, thereby proving the sincerity of their alleged conversion, *the utmost extent is stated in this report at four hundred.* How solemn a warning does this statement contain, we may be sure the most favourable possible, thus made a few years afterwards by one of Whitfield's enthusiastic companions in the Cambuslang Revival, when we call to remembrance, not the hundreds, but the thousands believed to have been made the subjects of saving faith under his preaching! Here, once more, is matter for earnest consideration for modern Revivalists.

The rapid historical sketch here attempted, if pursued *seriatim*, would lead to a mention of the American Revivals, dating from 1800 and the following years, in Kentucky; those which have succeeded in that country down to the most recent in 1858, as well as to those in Scotland, at Kilsyth and

Dundee, in the year 1835, concluding with the Ulster Revival of last year. It may suffice to notice that, with the exception of the American Revival of 1858, wherein bodily affections were nearly altogether absent, these phenomena were more or less noticeable, while in the most recent case, the Ulster Revival, they constituted, as already stated, its very "*fons et origo*," and accompanied the movement, as an essential adjunct, until its intensity spent itself. We are, therefore, I trust, in a position to take a calm, retrospective glance at these singular accompaniments of religion, and make a few deductions which may appear fully warranted, even by what has just been stated respecting them. For a more full understanding of the subject, and of the grounds on which the following suggestions are made, the more ample records of these events must be consulted.

First, then, be it observed, that these physical affections have occurred in connection with one phase of the Christian religion almost exclusively, and have followed in the wake of teachers of one doctrinal description alone. These are, manifestly, of the school of Whitfield; the bodily affections which we are considering, are the exclusive growth of Presbyterianism in these countries, and down to their very latest exhibition, have primarily occurred in the bodies of religionists professing that creed. Some qualification to this assertion may be urged when the case of Methodism is considered, and it must be admitted that excitement, physical as well as spiritual, is one of the normal elements of that sect: but the peculiar sort of physical affections which are now before us, is, nevertheless, the growth of Presbyterianism, more or less strictly so called, as is proved by its history among us, from the days of Hamilton, Blair, and Glendinning, down to the Ulster Revivalists of 1859.

Let this fact be accounted for as it may, it is a patent and undeniable one.

Referring to it I may be permitted to trace in its occurrence, periodically, as it may be styled, a singular illustration of the often cited adage, that "extremes meet." The wildest bodily contortions and mental illusions of Tarantism, and of the Convulsionaires of Romanism, to say nothing of the Jerkers and Peter Cartwrights among American Methodists, have found an exact parallel among the proverbially apathetic Presbyterian peasants and mechanics of Ulster, during the late excitement; while ministers of the "General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland" have been found among the originators, abettors or apologists of these extrava-

gancies. It were a task as facile as disagreeable to illustrate these statements by proofs, some ludicrous, and others sadly instructive. Just to mention one: I have it on most reliable authority that a Presbyterian minister in Ulster, during the prevailing excitement, actually preached to his congregation for several successive Lord's Days, while under the influence of *bona fide* mental derangement, owing to which he had afterwards to be placed under restraint. On more than one of these occasions he addressed to some of his hearers, individually, from the pulpit, messages which he asserted to have been delivered to him, for their spiritual benefit, during his visits to heaven, whither he had been carried in the Spirit. Some of these messages were of the most painfully ludicrous description. To one man he addressed himself specifically, saying that in former times he had stolen a cock, and that he (the preacher) had seen that cock in heaven, reserved there for the purpose of convicting him of the theft, &c., &c. These addresses produced the usual physical effects on the hearers, who were "struck," and carried out of the congregation, to be treated in the usual and prescribed manner: but the truly melancholy part of the subject is, that this unhappy man, diseased in mind, like his predecessor, Glendinning, was not only not recognised and treated as such by his hearers, but his mission as a Revivalist believed in.

This fact, then, namely, that the bodily affections of the Ulster revival of 1859, as of its predecessors, were the growth of Presbyterianism proper, deserves our consideration, as well as a careful record. It must be admitted that Methodism soon joined in with the system so utterly opposed to it in doctrine and discipline. So did the Baptist denomination. This sect has had a perfect harvest among the Revivalists. So has Plymouthism, which has developed itself into an ultra Baptist sect. I regret to have to add that some few of the clergy of the Established Church in Ulster joined the ranks of Revivalism, but from its very earliest date, in the 17th century, down to our own day, it has never found a place in the Church of the land; its sayings and doings here are as entirely unknown as they are in the inspired record. No one physical manifestation, in connexion with religion, has ever had either origin or abode in the United Church of England and Ireland. To account for this would take us to the region of theology, or lead us to discuss these phenomena in the light of Scripture and reason, in their moral and psychical aspect, a view of the subject which must not, for the present, be entered on.

I prefer, on this account, merely to note the facts already mentioned.

Recurring to their origin, as above, it is painfully instructive further to note, that among the religionists where the physical affections have occurred in their most striking form, it will be found, on careful enquiry, that *superstition*, often of the grossest and most humiliating form is discoverable. This statement is, I am but too well aware, calculated to offend the prejudices of many, but the interests of truth, and above all of God's truth, must be paramount, especially at a time like the present, when they are so alarmingly endangered. It is really humiliating to peruse the records of the Ulster Revival of 1859, some of these from men and teachers whose names stand high for orthodoxy of sentiment and sobriety of character, and to perceive the deep tinge of credulity, tending to superstition which overspreads them. One of these *brochures* is from the pen of the Rev. John Baillie, author of *Memoirs of Hewitson, &c.*, as the title page informs us, and a more melancholy exhibition of simplicity—I had nearly written gullibility—as regards alleged *facts*, as well as of the proneness to believe wonders, often imaginary or worse, is hardly to be found in the whole region of pamphleteering. If this writer only knew the mischief he has done, in chronicling as true converts, persons easily recognisable by those on the spot, whose real characters, as since and now exhibited, are so utterly unlike what his heated imagination has depicted, he would be very slow in again acting as the historian and interpreter of what he so imperfectly understands. He is quite prepared for any amount of miraculous interposition which may present itself: all the wonders of Pentecost, including the out-pouring of the Holy Spirit, “so far from being confined to any particular season,” we are told, “might be expected to be reproduced so often as God might have any of His wise and gracious ends to serve by their reproduction.” Here we have personal conflicts with the Devil in abundance, as for example that of a mill-girl, (recorded in chap. ii., p. 7) to whom Satan appeared almost visibly present, so that “*the sweat lashed out of her.*” This gentleman is quite delighted with the swoons and fits and fallings down of these unhappy young females, some of whom, though he knows it not, may be at this moment suffering under permanent bodily disease, from the effects of his ministrations. Writing of one of his addresses, and its effects of this description, “when suddenly several individuals were stricken and screamed aloud;” Mr. Baillie, with much *naïveté*, adds “now we are free to add—it

were mere prudery to withhold the confession—*that we returned home that evening feeling that we had received a visible seal of our ministry.* The same work might have been done in that soul without any outward manifestation of it; but the latter was added, and we thanked God and took courage." p. 15.

Such is the Rev. Mr. Baillie's candid confession in avoidance of prudery, and we are "free to add," in common honesty, whatever the evangelical world may think of such an avowal on his part, that to us it savours of most depraved spiritual apprehension, and is double dyed with the traces of the most dangerous superstition.

Tracing this physical manifestation, in connection with religion, backward towards its source in the seventeenth century, honesty compels me to add, that its authors discover, to an attentive observer, the most palpable evidences of superstition, and that often of a very degrading character. It would hardly be believed, were it stated, how much of this mental delusion lurks among the Presbyterian population of Ulster at the present day, and the same remark applies to their ecclesiastical progenitors. The seventeenth century was rife with superstition, and that among even its puritan professors. The immediate descendants of the Puritan Fathers—Pilgrim Fathers, as they are generally styled—in New England, were superstitious to an extent that is hardly credible. A most singular production from the pen of one of those religious teachers, Increase Mather, well known as a man of reputed piety, has lately been reprinted (1856), its original date being Boston, in New England, 1683, under the title *Remarkable Providences, Illustrative of the Earlier Days of American Colonization*, the alleged miracles of which leave far behind them nearly all the tales of the marvellous, which are to be found even in the legends of Romanism. Apparitions, monsters, satanic freaks, in thunder, lightning, up and down chimneys, on old women, and tubs of milk, and pans of cream and butter, here abound.

Now, let it be borne in mind, that it was among precisely the same class of religionists the physical forms of religious conversion made their earliest appearance, and have been perpetrated. The Scottish ministers who imported these into Ulster present not a few traces, in their character, of precisely the same tendency. Thus, appended to the autobiography of Livingstone already referred to, we have his own statement, that John Knox "*dispossessed an evil spirit out of a chamber in East Lothian.*" The same author ascribes "*the*



*spirit of prophecy*," to Mr. John Davidson, minister at Pres-tonpans, and gives several alleged instances of its exercise. What is this but superstition? To give illustrations of the same spirit, as characteristic of the Ulster Revival of 1859, were not to write an essay, but to fill a volume. Lights and apparitions, unearthly visions of heaven and hell, sounds celestial and infernal, music in the air, lights from above and around, conversations with spirits of all sorts, alleged answers to prayer of the most marvellous magnitude and exactness, all these, and countless other concomitants, have marked its rise and progress. These may all, to answer a purpose, be styled accidents, but like the physical affections themselves, they have been the unfailing attendants of the movement throughout.

After such an historical (perhaps it might be said geographical) review of the physical portion of revivalism, some few concluding inferences may legitimately, and also profitably be permitted to suggest themselves.

This physical phase, then, of the movement, being an essential one, is that movement therefore, the more likely to be, as is so loudly asserted by its advocates, an extraordinary, divine, and spiritual one? The very opposite is the conclusion to which an intelligent enquirer, and moreover an enlightened Christian, might be expected to arrive. Viewing Christianity as a whole, and tracing it, historically, to its origin, we are led to perceive that these physical adjuncts are a novelty, and in this case every novelty is dangerous. "*The faith*" which we profess was "once delivered to the saints." *The practice* to be pursued by all intelligent Christians is that which exhibited itself in the New Testament model—in the life and in the death of the Great Author of our religion, as well as in those of his immediate followers and disciples. Where, it may well be asked, in the New Testament, do we discover scenes such as those enacted in Ulster, during the revival either of the seventeenth or the nineteenth century?

Again, the history of this movement, even as it has been rapidly glanced at in these pages, demonstrates it to have been most partial and limited in its operations, manifesting itself exclusively among one set of religionists and no other. Is there here any resemblance to that religion whose mission is to "all kindreds and nations and peoples and tongues" whose message is "to every creature?" Will it be believed that the Blessed Spirit who descended on the day of Pentecost, and, as a type and first-fruit of his future operations, baptized not only Jews, but Parthians and Medes and Elamites—re-

representatives of all nations dwelling at Jerusalem—has in the nineteenth century inaugurated “another Pentecost,” and signalized it by some dubious conversions among a sect or two in Ulster?

Least of all can we concede such a demand on our faith when we see this movement not only materialized by bodily affections, and those in numberless cases morbid ones, but accompanied throughout by works of superstition so gross as to become offensive, even to many who at first did not know what to think of it, whether to approve or to distrust.

Above and beyond all, let the alone sure test, that of its *fruits*, be applied here. These are now beginning to develop themselves in tolerable abundance. And generalizing this test, we may lawfully ask, what have been the abiding results of all the past revivals attended like that of last year, by physical manifestations? History can answer that question. The Ulster Revival of Livingstone and Blair ended in the apathy, the worldliness, the Socinianism of Ulster during the years intervening between it and the period of our own memory. Who can trace any permanent results from “The Work” in Edwards’ and Brainerd’s day? In what have the labours even of Whitfield and his companions ended, however earnest and evangelical? And however beneficial may have been the result in individual conversions, let the harvest of sects and heterodoxy which followed, in part, at least, answer the question. What has been the tendency and the realized results of the camp-meetings of Kentucky and Tennessee, almost within our own recollection? What even of the excitement fostered by the excellent M’Cheyne and others still later? Will any one venture to give a reply approbatory of all these? If even present rumours from across the Atlantic convey truth, the American Revival of 1858, although accompanied by so little of physical excitement, has been far from productive of so much permanently spiritual fruit as some at first supposed it would yield. Surely, all these considerations should suggest more than caution respecting the finality of the Ulster Revival of 1859; and, beyond all, as regards its physical accompaniments. “*Revivalism*,” is a thing which may be both apprehended and appreciated. Let it be but weighed in the balances of reason and Scripture, as well as tested by history and experience, and so far from being dealt with apologetically or approvingly, in connexion with “pure and undefiled religion,” it will be consigned to the region of distrust and disapprobation.

*On Potentiality and Actuality in Man.* By J. Stevenson Bushnan, M.D., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh; late Senior Physician to the Metropolitan Free Hospital; Resident Proprietor of Laverstock House Asylum, near Salisbury.

Potentiality refers to an idea sufficiently well known both in physiology and psychology. Thus, in physiology, a serous empty sac is a potential cavity; and, as respects potentiality, in reference to mental phenomena we may conveniently conceive it as parallel to the potentiality of the phenomena of life existing in the germ at the moment of its first detachment from the parent, previous to the commencement of uterine life.

Potentiality may be viewed as belonging either to the individual, as pointing to the particular mental history of one man; or, in a larger view, to men in general as constituting a species in the animal kingdom; or, lastly, to an individual as the type of a high standard of the human race. It is this last form of potentiality to which the following brief observations chiefly relate. To such a type of mankind the observations we have to make on actuality also belong.

Potentiality, as belonging to the germ, necessarily includes the susceptibility of every possible mode of mental existence which is to be realized in the future life of the individual into which the germ is to be developed.

The first potentiality to be noted is the great potentiality of consciousness. This great potentiality of consciousness with striking contrast distinguishes man from the most exalted member of the vegetable kingdom. Thus the most elaborate development of life does not in the least degree imply actuality of consciousness. It might even be conceived that the human germ might attain an actuality of life little inferior to that possessed by an ordinary full-grown man, without having attained the actuality of consciousness. Such a case at least is not to be described so much as impossible, as next to unattainable under the ordinary circumstances of life at the surface of the earth. How nearly such a case approaches to realization appears from the well known histories of the all but complete development of anencephalous fœtuses.

Of mere consciousness in its most limited degree, animals very low in the scale seem to be susceptible. Whatever

animal is susceptible of pain, is, by the very terms of that proposition, declared to be susceptible of consciousness. But in the lower animals in which pain occurs, the consciousness of pain may occur for a moment and cease; it may again occur and cease, and so on for a number of times, and yet each pain may be, as it were, a separate existence. Such an animal may have no other consciousness than the consciousness of pain; in which case it will possess as many mental lives, of short duration indeed, as occasions during its bodily life occur on which it has suffered this consciousness of pain. The case of such an animal is not, however, altogether without a parallel in man; for there may be states of consciousness which occur but a few times during his life, at intervals so long, that, on each separate occasion, no reference is made to the other occasions on which the same consciousness took place. In the case of such an animal as that just referred to, it is manifest that there is no foundation for identity. The elements which compose the body may, or may not, remain the same throughout the whole period within which these several occasions of pain have arisen; but there is no foundation in its mental life for identity. Nevertheless there is manifestly no need for any other kind of consciousness of pain to establish a feeling of identity:— what is wanted is the susceptibility of recognizing each consciousness of pain as a repetition of a form of consciousness of pain. This consciousness is equivalent to mental existence, and if there be no connexion between several successive states of consciousness, then there are as many mental existences as there are consciousnesses, but no identity.

To return to man. The potentiality of consciousness implies the potentiality of a feeling of mental existence so long at least as each state of consciousness lasts, but does not imply identity.

The next great potentiality to that of consciousness is the potentiality of the notion of time. Every animal which can recognise a state of consciousness as resembling a consciousness which occurred before, has the potentiality of the notion of time, even although between the periods at which these successive states of consciousness arise, it may have been dead to all feeling. An animal may recognise several successive consciousnesses of pain as resembling each other, while each suggested those which preceded it, so as to have an imperfect notion of successive interrupted states of existence. The same animal may have

successive consciousnesses of pleasure, each suggesting those which preceded it, and yet each of those consciousnesses of pleasure, may not suggest the consciousness of pain; and thus the animal may have two separate courses of mental existence each independent of the other, or even an indefinite number of such courses of mental existence corresponding to the several kinds of consciousnesses of which it is susceptible, provided each kind do not suggest the others, but only those of its own kind. The bearing of this view on some states of mental derangement is obvious, and to which, upon a future occasion, I propose to allude.

The third great potentiality is the potentiality of identity. This potentiality implies that each state of consciousness, of whatever kind, remembers the previous successions of consciousness.

The next great potentiality is the potentiality of the notion of space.

Of all the modes of consciousness, by far the most predominant, particularly in early infancy is sensation. In every sensation there is the generic consciousness common to all mental phenomena, with the additional element of an absolutely fixed locality. Let the sensation be produced by the most delicate touch of the finest possible needle in the infant but just born. This sensation consists of a consciousness and of a local seat, namely, in the minute area of space occupied by the point of the needle. This, then, is the character of all sensation; consciousness with a local seat. The human germ, then, unquestionably has the potentiality of existing in consciousness, combined with a feeling of locality. No anatomy is required to determine this truth. Pure metaphysical reasoning is but confused by reference to anatomical knowledge. The only evidence admissible in metaphysics is, reflection on the subjects of consciousness—whether direct or by testimony. It is certain that every sensation analogous in magnitude to that supposed to be produced by the point of a needle, has a local seat, just as definite, whatever be its origin.

The next great potentiality is the potentiality of the notion of motion. From an early period of life the muscular fibres of the locomotive system contract spontaneously in various automatic acts, as they are called, long before distinct motions are performed by volition. The contraction of every fibre, or at least of every minute portion of such a muscle, by affecting the nervous filament spread over it, produces a sensation. This sensation, like all other sensations, has a local seat, namely

in the area where the impression is made by the contraction of the fibre. It is manifest, however, that a single fibre, or a minute portion of a muscle, cannot move without the nervous filament being at the same time moved. Hence the beginning of the sensation must involve one locality, and its termination another locality. Thus the sensations, which take place during the contraction of muscular fibres, leap, as it were, from one locality to another. This is the earliest actuality of motion; the realization of the potentiality and the notion of motion. "The element of motion is involved in the sensation attendant on the contraction of every portion of muscular substance supplied with a sentient nervous filament." (Dr. Sellar. See *Report of the British Association for 1850*, p. 135.) When the hand passes over the surface of the body accidentally, or under automatic movements, there is another actuality of motion. When an object depicted on the retina changes its place with the movements of the eye, there is another actuality of motion. If any one doubts the existence of distinct sensations under the contraction of muscular fibres, let him attend to his own feelings in the act of yawning. In this act he exercises no volition, and for that very reason, perhaps he is more distinctly sensible of the distinctive feelings which attend the movement of the several muscular fibres concerned. In the early period of infancy, all the muscular movements are of the same character as the act of yawning, that is, movements determined by what physiologists name reflex or excito-motory acts. It is found that every individual possesses a perfect knowledge from his feelings of the attitude in which he happens to be at the moment; that is to say, he knows by the sensations attending the particular muscular acts, by which his present attitude is determined, the exact position in which the body stands, sits, or lies. If a man awake in the night in the most complete darkness, he knows at once in what attitude he is placed. This knowledge, doubtless, is the result of the attention given in early infancy to the sensations accompanying the muscular acts determined by reflex action, rather than by those which are, at a later period, the effects of volition.

If a sleep-walker were suddenly to awake in a particularly dark room while he stood in some unusual attitude, he would at once know with the most perfect accuracy what that attitude was. Let the metaphysicians say whether this knowledge be subjective or objective. No physiologist will for a moment doubt that such knowledge can only be subjective.

*Second Annual Report of the General Board of Commissioners in Lunacy for Scotland. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. Edinburgh, 1860. pp. 225.*

In our July number of last year we gave an account of the state of lunacy in Scotland as shewn in the first annual report of the Scotch Commissioners. We concluded that notice with the following sentence: "We here conclude our observations on this first report of the Scotch Lunacy Commissioners. It is a document drawn up in a wide and comprehensive spirit, dealing with the question of the treatment and care of the insane in all its varied relations. It bears evidence throughout of that unwearied industry and conscientious search after truth, which characterized Dr. Browne's long series of Reports of the Dumfries Asylum. It is full and accurate in the information it conveys of the present state of the insane in Scotland, and of the measures in progress for their amelioration; while, at the same time, its wide grasp of the whole question of lunacy, has led us on, following the example of its writers, to depart here and there from the purely local question of the treatment of the insane in Scotland, and to touch on the wider element of the future development here in England, as well as beyond the Tweed, of the principles of the treatment of the insane poor embodied in the lunacy legislation of the last twelve years, and evolved in the successful efforts of the English Commissioners in Lunacy to apply those principles to practice. The work is already well forward, and has only to be persevered with in the same spirit in which it has hitherto been carried out."

The report now before us fully realizes these expectations. The Commissioners have successfully applied the powers intrusted to them to the alleviation of the condition of the insane in Scotland, and their report bears ample evidence of the zeal and diligence with which the work has been carried on. Our countrymen north of the Tweed are not so tied in red tape, and seem to trust more to their own unaided common sense and good intentions, than we are permitted here in the south to do.

We shall proceed to give a summary of the contents of this Second Report of the Scotch Commissioners.

## I. THE NUMBER OF INSANE IN SCOTLAND.

### a. Total number of the Insane in Scotland.

The total number of the insane in Scotland, on 1st January, 1859, including those private patients living singly, of whose existence the Commissioners have cognizance, amounted to 7878, distributed as follows :—

				Private.			Pauper.		
	M.	F.	TOT.	M.	F.	TOT.	M.	F.	TOT.
Public Asyl.	1271	1225	2496	413	396	809	858	829	1687
Private „	351	470	821	90	110	200	261	360	621
Poorhouses	328	469	797	..	2	2	328	467	795
Private Ho.	1879	1885	3764	1041	846	1887	838	1039	1877
Total	3829	4049	7878	1544	1354	2898	2285	2695	4980

It appears from this Table that of 7878 insane persons in Scotland, 2898 are supported by private funds, and 4980 by parochial rates. Another important fact which may be deduced from it, is the preference given by the friends of private patients to public asylums over licensed houses; and this affords a strong argument in favour of providing accommodation of a superior kind in connexion with the district asylums. It is shown that while 809 patients of this class are placed in public asylums, only 200 are placed in licensed houses; and the former number would probably have been even greater, had the public asylums been able to receive all those for whom application was made.

A very large proportion of the non-parochial patients who are found in private houses, belong to families so little removed above pauperism, that many of them are detained at home entirely from the inability of friends to pay for their maintenance in asylums. This is a fact of very grave import, and should be constantly borne in mind in all arrangements for providing a national system of asylum accommodation.

### b. Increase of Insanity in France, England, and Scotland

“The experience of all countries has shown, that the numbers of the insane increase so rapidly that the accommodation provided, however sufficient it may at first have appeared, has in a short time been found inadequate. In France, for instance, the numbers of the insane in public and private asylums amounted, on 1st January 1835, to 10,539; whereas, on 1st January, 1854, they had increased



to 24,524. In England and Wales the number of pauper lunatics amounted, in August 1843, to 16,764; of whom 3525 were in county asylums, 2298 in licensed houses, and 4063 in workhouses. On 1st January, 1859, the number of pauper lunatics had increased to 30,318; of whom 14,481 were placed in county or borough asylums, 2076 in registered hospitals and licensed houses, and 7963 in workhouses. It thus appears that in sixteen years the number of pauper lunatics in England and Wales had nearly doubled, and that in 1859 nearly as many were in public and private asylums as were on the roll in 1843. In Scotland, we find similar results. According to the returns of the Board of Supervision, the number of insane poor *relieved* during the year ended 14th May, 1847, amounted to 2945, and to 5564 for the year ended 14th May, 1858; thus showing an increase of 2619 in eleven years. These numbers refer to the pauper lunatics *relieved* during the year; but supposing that the moderate deduction of ten per cent. be made to determine the numbers on any stated day, we shall have 2650 as the actual number of insane poor in Scotland on 14th May, 1847."

*c. Estimate of numbers in Scotland, for whom asylum accommodation may be required.*

"Reference to the preceding Table will show, that on 1st January 1859, there were 2308 pauper lunatics in public and private asylums, and 795 in the lunatic wards of poorhouses. That is, there were in lunatic establishments, in 1859, no less than 3103 pauper patients, or 453 more than the total number of the insane poor in 1847. From the investigations undertaken with the view of determining the amount of accommodation that should be provided in district asylums, we arrived at the conclusion that provision would be required for 4353 pauper lunatics; and, on mature consideration, we are not inclined to consider this estimate as excessive. On the contrary, were we to draw our conclusions from past experience, we should have only too great reason to fear that it would soon prove insufficient. The estimate, it may be well to point out, is founded on the supposition that all pauper lunatics are to be accommodated in district asylums, or asylums recognised as efficient substitutes, and presupposes the extinction of all licensed houses and lunatic wards of poorhouses. On this supposition, additional accommodation would be required for 2666 patients, as this number, with the 1687 in public asylums on 1st January, 1859, makes up the estimate of 4353. But, during 1859, additional accommodation for about 400 patients has been provided by the opening of the new asylum of Montrose, and the enlargement of the Southern Counties Asylum at Dumfries, so that the further accommodation now absolutely required, supposing the old asylum at Montrose to remain in permanent operation, is only for 2266 patients. Of these 2266, however, 1416 are already in licensed houses and lunatic

wards of poorhouses, so that the actual deficiency of any kind of accommodation is only for 850.

“We entertain strong objections to the residence of pauper lunatics in licensed houses and lunatic wards of poorhouses, as well on grounds of economy as on those of general treatment, and these we shall state more fully in other portions of this Report. At present we shall merely direct attention to the fact, that it must of necessity be more for the interests of the districts to place their pauper lunatics in establishments under their own management, than to consign them to the custody of the proprietors of private asylums, who must draw their own profits from the payments made for the maintenance of the patients. We shall also afterwards bring forward strong reasons for thinking that the maintenance of patients, even in the lunatic wards of poorhouses, is less economical than their maintenance in public asylums.

“To prevent misconception, it may be well to state that we do not consider it advisable that the old asylum at Montrose should be permanently retained in operation. Indeed, the directors decided on the erection of the new asylum, chiefly on the ground that the accommodation afforded by the old house was not in harmony with the modern improved treatment of the insane. It is therefore only as a measure of temporary relief that we have suggested its continued occupation.”

## II. DISTRIBUTION OF PAUPER LUNATICS IN SCOTLAND.

The following valuable table, which we copy from page 39 of this report, gives a mass of information relative to the distribution of the insane poor in Scotland. (Table No. 1.)

## III. STATISTICS OF INSANITY IN SCOTLAND.

The Commissioners enter very carefully into the statistics of the disease in Scotland. Some of these tables are suggestive of improvements in our method of recording the result of treatment in the English county asylums.

Our limits will only permit us to reproduce here two tables giving a summary of the admissions, discharges, and deaths, the one in the public asylums, the other in the private licensed houses of Scotland. (Tables Nos. 2 and 3.)

(No. 1.)

District.	Counties.	Population in 1851.	Registered Paupers 14th May 1848.	No. of Pauper Lunatics Jan. 1, 1859			Proportion per 1000.		Per Centage of Pauper Lunatics.			
				Total	Public & Private Asylums, houses	Poor Houses	Private Houses	Paupers to Population.	Pauper Lunatics to Pop.	In Asylums	In Poor-houses.	In Private Houses.
Aberdeen	Aberdeen	212711	6029	345	193	33	119	28343	1621	55942	9565	34492
Argyll	Argyll	83807	3662	210	78	6	126	41235	2364	57345	2857	60000
Ayr	Ayr	189973	4813	216	72	22	122	25335	1137	44879	33333	56482
Banff	Banff	53141	1605	85	27	..	58	30202	1599	52959	31765	68236
Bute	Bute	16608	465	30	8	4	18	27998	1806	64516	26666	60000
Caithness	Caithness	39782	1477	88	18	..	70	37127	2212	59580	20455	79345
Dumfries	Dumfries	78149	1842	143	83	5	55	23570	1829	77633	58042	38461
"	"	43121	1300	70	40	..	30	30149	1623	53846	57142	42857
"	"	43389	1722	71	23	8	40	39665	1636	41251	32394	56339
Edinburgh	Edinburgh	259493	6431	596	310	190	96	24783	2296	92676	52013	31879
"	"	10804	293	20	14	..	6	27119	1851	68259	70000	30000
Elgin	Elgin	39494	1323	74	42	1	31	33499	1873	55933	56756	41891
Fife	Fife	153789	3362	275	144	53	78	21861	1780	81796	52363	28364
"	"	8095	156	12	4	2	6	19487	1500	76923	33333	16666
Forfar	Forfar	191247	4180	369	299	6	64	21868	1929	88235	81031	1626
Glasgow	Lanarkshire	533169	13684	658	288	261	109	23655	1234	48085	43769	39696
Haddington	Haddington	36363	1150	89	50	..	39	31626	2447	77391	56179	000
Inverness	Inverness	97189	3681	209	70	7	132	37874	2150	56778	33493	3349
"	"	24720	1039	50	11	..	39	42031	2022	48142	22000	78000
"	"	83781	3548	183	43	2	138	42364	2185	51578	23498	1093
"	"	8076	317	26	24	..	12	39252	3219	82018	53816	000
"	"	34944	1112	80	40	7	33	31823	2289	71951	50000	8750
Kincardine	Kincardine	31455	855	58	21	..	37	27181	1813	67836	36207	000
Orkney	Orkney	138377	3859	350	188	3	159	27889	2529	90697	53712	858
Perth	Perth	157950	3864	205	144	..	36	24464	1298	53053	12195	70244
Renfrew	Renfrew	51895	1219	93	34	..	59	23489	1791	76292	36569	000
Roxburgh	Roxburgh	36165	1103	62	25	..	37	30499	1714	56210	40322	000
"	"	9132	175	16	5	..	11	19163	1753	91428	31250	000
Shetland	Shetland	31078	707	40	17	..	23	22749	1287	56577	42500	000
Stirling	Stirling	84241	1899	118	43	29	46	22541	1400	62137	36440	24577
"	"	46995	987	62	34	8	20	21002	1319	62816	51839	12903
Dumbarton	Dumbarton	30590	836	41	26	4	11	27330	1340	49043	63415	9756
Linlithgow	Linlithgow	24106	504	36	19	..	17	20907	1493	71429	52777	000
Clackmannan	Clackmannan	2888742	79199	980	2308	1795	1877	27416	1723	62879	46346	37691
				TOTALS AND AVERAGES								

## (No. 2.) a. Results of Treatment in the public asylums of Scotland during the year 1859.

Public Asylums.	Average Number Resident.		Admissions.		Recoveries.		Discharged not Recovered.		Deaths.		Proportion of Recoveries per Cent. on Admissions.		Proportion of Deaths per Cent. on Number Resident.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Aberdeen Royal Asylum	50.0	35.5	21	11	5	11	3	3	1	1	41.666	52.380	.000	2.817
Private patients	91.0	122.0	21	50	18	7	7	2	3	42.857	60.000	5.494	2.459	
Pauper ditto	141.0	157.5	33	51	29	10	5	5	4	42.424	56.862	3.546	2.539	
Total	28.5	23.5	8	8	3	2	1	1	6	87.500	37.500	21.051	4.255	
Dumfries Royal Asylum	88.5	73.5	14	10	10	5	..	3	3	52.634	71.428	3.387	4.081	
Private patients	117.0	97.0	27	22	17	13	7	1	9	62.962	59.090	7.692	4.123	
Pauper ditto	86.5	66.5	20	20	6	8	12	8	7	30.000	40.000	8.092	9.022	
Total	108.5	73.5	30	22	5	11	11	11	4	16.666	50.000	3.688	4.081	
Dumfries Royal Asylum	195.0	140.0	50	42	11	19	23	19	11	22.000	45.228	5.641	6.428	
Private patients	83.5	88.5	45	32	9	10	14	14	13	20.000	31.250	15.568	3.389	
Pauper ditto	263.5	222.0	74	65	19	30	20	9	30	25.675	46.153	11.385	6.306	
Total	347.0	310.5	119	97	28	41	34	23	43	23.529	41.237	12.391	5.475	
Elgin Asylum	23.0	26.0	8	18	5	7	1	5	1	62.500	38.388	4.391	11.538	
Glasgow Royal Asylum	88.0	78.0	59	48	19	26	25	27	13	32.203	54.166	14.773	8.974	
Private patients	169.5	166.5	56	41	22	15	13	14	8	39.385	36.585	4.072	12.612	
Pauper ditto	257.5	244.5	115	89	41	41	36	41	21	55.652	46.067	8.155	11.451	
Total	15.0	27.0	13	7	2	2	2	1	4	43.750	15.384	6.666	14.814	
Montrose Royal Asylum	117.0	143.0	70	90	17	14	3	5	13	24.285	15.555	11.111	14.685	
Private patients	132.0	170.0	86	103	24	16	5	4	14	27.907	15.534	10.606	14.706	
Pauper ditto	45.0	40.5	11	18	4	8	4	8	3	36.363	44.444	6.666	4.987	
Total	49.5	56.5	14	15	5	13	6	3	1	35.714	86.666	.000	1.769	
Perth Royal Asylum	94.5	97.0	25	33	9	21	10	11	3	36.000	63.636	3.174	3.092	
Private patients	1307.0	1242.5	463	455	149	186	126	109	107	32.181	40.879	8.186	7.484	
Pauper ditto	GENERAL RESULT								93					

## (No. 3.) Results of Treatment in the licensed houses during the year 1859.

Licensed Houses.	Average number Resident.		Admissions.		Recoveries.		Discharges not Recovered.		Deaths.		Proportion of Recoveries per Cent. on Admissions.		Proportion of Deaths per Cent. on number Resident.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Baldovan Institution,	10.5	9.0	5	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mrs. Brownlee's House,	2.0	10.0	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Campie Lane House,	19.0	15.5	12	13	3	7	2	1	5	2	53.846	26.315	12.903	3.921
Easport House,	16.0	25.5	1	1	..	1	..	..	3	1	100.000	18.750	6.666	3.125
Englishtown House,	11.0	15.0	14	17	2	1	1	..	..	1	5.882	..	..	..
Gangad House,	32.5	32.0	19	16	13	12	5	5	2	1	75.000	6.153	..	..
Gilmer House,	..0	12.0	..	7	..	5	..	..	..	..	42.857	..	..	..
Hallcross House,	35.5	46.5	1	5	..	4	3	3	3	3	80.000	8.212	6.938	..
Hawkfield House,	10.5	11.5	..	2	1	..	..	1	2	..	..	19.047	..	..
Lilybank House,	30.5	36.5	1	7	..	3	..	..	4	1	42.857	13.114	2.750	..
Lougdale House,	62.5	64.0	15	27	4	9	4	14	6	4	33.333	9.603	6.218	..
Middlefield House,	5.0	3.5	2	2	3	3	..	..	..	..	100.000	..	..	..
Millholm House,	38.5	67.5	19	47	11	10	3	4	4	8	57.894	10.345	11.852	..
Newbigging House,	26.0	52.0	10	4	2	6	6	5	2	3	20.000	7.692	5.766	..
Saughtonhall,	22.0	26.5	9	8	3	3	1	2	4	2	44.400	18.181	7.539	..
Somerset House,	..0	18.5	..	2	..	1	..	1	..	2	50.000	..	10.815	..
Springbank House,	..0	3.5	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	12.903	5.128	..
Traunt House,	15.5	19.5	2	6	1	2	..	2	1	..	33.333	6.804	..	..
Whitehouse,	14.5	21.5	3	2	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
GENERAL RESULT,	351.5	490.0	113	168	44	66	27	39	38	30	38.938	10.810	6.122	..

Thus, in the public asylums of Scotland, we find the proportion of recoveries on the admissions under that of the licensed houses, but the mortality, the surer test of good management, is, as one would expect, higher in the licensed houses by about one per cent.

#### IV. CONDITION OF LUNATICS IN SCOTLAND.

##### *a. In Public Asylums.*

In this, their second report, the Scotch Commissioners confirm the opinion we expressed in our review of their first report on the relative condition of the Scotch and English Asylums.

“During the past year, they state, the condition of the public asylums has on the whole continued to improve, although in several respects it falls considerably below the general standard of English county asylums. But in making this comparison, we must direct attention to the fact, that in one very essential respect the Scotch asylums do not occupy nearly so favourable a position as those of England. In the latter country, the necessary funds are raised by assessment; and an asylum, calculated to afford accommodation for all the patients of the county, and supplied with all the necessary appliances, is at once provided. Should this accommodation be afterwards found to be insufficient, a further assessment is made, and additional buildings are erected. In Scotland, on the other hand, the directors of the public asylums possess no compulsory powers of raising funds. The houses have been built with money derived from legacies, charitable donations, and subscriptions; and their extension chiefly provided for by the payments made for patients. The cost of the original building, and its subsequent extension, have thus both been defrayed from uncertain sources; and a considerable portion of the payments for patients has been diverted from the more legitimate object of providing for the proper treatment and comfort of those on whose account they were made, into furnishing accommodation for others. In this way, a large proportion of the public asylum accommodation in Scotland has been provided from monies levied directly on the friends of the insane, by making the payments on their account considerably exceed the expenditure, instead of by the fairer course of assessing the community.”

As a fair sample of the Scotch Commissioners' visitation reports, and also of the actual state of these Scotch chartered asylums, we subjoin the following report of their visit in August, 1859, to the Royal Edinburgh Asylum, at **Morningside**. In August, 1858, the **Morningside Asylum** was visited by this Association.

“ All parts of the house were carefully inspected, and the Commissioner is of opinion, while fully admitting the difficulties under which the establishment is carried on, in respect of over-crowding, and the vicious construction of many parts of the building, that, with more energy, or more concentrated responsibility, the condition of the house is susceptible of considerable improvement. . . . The errors which most interfere with the proper treatment of the patients are, as formerly noticed, the erection of separate buildings for the noisy and excited patients, and the deficiency of single rooms in other parts of the house; and the evils resulting from these errors are further aggravated by the faulty construction of the separate buildings themselves. On the male side, their proper ventilation is impossible: hence the urinous smell which, in spite of every exertion, adheres to the rooms there occupied by wet patients. The Commissioner must also again comment upon the cheerless nature of the male sick-rooms and airing-court, and the almost total absence of easy chairs and other furniture suitable for sick and infirm patients. He would further strongly direct attention to the scanty and inappropriate washing accommodation in the male refractory wards and sick-rooms. On the female side, the evils of concentrating 60 or 70 excitable patients in the separate building is aggravated by the necessity of placing many of them in associated dormitories. There is a deficiency even here of single rooms, and the want of them cannot fail to tend to keep up excitement.

“ In the galleries of the main building, a number of patients were observed stretched on the floor—an indication either of deficient supervision by the attendants, or else of a want of seats. From inquiries made by the Commissioner, he is led to doubt whether the staff of attendants be sufficiently numerous. Many attendants act in the double capacity of attendants and artisans; and with the double call upon their attention and time, which this combination involves, the duties of the galleries are left to be performed by a too limited staff. For instance, it is stated that the total number of male attendants in the west house is 34; but of these, 7 are artisans or tradesmen never employed in the galleries. Of the remaining 27, 14 are tradesmen and gardeners, who assist in the galleries, but who also accompany the patients to the garden and workshops; so that only 13 remain to do the work of the house and look after the large number of patients who remain in the galleries and airing-courts. This state of matters will help to account for a certain air of untidiness which pervades the establishment, and also for the large proportion of patients who are never beyond the airing-courts. To a certain extent these results are, no doubt, due to the over-crowded state of the house, which is now so great that it has been found necessary, especially on the female side, to relieve the dormitories by placing beds in the day-rooms. With the view of diminishing the evils of over-crowding, the Commissioners would suggest that the Board of Lunacy be furnished with the names of any patients who, in the opinion of the superintendent, might properly be placed under private care in their parishes. The recommendation of the Board not to discharge patients who had not recovered without their sanction, was intended as a check to stop the practice of inspectors of removing patients improperly, but was not meant as an impediment to the removal of those who could, with propriety, be intrusted to their friends. The Commissioner notices, with satisfaction, the measures in progress for supplying improved washing accommodation in several galleries where it was formerly defective, and the preparations making for providing the female refractory wards with a second airing-court. In connexion with the subject of airing-courts, he would suggest the propriety of placing urinals in those of the male department, where the corners are at present kept in a filthy condition from the want of any proper arrangements.

“ In a large establishment such as this, it is absolutely necessary, for the safety of the patients and building, that strict discipline should be maintained, without, however, unnecessarily interfering with any proper indulgence to the patients. The Commissioner, however, is inclined to think that greater precautions are necessary to guard against the risk of fire. Gas is kept burning in many places for the convenience of smokers; and the gas lights in the dormitories are too much within reach of the patients. Indeed, the house has narrowly escaped

being burned to the ground, on two separate occasions, during the last few weeks. On one of these, the bed of one of the assistant physicians was purposely, it is feared, set fire to; and on the other, the patient enveloped himself in flames by setting fire to his sheets at the gas in the dormitory.

“The bedding of the patients was carefully examined, and, with the exception of one or two beds in the male sick rooms which had been neglected by an attendant, was found clean and in good condition. The large dormitories occupied by the wet patients were found free from any offensive smell. The dress of the patients was, in general, clean, and in good repair, but there was room for some improvement in the cases of some of the imbecile and excited patients. Three males wore strong canvas dresses. On an average about five patients daily are in seclusion; by much the larger portion being females. The period of seclusion occasionally extends to several days. There are two entries of restraint, one with *polka* with closed sleeves, and the other with *mits* to prevent the destruction of clothing. Of the total number of patients, 60 males and 84 females are considered curable; 142 males and 175 females are employed; 130 males and 127 females attend chapel on Sundays; 93 males and 48 females attend morning prayers; and 99 males and 71 females attend the weekly ball. The proportion of patients employed, and of those attending chapel and amusements, thus appears low, and would in all probability be increased, with advantage to the patients, with a fuller staff of attendants. The new workshops are now in occupation, and the rooms formerly occupied by the tailors and shoemakers are about to be converted into a billiard-room and reading room. Additional workshops, for the more varied occupation of the patients, would, no doubt, have a beneficial influence, by increasing the number of workers. The sanitary condition of the house is satisfactory—only 5 males and 6 females being registered as suffering from bodily ailments. . . . While the Commissioner has considered it his duty to comment fully upon the condition of the asylum, he desires to record his opinion of the very satisfactory manner in which the medical staff, under many difficulties, fulfil their responsible duties.”

#### *b. In Licensed Houses.*

So far as we know them, the Scotch Pauper Licensed Houses are wretched places, very inferior to those about London, as Camberwell or Bethnal Green. We believe they have very much improved under the rule of the Commissioners. In our notice of their first report we dwelt sufficiently on this point, and have only here to record that they continue, with unabated zeal, their struggle against the selfishness and sordid efforts of the proprietors to defraud the patients of their rightful comforts and necessaries.

“During the past year (the Commissioners observe) we have granted our license to the private house of Englishtown, near Inverness, for the reasons stated at p. xxi. The accommodation afforded by licensed houses has been further increased, and is still being enlarged, by additions to several of these establishments at Musselburgh; and although we are on principle opposed to the extension of private asylums for the accommodation of pauper patients, yet we can scarcely regret that the dilatoriness of District Boards has thus in some degree been compensated. It would, however, be a very serious misfortune to the country should the



provision of this additional accommodation be considered as conferring on the proprietors any claim to be permanently licensed. The extensions were undertaken with the full knowledge that district asylums were in future to constitute the sole legal provision for the insane poor; and we took occasion specially to direct the attention of the proprietors of the houses to this fact before the alterations were commenced."

*c. In Union Houses.*

In our notice last year of the Scotch Report, to which we have already made reference, (*Journal of Mental Science*, July, 1859) we gave a tabular statement of the result of treatment in the lunatic wards of the Scotch Union Houses during the year 1858. The mean annual mortality was shewn to be 14 per cent.

In the report now before us the Commissioners give a series of their entries at their visits to these Poor-houses.

"A perusal of them will show that, while the treatment accorded to the patients might generally be considered appropriate, were they to be looked upon as sane paupers and voluntary inmates, it cannot be regarded as proper for persons suffering from disease and prevented from discharging themselves. In forming an estimate of the nature of the accommodation provided for the insane poor in workhouses, these two points are very apt not to receive due consideration from members of parochial boards, who draw their conclusions from hurried visits, and are satisfied if they see clean wards and sufficiently-clothed inmates. But they do not realize the weary monotony of the patients' existence; their prolonged confinement to rooms the clean bareness of which is in itself chilling and depressing; their scanty exercise in narrow yards; and the feelings of injustice which such treatment frequently engenders in the minds of those in whom disease has not altogether destroyed the power of reflection. The influence of these agencies is seen in the high mortality; one-sixth of the average number of male patients resident in poor houses having died within the year."

*d. Single Patients.*

As appears by the table which we have reprinted at page 469, the Commissioners have cognizance of no less than 3764 lunatics living as single patients in private houses, of which number 1887 are private, and 1877 pauper. This is a very large number. They appear to have been most diligently and systematically visited, particularly by the assistant medical inspectors, the country being divided into districts for the purpose. In a long appendix (E) the reports of these assistant medical inspectors are given.

“ We have given (says the report) in the Appendix to our First Report, details of a number of cases, both of private and pauper patients, illustrative of the condition of the insane who are not in asylums. With the same view we have appended to this Report (Appendix E), a general account of the condition of the insane in several of the districts visited by the Commissioners. We have only recently called for these general statements, and are led to print them from a conviction that they are better calculated to convey a correct idea of the condition of the insane resident in their homes, than individual reports in single cases. We may also point out that they embody a kind of information which, so far as known to us, is not within the reach of any other Board of Lunacy ; and we refer more especially to those on Ayrshire, Dumbarton, and Shetland as giving considerable insight into the condition of the population generally. Indeed, it is a peculiar advantage enjoyed by this Board, that our jurisdiction extends, in a greater or less degree, over the *whole* of the insane, wherever they may be placed. We are thus frequently enabled to improve the condition of a class of patients which, in most countries, is placed under no kind of surveillance, and occasionally to procure their removal to asylums before the occurrence of a probable catastrophe. In many cases, too, we are thus in a position to trace the history of the patient through its various phases, and to acquire a knowledge of his peculiarities, which is occasionally found to be of great practical value. Unfortunately, the warnings which we consider it our duty to give are frequently disregarded ; and there is also occasionally a disposition displayed to regard as vice or crime, peculiarities of character which we believe are more justly to be ascribed to insanity.”

The following remarks from the report itself embodies the enlightened views by which the Commissioners are actuated in dealing with this difficult class of cases.

“ The chief objects (they state) which we had in view in our visitations were, first, to procure the removal to asylums of such patients as there were reasonable grounds for thinking were still capable of being restored to sanity, or, at all events, of being improved in mental health ; secondly, the removal of those who, from the nature of their malady, or from the circumstances in which they were placed, there was reason to fear, might prove dangerous to themselves or others ; and lastly, the removal of those who, from their mental or physical ailments, could not be properly cared for at home. Another equally important object was, as far as possible, to insure the proper treatment of those patients whose removal to asylums was dispensed with. With this view we frequently considered it proper to recommend an increase of the alimentary allowance, and a supply of bed and body clothing ; and we had

occasionally to take steps to procure the removal of patients from out-houses to the dwellings occupied by the persons charged with their care. In other cases, where it was necessary for the adults of the family to leave home for their work, and where the patients were, in consequence, left either alone, or under the care of children, we called for the appointment of some trustworthy person who should see to the proper care of the patient during the temporary absence of his responsible guardians. The attainment of these objects was often a matter of considerable difficulty, and frequently entailed a lengthened correspondence. There cannot be a doubt that many patients have in times past suffered grievously from neglect; and we are well aware that a long time must elapse before a better system of home treatment can be thoroughly established; but we trust that the risk of neglect is already considerably diminished, and we hope that such evidence of its occurrence as is afforded by scars and mutilation by fire, and the permanent contraction of the limbs, will every day become more and more rare. In Orkney alone, we have evidence of many patients suffering under permanent flexure of the limbs from intractable muscular rigidity; and, in the Highland counties especially, a large number of cases of most serious injury from burning have come under our observation.

“We are inclined to ascribe great importance to the visitation of single patients, not only for improving the treatment and management of those actually visited, but for elevating the general condition of the insane whether placed in asylums or in private houses. One of our chief objects in single visitations has been to inculcate sound principles regarding the nature of insanity, and to point out the advantages of early treatment in promoting recovery, and the effect of kindness and attention in warding off degrading habits when recovery is no longer probable. We aim, in short, at extensive and general improvement; and we have every reason to hope that the result of our labours will gradually become manifest, in the steady diminution of those degraded cases which our own investigations, and those of the Royal Commissioners, have brought to light. The condition of patients in asylums, too, cannot fail to be beneficially influenced by the improved character of the cases admitted; and the number of recoveries will certainly be increased from the greater promptitude with which those attacked are now placed under treatment.”

#### *e. Criminal Lunatics.*

The criminal lunatics in Scotland are confined in the Central Prison, Perth, which many of the visitors to the fair city may have seen standing in the middle of the plain around which the Tay sweeps in its course towards the city,

a site described by Sir Walter Scott, in his *Fair Maid of Perth*.

“The number in the lunatic wards of the Central Prison, Perth, on 1st January, 1859, was 29, of whom 21 were males, and 8 females.

“There appears to be a growing inclination on the part of the public authorities to place criminal patients in public asylums instead of in the lunatic wards of the Central Prison. This tendency, however, is checked by the uncertainty which prevails as to the parties, who in such cases, shall be considered liable for the burden of their maintenance; and it is accordingly of some importance that this point should be placed on a definite footing.

“The following extracts from the entries made by the Commissioners in the register of the Central Prison, will show the condition of the patients in the lunatic wards of that establishment:—

“*From Entry of 21st June 1859.*—Visited the lunatic wards of the prison, which at present contain 20 male and 10 female patients. Every part of the premises was inspected, and all the patients seen. The condition of the house remains nearly the same as described in previous reports, and calls for no special remarks. Of the males, 2 were hobbled and restrained in one arm, and 4 others had one arm restrained. One female was restrained in a similar manner. The patients were generally free from excitement, and were clean in person and orderly in dress. The staff of attendants embraces 5 male and 2 female warders.

“*From Entry of 25th November 1859.*—The numbers found in the lunatic criminal-wards of the General Prison at the statutory visit made this day, were 22 males and 11 females. Besides these, the Reporter visited 4 male and 5 female epileptics, 10 male and 5 female imbecile prisoners, whose minds display various slight forms of alienation. For these latter classes great improvement has taken place in accommodation and management. One prisoner was seen in the general wards who appears to labour under delusions, and whose case is at present under the consideration of the medical officer. In reference to the special lunatic department, it appears that since last report there have been 6 admissions, 1 death, and 2 discharges; both individuals having been sent back to the prison from which they had been received, a few days previous to the expiry of sentence, still labouring under insanity. All the inmates were seen, and found, with one exception, to possess good physical health, and to present the aspect of vigour. The exception alluded to is J. F., who was admitted from the jail at Wigton with a partially cicatrized wound of the throat, involving the larynx and œsophagus, to which succeeded laryngitis and inflammation of the surrounding tissues, apparently produced by exposure during the journey. The attention of the Board of Lunacy is specially directed to this case, and to the antecedents of the lunatic. Three males and one female were found under restraint. These expedients are stated to be generally resorted to in order to prevent suicide. With the view to meet this tendency, the medical officer has recommended the appointment of a night watch. It is strongly advised that this suggestion should be adopted, as it is calculated to do away with the necessity for physical coercion, to secure the comfort of the inmates during the night, and is dictated by the soundest principles of treatment. The only structural change which has taken place consists in dividing two of the bedrooms in each division; thus obtaining 4 additional rooms, so that the means of isolating cases, supposed to be dangerous, is increased. Within these few months all the lunatic prisoners have been placed upon full convict diet.

## V. PROCEEDINGS OF DISTRICT BOARDS TO ERECT NEW ASYLUMS UNDER THE ACT.

In our notice of the former report of the Scotch Commissioners we referred at some length to the constitution of these district boards, their powers, &c., and expressed our extreme regret that the local prison boards had by their jealousies been allowed, under a clause of the act, to split up the eight districts, into which for asylum purposes the country had been divided, into twenty-one.

It is, we then observed, indeed, a matter of most serious regret that the limits of the original eight districts should have been altered, and their number so materially enlarged. Eight county asylums, including those already existing, viz: Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dumfries, Dundee, Perth, Aberdeen, and Elgin, would have sufficed for all the wants of the country for many a long year to come, and would have entailed the building of only two new asylums, viz., one for the Ayr, and another for the Stirling district; two of the wealthiest districts in the land, and where the asylum-rate would not have fallen over heavily. The other existing chartered asylums, *with proper additions*, would have met all the requirements of the respective districts. We use the term, *with proper additions*, in its widest sense, as applied to the grouping round the Central Hospital (*Heil-anstadt*), the various arrangements of cottages, cheaper buildings for the incurable, &c., &c. With due arrangements there is not, in our opinion, the slightest sanitary objection to massing six hundred patients together, while economically the gain is self-evident.\*

Now the Scotch Prison Boards have managed to split up the country into 21 districts! Fancy the amount of useless building! Surely something should be done to stop such folly. The Commissioners treat the question far too mildly. They give in detail the proceedings of the 21 District Boards, for all of whom they have taken the trouble to compute the number of patients they will require to build for.

Now these small asylums of 140 and 200 strong, will be expensive failures, and it becomes the rate-payers of Scotland at once, and loudly, to protest against the folly and small jealousy of the respective Prison Boards, which have led to

\* The apparent contradiction to this statement, in the high maintenance-rate at Hanwell and Colney Hatch, is owing to the want of one central controlling authority in these ill-managed places. The Committee are jealous of their Medical Officers, and no one has a *personal* interest in the successful working of the whole.

the well-digested division of the country, under the Act, into eight districts, being set aside. The present district of Bute has 15 male, and 16 female patients; the district of Haddington, 96. Are the Prison Boards in their senses, to propose to erect separate asylums for these numbers? We can only renew the expression of our surprise at the mild notice the Commissioners take of this folly, and commend the matter to those more directly interested, the visitors and rate-payers of the Scotch counties.

The result has been as we anticipated. The local Lunacy Boards have more sense than to rush into building these useless twenty-one asylums, and wisely wait to see what time may do against the folly of the Prison Boards.

“The progress (say the Commissioners) made by the local lunacy Boards, since the date of our last Report, in providing district accommodation for the insane poor, has not on the whole, been satisfactory. Several of these Boards have taken no steps whatever for this purpose; others have been impeded in making arrangements with existing public asylums by legal difficulties due to preferential rights of accommodation enjoyed by parishes and individuals; and others again have postponed measures already in progress, in the expectation that their position would be affected by fresh legislation. Only three or four districts have made satisfactory progress towards meeting the requirements of the present law.”

Small blame to them we say!

The Commissioners give the following estimate based on the existing number of lunatics of the asylum accommodation in each of the twenty-one districts.

Districts.	Estimated Asylum Accommo- dation re- quired.	Districts.	Estimated Asylum Accommo- dation re- quired.
1 Aberdeen . . .	299	13 Haddington . . .	88
2 Argyll . . .	148	14 Inverness . . .	339
3 Ayr . . .	180	15 Kincardine . . .	66
4 Banff . . .	79	16 Orkney . . .	35
5 Bute . . .	25	17 Perth . . .	323
6 Caithness. . .	62	18 Renfrew. . .	193
7 Dumfries. . .	230	19 Roxburg . . .	123
8 Edinburgh . . .	599	20 Shetland . . .	30
9 Elgin . . .	63	21 Stirling . . .	268
10 Fife . . .	243		
11 Forfar . . .	340		
12 Glasgow . . .	620		
		TOTALS,	4353

Let any unprejudiced reader only look through this estimate of the Commissioners, and he will be convinced of its impracticability. Do they really suppose that the magistrates

of any county in England, would for a moment listen to a proposal to provide a public asylum for 20, 30, 40, or 60 patients? The absurdity of the scheme is so patent that we need only here refer to it, adding the expression of our hope that farther legislation will compel the Prison Boards to revert to the original subdivision of the country into eight districts, *when by the enlargement of the existing asylums of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dumfries, Dundee, Perth, Aberdeen, and Elgin, and the farther erection of two asylums for the district of Ayr and Stirling, the whole difficulty might be met.*

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*Notes on Nursing. What it is, and what it is not; by*  
FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE. London: Harrison. 8vo. pp. 79.

This is a remarkable book, and if the name of Florence Nightingale had never been heard beyond the usual narrow sphere of woman's life, the reader of these pages would be constrained to admire the singular union of courage, sense, and delicacy which they display. The language is of the most terse and racy kind, and the thoughts so clear and decided that if they were not the expression of the soundest and homeliest good sense, the work would be somewhat liable to the imputation of being dogmatic. People, however, are apt to be dogmatic on subjects which they thoroughly understand, and which they desire to impress. One may say of it as Emerson says of Montaigne, "I know not anywhere the book that seems less written, it is the language of conversation transferred to a book. Cut these words and they would bleed, they are vascular and alive. One has the same pleasure in it as one has in listening to men about their work, when any unusual circumstance gives momentary importance to the dialogue, for blacksmiths and teamsters do not trip in their speech, it is a shower of bullets." As for the general matter of the *Notes*, the best test of our opinion is, that we have distributed copies among our nurses with the earnest request that they would study the work diligently; and we recommend our brother superintendents to do the same if they have not already done so. Of course a great portion of the work is occupied by the enunciation of principles which, however novel to nurses, would not be so to our readers; there are

however, many from which we may gain instruction, and some few to which we may venture to demur ; for we are " nothing, if not critical."

First then with regard to Ventilation and Warming. Miss Nightingale, we are happy to see, is as fond of fresh air and even night air, as if she were a real nightingale warbling in a poplar tree. There is no good word said of artificial ventilation and warming, of air be-devilled by contact with hot plates, like the leg of a turkey in a frying-pan ; no, Miss Nightingale's sick man must be supplied with air admitted through windows open at all times of the day and night.

" With a proper supply of windows, and a proper supply of fuel in open fire places, fresh air is comparatively easy to secure when your patient or patients are in bed. Never be afraid of open windows then. People don't catch cold in bed. This is a popular fallacy. With proper bed clothes, and hot bottles if necessary, you can always keep a patient warm in bed, and well ventilate him at the same time."

Perhaps Miss Nightingale makes rather a hobby of this opinion and rides it a little too far. The ingress of fresh air can be provided for more conveniently than through windows, which often cannot be opened in rainy weather, or which may be so situated as to douche patients with a stream of cold air. Some better provision moreover than fire-flues, even with Arnott's valves, ought to be made for the egress of air from the upper part of the sick chamber. Wide ventilating orifices and tubes to open and close at pleasure, are the simple and unobjectionable substitutes for the constantly open window. Of fumigations, the authoress says,

" Let no one ever depend upon fumigations, ' disinfectants,' and the like, for purifying the air. The offensive thing, not its smell, must be removed. A celebrated medical lecturer began one day, ' Fumigations, gentlemen, are of essential importance. They make such an abominable smell that they compel you to open the window.' I wish all the disinfecting fluids invented made such an ' abominable smell ' that they forced you to admit fresh air. That would be a useful invention."

She objects to slop-pails, and very properly ; the ordinary slop-pail is an offensive abomination, and when its use is permitted, the utensil is seldom rinsed as it ought to be ; but for all this, the night attendants ought to be permitted to use the slop-pail and to use it frequently, or the air of the hospital



dormitories will be impregnated before morning by the large surface of urine in numerous utensils.

Miss Nightingale condemns sinks, "the ordinary oblong sink is an abomination, that great surface of stone which is always left wet, is always exhaling into the air; I have known whole houses and hospitals smell of the sink." Still there must be sinks for the very purposes of cleanliness; the proper thing to use, however, is a leaden trough with a well made trap for its outlet.

The authoress attributes the physical degeneration which is supposed to exist in the present day to our coddling ourselves too much.

"The houses of the grandmothers and great grandmothers of this generation, at least the country houses, with front door and back door always standing open, winter and summer, and a thorough draught always blowing through,—with all the scrubbing, and cleaning, and polishing, and scouring which used to go on, the grandmothers, and still more the great grandmothers always out of doors, and never with a bonnet on except to go to church, these things entirely account for the fact, so often seen, of a great grandmother, who was a tower of physical vigour, descending into a grandmother perhaps a little less vigorous, but still as sound as a bell and healthy to the core, into a mother languid and confined to her carriage and house, and lastly into a daughter sickly and confined to her bed. For, remember, even with a general decrease of mortality you may often find a race thus degenerating, and still oftener a family. You may see poor little feeble washed out rags, children of a noble stock, suffering morally and physically, throughout their useless, degenerate lives, and yet people who are going to marry and to bring more such into the world, will consult nothing but their own convenience as to where they are to live, and how they are to live."

We fear there is great truth in all this as it relates to the women, and that if physical degeneration does prevail, it is to be traced rather to the influence of their habits than to those of the men, who live almost as much in the open air as their forefathers, and whose infinitely increased temperance must be set down as a large item in the account *per contra*.

Miss Nightingale repudiates infection, except where poison is encouraged to breed; she has seen, for instance, "with a little over-crowding, fever grow up; and with a little more, typhoid fever; and with a little more, typhus; all in the same ward or hut;" but she certainly pushes this opinion too far when she applies it to small-pox, which there is every reason

to believe, cannot be generated but by contagion. How it first arose is not the question, but when Miss Nightingale says, that

“I have seen with my eyes and smelt with my nose small-pox growing up in first specimens, either in close rooms or in over-crowded wards, where it could not by any possibility have been ‘caught,’ but must have been begun.”

she expresses an opinion at variance with all the experience of the medical profession upon which the penal law against inoculation has been founded.

*Noise.* The authoress remarks that it is unnecessary noise, and noise which excites a patient’s expectation, as a whispered conversation just outside the room; intermittent and sudden, or sharp noise, and especially noise with jar, which is injurious. These observations are very judicious and indicate the minute accuracy of the authoress’s observation. Noise is one of the great curses of asylums, one of which patients who are able to complain, complain the most; and from which others are likely, uncomplainingly to suffer deepest; and what is most provoking is, that it generally arises in a large asylum only from some three or four patients, who either make it themselves or excite it in others; for one noisy, stormy patient will often put a ward into an uproar. Some idiots are most dreadful nuisances in asylums from the monotonous inarticulate noises which they make, and which are so painful as to grate upon and to jar even the strongest nerves; what then must they be to nerves morbidly sensitive? In public asylums, more complete means of classification would be a tolerable remedy, but in the smaller asylums for private patients, this remedy is scarcely possible, and noise is the evil of which, perhaps, patients who have resided in private asylums most complain.

In connexion with the subject of noise, Miss Nightingale gives a hint of importance in its bearing upon night watching:—

“Of one thing you may be certain, that anything which wakes a patient suddenly out of his sleep will invariably put him into a state of greater excitement, do him more serious, aye, and lasting mischief, than any continuous noise, however loud.

“Never to allow a patient to be waked, intentionally or accidentally, is a *sine quâ non* of all good nursing. If he is roused out of his first sleep, he is almost certain to have no more sleep. It is a curious but quite intelligible fact that, if a patient is waked after a few hours’ instead of a few minutes’ sleep, he is much more likely to sleep again. Because pain, like irritability of brain, perpetuates and intensifies itself. If you have gained a respite of either in sleep

you have gained more than the mere respite. Both the probability of recurrence and of the same intensity will be diminished; whereas both will be terribly increased by want of sleep. This is the reason why sleep is so all-important. This is the reason why a patient waked in the early part of his sleep loses not only his sleep, but his power to sleep. A healthy person who allows himself to sleep during the day will lose his sleep at night. But it is exactly the reverse with the sick generally; the more they sleep, the better will they be able to sleep."

If it could be arranged that patients should not be awakened out of their first sleep for the purposes of night cleanliness, the objections which, on medical grounds, have been raised to this great improvement in asylum management would lose all their validity; and on the whole perhaps, the balance of advantages would appear to be in favour of leaving the first period of the night, say to two a.m. without disturbance.

The chapter on *Variety* is one which the superintendents of asylums may well ponder over, for if want of variety is so great a drawback in the management of the ordinary sick, what must it be when the mind itself is diseased, and where the period of disease and monotonous confinement is indefinitely prolonged? The efforts which are so laudably made in asylums to provide a variety of objects of interest are apt in themselves to become monotonous; thus, a weekly ball may become as monotonous as a drill. There are, however, some means of changing the interest which never fail, especially that derived from the ever-varying face of nature, and one of the greatest improvements that have been introduced by the Commissioners in Lunacy into asylums, at least as far as the pleasure derived from it by the patients, is that system of country walks which they have now pretty generally established. Another source of change of which we have ourselves experienced the immense benefit, is that of having the asylum in distinct and separate parts, and unlike each other, so that a change from one of the long wards to one of the cottage wards, or to the 'new house,' is really like going into a new place of residence. This advantage was still more apparent during the two years when we had a branch asylum at the sea side—an establishment which we closed with great regret. We are happy to remark in the last Report of the Wakefield Asylum, that a farm house at some distance from the building, has been erected, and is used as a small branch asylum. All such means of changing, even for a few patients, the monotony of a long residence in the galleries of an asylum built and arranged and furnished on the same monotonous

plan, are calculated to alleviate the unexpressed sufferings of our patients to a greater extent than may at first sight appear possible ; and the provision of such means ought to be borne carefully in mind in increasing asylum accommodation, which has hitherto run on in the old rut of routine.

“ To any but an old nurse, or an old patient, the degree would be quite inconceivable to which the nerves of the sick suffer from seeing the same walls, the same ceiling, the same surroundings during a long confinement to one or two rooms.

“ The superior cheerfulness of persons suffering severe paroxysms of pain over that of persons suffering from nervous debility has often been remarked upon, and attributed to the enjoyment of the former of their intervals of respite. I incline to think that the majority of cheerful cases is to be found among those patients who are not confined to one room, whatever their suffering, and that the majority of depressed cases will be seen among those subjected to a long monotony of objects about them.

“ The nervous frame really suffers as much from this as the digestive organs from long monotony of diet, as *e.g.* the soldier from his twenty-one years ‘ boiled beef.’ ”

“ Volumes are now written and spoken upon the effect of the mind upon the body. Much of it is true. But I wish a little more was thought of the effect of the body on the mind. You who believe yourselves overwhelmed with anxieties, but are able every day to walk up Regent-street, or out in the country to take your meals with others in other rooms, &c., &c., you little know how much your anxieties are thereby lightened ; you little know how intensified they become, to those who can have no change ; how the very walls of their sick rooms seem hung with their cares ; how the ghosts of their troubles haunt their beds ; how impossible it is for them to escape from a pursuing thought without some help from variety.

“ A patient can just as much move his leg when it is fractured as change his thoughts when no external help from variety is given him. This is, indeed, one of the main sufferings of sickness ; just as the fixed posture is one of the main sufferings of the broken limb.”

The observations on “ Taking food,” rather apply to the treatment of the sick at home, than in hospital or asylum, where the want of careful attention to these points is inexcusable, and probably not common. The fault, however, is undoubtedly often committed of allowing a patient too long to indulge a disinclination to food ; and in the treatment of the insane out of asylums this neglect is one of the most frequent sources of mischief. The number of patients who are admitted into asylums with physical health irretrievably broken down from the want of sufficient nourishment is very

sad, and this occurs not only among the poor, but among the rich. The pre-occupations and delusions with regard to food and the derangement of all domestic regularity, often result in the wealthier insane taking far less nourishment than would be necessary for them even in health, and which, under the exhausting processes of insanity, terminate in a persistent tendency to denutrition (if we may coin the word) which is at once the cause and the condition of incurable disease.

“In chronic cases, lasting over months and years, where the fatal issue is often determined at last by mere protracted starvation, I had rather not enumerate the instances which I have known where a little ingenuity, and a great deal of perseverance, might, in all probability, have averted the result. The consulting the hours when the patient can take food, the observation of the times, often varying, when he is most faint, the altering seasons of taking food, in order to anticipate and prevent such times—all this, which requires observation, ingenuity, and perseverance (and these really constitute the good nurse), might save more lives than we wot of.

“To leave the patient’s untasted food by his side, from meal to meal, in hopes that he will eat it in the interval, is simply to prevent him from taking any food at all. I have known patients literally incapacitated from taking one article of food after another by this piece of ignorance. Let the food come at the right time, and be taken away, eaten or uneaten, at the right time; but never let a patient have ‘something always standing’ by him, if you don’t wish to disgust him of everything.

“On the other hand, I have known a patient’s life saved (he was sinking for want of food) by the simple question, put to him by the doctor, ‘But is there no hour when you feel you could eat?’ ‘Oh, yes,’ he said, ‘I could always take something at — o’clock, and — o’clock.’ The thing was tried and succeeded. Patients very seldom, however, can tell this; it is for you to watch and find it out.

“A patient should, if possible, not see or smell either the food of others, or a greater amount of food than he himself can consume at one time, or even hear food talked about or see it in the raw state.”

We are not quite prepared to endorse all Miss Nightingale’s opinions of what food a sick person should take; for instance, her low estimation of the value of beef-tea; this, of course, may be of any degree of dilution, from mere teakettle broth to a solution of beef *à la Liebig*, a pound of rump-steak to half a pint of water. Upon milk we are glad to observe she places great value, and not less so, that she speaks disparagingly of cocoa, which has been introduced in asylums as a substitute for milk, “because the patients like it better.”

“Cocoa is often recommended to the sick in lieu of tea or coffee. But independently of the fact that English sick very generally dislike cocoa, it has quite a different effect from tea or coffee. It is an oily starchy nut, having no restorative power at all, but simply increasing fat. It is pure mockery of the sick, therefore, to call it a substitute for tea. For any renovating stimulus it has, you might just as well offer them chestnuts instead of tea.”

On beds and bedding. Miss Nightingale recommends iron bedsteads, “the only way of really nursing a real patient.” No reason however, is assigned for preferring them to wooden bedsteads, and it is probable that the prejudice against wood is derived from the old four-post abominations common in English domesticities. We cannot see why the light wooden bedsteads used in asylums, should not also be found in hospitals, lighter, cheaper, and better looking than iron ones. On the subject of bed sores, the authoress says :—

“It may be worth while to remark, that where there is any danger of bed-sores, a blanket should never be placed *under* the patient. It retains damp, and acts like a poultice.”

Still there must be something under the patient, and that thing both soft and warm. Nothing used to be more productive of bed sores than the cold hard canvas stretchers which were at one time recommended. The best thing to place immediately under the hips of a patient liable to bed sore, is a thick cotton sheet several times doubled. The superintendents of asylums may take a hint from the following :—

“Never use anything but light Witney blankets as bed-covering for the sick. The heavy cotton impervious counterpane is bad, for the very reason that it keeps in the emanations from the sick person, while the blanket allows them to pass through. Weak patients are invariably distressed by a great weight of bed-clothes, which often prevents their getting any sound sleep whatever.”

It has been the fashion of late in asylums to discard the old woollen counterpane, and to replace it with a dense, heavy cotton fabric. The thick white cotton counterpane may look better than the orange-coloured worsted fabric, copied from the ordnance article, but let any superintendent try the two upon his own bed, and he will feel that Miss Nightingale is right in recommending the former, for we take it that the difference between a Witney blanket and a light, permeable worsted counterpane is inconsiderable. A bed looks unmade without

something over the blanket. For home use we have found that very light and permeable texture known as Bath blanketing to be the most comfortable thing.

The habit which is pointed out as the cause of scrofula among children, and of injury to ordinary patients, is very general among the insane. The number of idiots and of paralytics, and of demented people, who habitually get their heads under the bed clothes is very great, and it is quite obvious that such a habit must be injurious, although there are probably few people who have thought upon its being so. It is the accurate and minute observation which overlooks nothing calculated to affect the health of the sick, which constitutes the great value of this little work. This one hint, for instance, will repay its perusal by an asylum superintendent, who will of course give instructions to his night nurses to overcome, as far as possible, this pernicious habit.

“There is reason to believe that not a few of the apparently unaccountable cases of scrofula among children proceed from the habit of sleeping with the head under the bed clothes, and so inhaling air already breathed, which is farther contaminated by exhalations from the skin. Patients are sometimes given to a similar habit, and it often happens that the bed clothes are so disposed that the patient must necessarily breathe air more or less contaminated by exhalations from his skin. A good nurse will be careful to attend to this. It is an important part, so to speak, of ventilation.”

In the chapter on the cleanliness of rooms and walls, Miss Nightingale uses her pen in its most vigorous style against the “dusty carpets, dirty wainscots, musty curtains and furniture,” and general dirty circumstances which pervade houses, especially London houses, even of the expensive and fashionable kind. She inveighs against the lazy habits of modern housemaids, whose common practice it is to move the dust once a day, flapping it from one part of a room to another, but never to remove it. She quite runs a muck at carpets.

“As to floors, the only really clean floor I know is the Berlin *lacked* floor, which is wet rubbed and dry rubbed every morning to remove the dust. The French *parquet* is always more or less dusty, though infinitely superior in point of cleanliness and healthiness to our absorbent floor.

“For a sick room, a carpet is perhaps the worst expedient which could by any possibility have been invented. If you must have a carpet, the only safety is to take it up two or three times a year, instead of once. A dirty carpet literally infects the room. And if you consider the enormous quantity of organic matter from the feet

of people coming in, which must saturate it, this is by no means surprising."

We quite agree with all this, not only with a Brussels carpet, fitted and nailed to the floor from which it is removed only once or twice a year, but even to a less extent with the matting and loose bedside carpets which, in the attempts to increase the comforts of the insane, have been introduced into their wards. Frequently upon investigation we have found the close smell of a ward arise from the matting covering the floor. The question then seems to be, whether you will discard these things for the sake of health, or retain them for the sake of comfort? Retain them, we say, under a constant sense of the necessity which their use entails for increased diligence in cleanliness. In many wards matting and carpeting ought to be removed and beaten in the open air two or three times every week, and it would be well even to have a double set, so that one might be exposed to the purifying influences of the open air while the other is in use. It must be remembered that these things obviate the necessity of floors being so frequently scrubbed, which is a clear gain on the score of healthiness. *In medio tutissimus* holds true in all these matters. To scrub floors too frequently, or to leave them too long unscrubbed, are equally injurious, though not exactly in the same way. Our own experience in this matter, when house surgeon to one of the London hospitals, led to the opinion that in wards where the floors are daily wetted by the housemaid's soap and water, the patients will be very liable to erysipelas, and that in wards not wetted quite often enough, they will be subject to dysenteric diarrhœa.

Miss Nightingale also objects, on behalf of the sick, to the modern ornamentation of walls.

"As for walls, the worst is the papered wall; the next worst is plaster. But the plaster can be redeemed by frequent lime-washing; the paper requires frequent renewing. A glazed paper gets rid of a good deal of the danger. But the ordinary bed-room paper is all that it ought *not* to be.

"I am certain that a person who has accustomed her senses to compare atmospheres proper and improper, for the sick and for children, could tell, blindfold, the difference of the air in old painted and in old papered rooms, *cæteris paribus*. The latter will always be musty, even with all the windows open.

"The close connexion between ventilation and cleanliness is shown in this. An ordinary light paper will last clean much longer if there is an Arnott's ventilator in the chimney than it otherwise would.



“The best wall now extant is oil paint. From this you can wash the animal exuvia.

“These are what make a room musty.

“The best wall for a sick-room or ward that could be made is pure white non-absorbent cement or glass, or glazed tiles, if they were made slightly enough.”

It will be well to keep these things in mind in the modern practice of ornamenting asylums, by painting the walls, valancing the windows, &c., &c. The importance of rendering a residence for the insane as comfortable and cheerful as possible cannot be denied or doubted, but in carrying it into effect, care must be taken that the improvements in this respect are not antagonistic to the wholesome sweetness of the dwelling. Unfortunately a superintendent intent upon decorating his asylum, is too often prevented from doing so in the best way, and thus in covering the walls, his choice lies between a cheap paper and lime wash. He can paper his galleries at a penny a yard, or he can lime wash them at much less, but paint will cost 8d. or 10d. per yard. After all, we are inclined to think that Miss Nightingale rather expresses a prejudice than an opinion founded upon well-observed data in her antipathy to wall papers.

The chapter on “Chattering, hopes, and advices” is admirable, although it does not much apply to our specialty. The observant authoress, however, remarks on the benefits conferred on persons suffering from chronic sickness from many influences which we know to be beneficial to the insane; pleasant cheerful conversation free from lachrymose cant and whining, and advice and preachments, is the first and best of these; then there are objects, which, so to say, tickle the affections, small pet animals for instance, and still better “the baby,” “It freshens up the sick person’s whole mental atmosphere to see the baby.” We have often observed this with the insane, though perhaps, the mental impressions on the infant mind, which such associations are likely to produce, ought not to be forgotten, lest in attempting to administer to the temporary happiness of some, we sacrifice the permanent well-being of others.

The chapter on the observation of the sick, perhaps, shews more than any other how well the authoress can reflect upon what she observes. Here is an instance appropriate to our specialty on the important subject of sleep, given in illustration of the uselessness of leading questions.

“ ‘Has he had a good night?’ Now, one patient will think he

has had a bad night if he has not slept ten hours without waking. Another does not think he has had a bad night if he has had intervals of dosing occasionally. The same answer has actually been given as regarded two patients—one who had been entirely sleepless for five times twenty-four hours, and died of it, and another who had not slept the sleep of a regular night without waking. Why cannot the question be asked, How many hours' sleep has ——— had? and at what hours of the night?

“This is most important, because on this depends what the remedy will be. If a patient sleeps two or three hours early in the night, and then does not sleep again at all, ten to one it is not a narcotic he wants, but food or stimulus, or perhaps only warmth. If, on the other hand, he is restless and awake all night, and is drowsy in the morning, he probably wants sedatives, either quiet, coolness, or medicine, a lighter diet, or all four. Now the doctor should be told this, or how can he judge what to give?

“I knew a very clever physician, of large dispensary and hospital practice, who invariably began his examination of each patient with ‘Put your finger where you be bad.’ That man would never waste his time with collecting inaccurate information from nurse or patient. Leading questions always collect inaccurate information.”

The authoress shews the folly of using general and leading questions on other matters, such as the taking of food, in which “the same answer will often be made as regards a patient who cannot take two ounces of food per diem, and a patient who does not enjoy five meals a day as much as usual.” The same inaccuracy is complained of in the description of symptoms: and generally speaking, Miss Nightingale propounds the opinion that “as long as observation is so little cultivated as it is now, I *do* believe that it is better for the physician not to see the friends of the patient at all.” The complaint, however, that sound and ready observation is a rare faculty, is extended not only to the friends of patients, but to professional nurses and even to medical men. We so entirely feel the truth of these strictures that we are inclined to ask the question, whether this all-important faculty of observation, the foundation of all accurate medical knowledge is not declining in these latter years, and whether the modern physician with his test tubes and microscope does not after all, use his own eyes with less diligence than his professional ancestors? We not only do think that this is the fact, but we have at least a plausible explanation to offer. The mental stature of man, if we measure it by the average of his faculties, perhaps differs less in the different ages than we, in the conceit of our advancing civilization and progress of science, are

apt to believe. But whether this be so or not, there can be little doubt that some of the mental faculties are antagonistic in their fullest development to the growth of others: and among these, reflection seems to be antagonistic to observation. The deeply reflective man is absorbed in the processes of thought; and the mathematician, who has walked into a river without perceiving it, and yet poring on his book, exclaims "I must get to the bottom of this problem before I go a step further," is but a caricature of the reality, a grotesque exaggeration of truth. Only in the rarest instances do the twin powers of observation and reflection develop with equal growth. Commonly one dwarfs the other, whether as the permanent habit or the temporary condition of the mind. Let any superintendent examine himself on the point. When any difficulty has caused him to be more than usually thoughtful, does he find himself able to observe the condition of his patients as readily and accurately as when the unoccupied mind, bright, cheerful, and prompt, is not "sicklied o'er with the pale hue of thought"? We offer this view in explanation but not in apology, for to the medical man the demands which the greater perfection of his science make upon his powers of reflection are as little excuse for neglecting the diligent use and cultivation of his observing faculty, as they would be to the astronomer or the navigator.

The want of observation which Miss Nightingale complains of in nurses, doubtless arises from a very different source, generally either from the scatter-brained flightiness of a weak mind, or from the stolid dullness of the uneducated senses. With too much truth she complains that the occupation of nursing is the refuge of incapacity. "This reminds one of the parish where a stupid old man was set to be schoolmaster, because he was—past keeping the pigs."

The subject of nurses for the insane, "attendants" we generally call them, is one of the most important questions of our specialty; and one to which we hope before long to recur. Miss Nightingale indicates two general dangers, which have been felt in asylums as well as hospitals; first, that arising from the useless fine-lady nurse, a kind of fungus that the sunshine of her own fame has helped to hatch into existence, but of which she is indeed the very anti-type; secondly, of "the poor workhouse drudge, hard up for a livelihood," ignorant, and stolid, and perverse and cheap.

Miss Nightingale concludes her admirable little work with a note on the woman's mission question.

"I would earnestly ask my sisters to keep clear of both the jargons now current everywhere, (for they *are* equally jargons) of the jargon, namely, about the 'rights of women,' which urges women to do all that men do, including the medical and other professions, merely because men do it, and without regard to whether this *is* the best that women can do; and of the jargon which urges women to do nothing that men do, merely because they are women, and should be 'recalled to a sense of their duty as women,' and because 'this is women's work,' and 'that is men's,' and 'these are things which women should not do,' which is all assertion and nothing more. Surely woman should bring the best she has, *whatever* that is, to the work of God's world, without attending to either of these cries. For what are they, both of them, the one *just* as much as the other, but listening to the 'what people will say,' to opinion, to the 'voices from without? And as a wise man has said, no one has ever done anything great or useful by listening to the voices from without.

"You do not want the effect of your good things to be, 'How wonderful for a *woman!*' nor would you be deterred from good things by hearing it said, 'Yes, but she ought not to have done this, because it is not suitable for a woman.'"

This, however full of womanly feeling and piety as it is, scarcely shews that resolute acumen which usually distinguishes the authoress's opinions: for surely Miss Nightingale must see that she has neither cut nor unravelled the knotty question of "What is woman's work, and what is man's?" but has left it exactly where it was for that individual interpretation, which may lead a young lady into the obscene filth of the dissecting room, or Black-eyed Susan to handle the boarding-pike? As a general rule by which to find that which is, and that which is not "suitable for a woman," the test proposed, namely the goodness of the thing to be done, is fallacious; and entirely evades the real question, whether much which it is good for a man to do, is not good for a woman, and *vice versa*. Of course, exceptional circumstances place women in exceptional positions. The Maid of Saragossa did well to fight for the hearth of her affections and the altar of her faith, although she might be covered with blood and brains; but this example will not justify Sarah Jane, if, under the disguise of unmentionables, she takes the recruiting sergeant's shilling, and obtrudes herself into that dubious part of "the pomp and circumstance of glorious war" which is comprised in the low, drunken life of a private soldier.

There can be no other solid foundation for a general rule of

action, then the general good of all if pursued by all. Would it or would it not be for the benefit of mankind if women undertook all kinds of work, admitting it be good work, in which men engage? We think that nature has answered the question, not so much, perhaps, by making the body of woman the home of the fœtus, as by making it the laboratory of food for the infant. In fixing upon the breast of woman the milk-bearing glands, nature stamped her leading attribute and vocation, to be gentle, affectionate, and domestic, to be the nurse and mother of the human race.

If this evident intention of the great mother, nature, should be systematically invaded, doubtless some female prodigies of manly virtue may be witnessed; but may not also female prodigies of masculine vice develop themselves? May not the domestic affections be scorched up in the fire of ambition?

Would not the human race languish and decay, and the sum of human happiness be wretchedly stunted, if all our women were formed even upon so noble a type of character as that of Queen Elizabeth?

No, let us without reservation discard this repulsive novelty of female manhood, a mere excrescence of the brag and conceit of a country whose free-born citizens would send the distinctions of sex after those of social rank. Let us at least hold by the conservatism of nature, and maintain that primordial distinction which Milton so exquisitely expresses.

“For valour he, and contemplation formed,  
For beauty she, and sweet attractive grace.”

J. C. B.

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### *Annual Reports of Lunatic Asylums.*

We have been diverted for too long a time from the important and agreeable task of reviewing the reports which are annually issued by the superintendents of our public asylums. It is true that these reports are addressed rather to the general than to the medical public, and that from the constant recurrence of the same kind of circumstances whether they be evils to be complained of, or benefits to be thankfully noted, they are, taken as a whole, so monotonous that it is impossible to keep up the full interest which their first consideration affords. The men from whom they ema-

nate, however, possess collectively so vast a fund of experience, and of skill and knowledge in all that appertains to the care of the insane, that even in these reports written for lay readers as they are, the careful student of the interests of the insane cannot fail to mark the expression of new opinions, or of old ones seen from new points of view. The latter, indeed, are certainly the most frequent, and perhaps also the most important, for the re-considerations of old opinions, directed by an enlarged experience and a more matured judgment, are in matters of this practical kind more likely to come to the very marrow of the truth than propositions or opinions rejoicing in the new gloss of recent manufacture. One evil our delayed review has entailed, namely that of preventing us from undertaking the whole task as of yore, in the alphabetical order of the reports. The series is disarranged and we must be content to follow the example of the worthy preacher who ensured an impartial rotation of his sermons by taking the first that came to hand from the lower part of the barrel in which he kept them, and returning it to repose among its fellows through the bung-hole. We take then the reports as they come to hand, and here, to begin with, in a fat pamphlet, almost like a blue-book, is the report of the oldest and richest of these institutions, Bethlem, with its income of £29,091 a year. A noble institution indeed, conducted in a spirit of the most enlightened liberality, and able to boast of the most satisfactory results in a per centage of cures of 66, "the largest ever recorded;" to rejoice, we ought to say, not to boast, for Dr. Hood too well understands the ground-work of statistics not to perceive, that however satisfactory this result may be, it must be compared with judgment even with the work of the same institution in other periods of its history.

"The annual per centage is but a meagre—often a very false—criterion, of the continual outpouring of charitable aid rendered by this Institution; the record of cures actually effected, although gratifying in proportion to their number, is but a circumscribed evidence of its usefulness, which must not be valued by the ebb and flow of medical success, or the thousand unforeseen circumstances which in the course of twelve months may affect the rise or fall of the statistical barometer. The mean average of a number of years will alone show, if comparison is required, whether we are before or behind our predecessors in success; a conscientious desire and hearty exertion on our part will alone shield us from inferiority. With this view the following Table has been prepared, and although some years appear to yield us less credit than others, it will show more

forcibly than words, that by dividing the last forty years into four decennial periods, the per centage of cures has gradually increased."

The table shows that—

From 1820 to 1829 inclusive,	the cures were	46 per cent.
„ 1830 „ 1839	„ „	52 „
„ 1840 „ 1849	„ „	54 „
„ 1850 „ 1859	„ „	56 „

This is highly satisfactory, and there can be no doubt that the results of treatment at Bethlem would bear favourable comparison with that of any like institution in the world. The elements of comparison, however, with the pauper asylums of this country, are absolutely wanting, owing to the rules of the institution, which admit only uncomplicated and recent cases, presenting *prima facie* a probability of cure, while the bulk of the patients admitted into county asylums, idiotic, epileptic, paralytic, and demented, are, at the date of their admission, obviously incurable. That the per centage of cures would be very high in county asylums also, if the patients were selected on account of their curability, is a fact which no one can doubt, and which, if needed, would receive confirmation from the following passage from the last report of the physician of the Derby Asylum:—

“During the past year nineteen recent cases, such as would have been admissible for treatment in the curative hospitals of St. Luke and Bethlem in London, have been received; and of these, thirteen have been discharged cured, one awaits her discharge, and three others are approaching convalescence, and will be fit to return home in a few weeks. Thus seventeen cases out of nineteen have emerged, or are emerging from their malady.”

The fact and its explanation stated in the following passage deserve earnest attention in regard to the oft-mooted opinion, that asylums for the middle class are so urgently needed at the present time.

“A considerable decrease in the number of admissions must be recognized. I do not for one moment believe that this results from any want of appreciation of the benefits offered by the Hospital, but rather that under existing circumstances the supply is greater than the demand. Public Asylums have sprung up in every county, in some instances in each division of the county, and Private Asylums, formerly licensed only for pauper lunatics, are now willing, because deprived of their original patients, to receive patients of the middle class on terms very little above those usually charged for paupers. In another large Metropolitan Hospital for the Insane, a

similar decrease in the number of admissions has occurred, and to some extent still remains, although as an inducement to those who shrink from the receipt of entirely gratuitous relief, the privilege of admission has been offered to such on the payment of a small amount, as some remuneration for the benefits received. When in the course of a short time, by the removal of the criminal lunatics from Bethlem, there will be accommodation for an increased number of other patients, the Governors may think it right to recommend some alteration either in the qualifications for admission or period of residence."

The table referred to below details the occupation of the 158 curable patients admitted during 1859. Of the 58 men, 27 appear to have been in a social position above the artisan class, and of the 100 women, 45 were the wives or daughters of professional men, of clerks, or tradesmen, 8 were governesses or schoolmistresses. It appears then that the social rank of about one half of the patients admitted was above that of the artisan and servant class. To no part of Dr. Hood's judicious innovations at Bethlem do we attach more value than to his consistent endeavour to rescue it from the use of the London parishes as an economical anti-chamber to the pauper asylums, and to devote its noble charity to that suffering class to whom destitution has not given a claim upon the poor rate. As for the supply being greater than the demand for the wants of the poor but not pauper insane, we can only think that it is true in its application to the immediate neighbourhood of Bethlem and St. Luke's, and that if the benefits of these charities were as widely known throughout the country as they deserve to be, no lack of candidates for them would be felt. This would especially be the case if Dr. Hood's wise suggestion of some alteration in the period of residence should be adopted, since the limitation of residence to one year would be more disadvantageous to patients coming from a distance than to those whose friends reside near at hand.

"Table XVIII. records the admission of Governesses, Clergymen, Medical Men, Clerks, and Mechanics. To each of these the association in a County Asylum would have been painful, and the recollection of the acquirement of pauperism necessary before their admission into it, would have remained when their hearts were filled with lively gratitude for returning mental health. In Bethlem such feelings are spared them: and on leaving these gates they return to their families, their neighbourhood, and their occupation, with their small savings untouched, their social pride unabashed, their gratitude unalloyed."



Dr. Hood records that seven male criminal patients had received their discharge, some of whom had committed murder, and he very justly comments upon the grave responsibility which rests with those who petition, and those who report, and those who decide upon the discharge of such patients. All the difficulties which encompass the question of criminal lunacy will not be solved by the opening of the state asylum.

We find in the report of St. Luke's, the emulous younger sister of Bethlem, regret still more earnestly expressed on "the gradual falling off of the numbers admitted." The explanation suggested is not that the supply exceeds the demand, but that the advantages offered by the institution are insufficiently known.

"It has occurred to us that as the members of the medical profession become most early aware of cases of insanity occurring in the class to which we allude, that it would be an excellent plan to send circulars to them, stating shortly the objects of the Charity. We can hardly express the surprise we have felt at the want of knowledge on this subject that seems to prevail. We can state without fear of cavil, that very few medical men are aware that patients of the middle classes who are in indigent circumstances are received into St. Luke's Hospital without payment of any kind, that a still smaller number are aware of your recent resolutions to receive at a small weekly payment, patients whose friends wish to place them in a public Institution, and yet are desirous that they should not be considered as recipients of charity."

The results of treatment here also have been in the highest degree satisfactory, 68·59 per cent of the patients admitted having been cured.

The reporters conclude with the expression of sorrow for the absence of their colleague, Dr. Sutherland, on account of severe illness, and the earnest hope of his speedy convalescence. All who know, either personally or by report, this accomplished physician and highly esteemed member of our Association, will be delighted to learn that the hope of his colleagues has been fully realized.

The old story of the manner in which patients are brought to asylums receives a curious illustration in the following anecdote from the first report of the Durham County Asylum by Dr. R. Smith.

"We must regret that those entrusted with the transmission of patients to this Asylum should so frequently employ restraint. We may refer to one instance; a man, handcuffed, and with a police-

man on each side, arrived at the neighbouring railway station; one of the officers of the Asylum happened to arrive by the same train, and as the policeman had taken no care to procure the attendance of a vehicle, offered to drive the patient to the Asylum provided the handcuffs and the policemen were removed; it need scarcely be said that the offer was accepted, and that the patient proved a tolerably agreeable travelling companion."

The report of the Surrey Asylum, purely official as it is, indicates an active spirit of improvement. The mode of enlarging the Asylum appears to be still under discussion, the Commissioners finding so many fundamental objections to the plans that they have requested that the architect may be placed in direct communication with themselves. *The* fundamental objection, undoubtedly, is the unlimited augmentation of this already over-grown asylum.

The soundness of the principles for which the Commissioners so long and stoutly, but ineffectually, battled for with the Middlesex Justices is now almost universally acknowledged. The vast metropolitan receptacles for the insane are extravagant in cost, unwieldy in management, and depressing in effect on the minds of sane and insane.

In the eighth report of the Derbyshire County Asylum, Dr. Hitchman reports a case of epilepsy in which "the fits were of so violent a character that the patient's shoulder has been dislocated by the spasmodic force of the muscles, and has been brought back into its place again by convulsive action aided slightly by manipulation."

Dr. Hitchman accounts for the death of epileptics who turn upon the face in bed, in the following manner,

"The pre-existing congestion of the brain and spinal cord has blunted the respiratory sense, and thus reduced the *energy* of the inspiratory act; next, the inspiratory act (in the absence of all consciousness on the part of the patient, the nose being pressed by the pillow,) even if excited, may draw up the wetted sheet into the mouth, and thus, without excluding all air, may admit it in quantities too small for the continuance of life; and in these rare cases the usual characteristics of suffocation would be more conspicuous than in those where all air had been instantaneously shut off from the patient."

We are inclined to attribute a large amount of the causation of death in these cases, to the reduced energy of the respiratory act, for we have seen several epileptics at the point of death, merely from the fit having come on during the act of mastication and deglutition, and this ap-

parently without the food having become impacted, or having passed into the larynx, as in the fatal accident to which paralytics are liable. An epileptic patient of our own once died under the following circumstances,—the fit sometimes produced vomiting, and he was found dead in bed lying with his face upwards, with the mouth and nares filled with the soft pulp of half-digested bread and milk which the strength of the respiratory effort, depressed by an epileptic fit, had been unable to eject. These deaths of epileptics in which the face is found pressed upon the pillow, appear therefore to be to so great an extent the result of the disease that they cannot fairly be considered accidental deaths, and this view is taken by many coroners who refuse to hold inquests upon them. We observe in looking through the reports that this accident is of frequent occurrence, although probably an efficient system of night-watching renders it less so than it otherwise would be. We also have found that a pillow made of materials very permeable to air (namely of coir covered with strainering), to be of undoubted service in preventing this occurrence. When the face is turned downward on a pillow of this kind, a small supply of air will make its way through. The pillow must be made in the shape of a long wedge like that recommended by Marshall Hall, and care must be taken that the patient does not cover it with the sheet.

When doctors disagree, who shall decide? This old question may well be asked by architects in relation to the warming and ventilating asylums. In the ninth Report of the Wilts Asylum, we find Dr. Thurnam attributing the comfortable temperature of the wards during severe frost, to Mr. Price's efficient warming and ventilating apparatus, and this excellent authority on all asylum matters unequivocally expressing his opinion in favour of these artificial means:—

“It has of late been proposed to dispense with any such artificial system of warming in the construction of asylums, and to trust entirely to open fires. It appears, however, to the Medical Superintendent, that by this means an adequate temperature could never be insured, and that at night at least the patients would be exposed to a degree of cold which they manage to escape, under the thatch of their own small dwellings. If, as is most essential, well lighted and spacious buildings be constructed for the insane, it becomes all the more requisite to provide for their being duly warmed in winter, which no number of open fires available—seeing these can hardly be afforded in every sleeping room or associated dormitory—would secure.”

We remember that the Royal Commission on Irish lunatic asylums, on which Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Lutwidge acted, condemned artificial means of warming and ventilating; and we have heard others of the English Commissioners in Lunacy also express a strong objection, founded upon their own experience of the difference, not so much of the temperature, as of the quality of air in asylums warmed by apparatus and those warmed by open fires. We entirely concur in this objection. Air which has been cooked by contact with hot plates or hot pipes always seems to us to be spoilt, and as little exhilarating as boiled champagne, if such a thing ever was. Undoubtedly by the artificial apparatus an equable temperature is ensured during the night as well as the day, but is this altogether a desirable thing? For persons in tolerable health the common opinion is, that a fire in the bedroom is unwholesome. Miss Nightingale says, that no person ever caught cold in bed, an opinion which she advocates so strongly that she recommends the windows to be kept open at night. Moreover, in weather of unexceptional severity it is not difficult to have the gallery fires kept up during the night, so that the temperature of the wards may not be permitted to fall very low. On the whole, placing the freshness of air which accompanies the use of the open fire place against the more equable temperature undoubtedly obtained by a warming apparatus, we think that the balance of health and comfort inclines greatly in favour of the former.

We admit, however, that the question is an open one while men of such mature experience as Dr. Thurnam, Dr. Huxley, Dr. Robertson, Mr. Ley, and others, earnestly advocate the artificial system of warming and ventilating. The question can scarcely be decided by personal preferences or even by general arguments. It must be brought to some practical test or always remain a question open to difference of opinion.

The question of a suitable place for the detention of criminal lunatics was thus referred to at the Wiltshire Quarter Sessions.

“Mr. Lowther said this matter deserved the most careful consideration of the Court, seeing that we had in this county (at Dr. Finch’s), more than one fourth of the criminal lunatics of the whole kingdom. Without attaching the slightest blame to Dr. Finch, whose establishment was conducted with great skill and humanity, he could not help feeling that the Fisherton Asylum was not adapted for the reception of criminal lunatics; and in his opinion a

private asylum ought not to wear the aspect of a gaol. Several escapes had recently taken place, and in one instance three men actually made their way through a 14-inch wall, near where the keeper was sleeping. It so happened that they came into Orcheston, and broke into the house of a poor man who had sent him (Mr. Lowther) an account, in the hope of being remunerated for the property he had lost. These escapes operated strongly against the interests of Dr. Finch, who was under the necessity of offering a reward for the capture of the fugitives, but he hoped the Court would not object to a copy of the Committee's Report being forwarded to the Secretary of State, with an expression of hope that some steps would shortly be adopted to remedy the evil which had been most energetically combatted for the last twelve years by the Lunacy Commissioners—namely the lack of some central establishment for the reception of the criminal lunatics of the country.—Agreed to."

The eleventh report of the North Wales Asylum contains the following example of the condition in which patients are sometimes sent to asylums for care and treatment.

"One poor man, in the prime of life, was sent from a long distance suffering from an extensive fracture of the skull, with depression of the bone, caused by an injury inflicted nine months previous to his admission. He had been confined to his bed for that period. He was extremely feeble, semi-comatose, and obliged to be fed. He only survived his admission a few days, when death put an end to his sufferings. Upon examination, after death, the temporal, parietal and frontal bones were found fractured, and pressing on the brain, and with partial union of the scalp. The constant irritation of the fractured bones had produced an abscess, the size of a pigeon's egg, which had burst and discharged itself into the substance of the brain."

Dr Humphrey, in the Report of the Buckinghamshire Asylum, mentions that thirty-two of the patients admitted had suicidal tendencies, several having attempted drowning or hanging, and three having been brought in with wounds in their throats.

Dr. Campbell, in the Essex Report, bears similar testimony to the prevalence of this most distressing symptom, and in the following passage he well expresses the harrassing and anxious nature of the duties which it entails upon the medical guardians of these unhappy creatures.

"During the past year a very large number of patients have been sent in, from their propensity to self-destruction, and although several suicides were attempted, I am glad to say, no accident of any

kind took place. Of all the painful forms which insanity assumes, there is none more distressing than that in which the natural love of life is subverted, and the hand of the patient is turned against himself; and there are no cases which cause more anxiety to the officers and attendants of an Hospital for the insane. These cases require great delicacy and reserve in the treatment, lest on the one hand, we should compromise the comforts, the liberty and rational enjoyments of these unhappy people, by an overweaning anxiety for the preservation of their life,—or on the other hand, forfeit the confidence of the public, by the occurrence of accidents which arise out of mis-placed indulgence, or an imprudent latitude of freedom. This difficulty is increased by the imposing manner, the artful bearing of some of these patients, who try to lull into fatal security, those who have the care of them; and it is wonderful to observe with what patience and constancy of purpose, for a great length of time, some such people will watch their opportunity, and seize the unguarded moment for effecting the object of their fatal design. In some cases indeed, there is reason to believe, that with all the care that can be taken, and all the expedients that can be devised, a determined suicide will baffle the most refined ingenuity to prevent him.”

The twelfth of the series of Dr. Boyd's excellent reports contains as usual much information and much matter for reflection. That important question, the accommodation of chronic and harmless patients is mooted in a manner which leads us to believe that Dr. Boyd is now far from satisfied with the care and treatment which this class are likely to obtain, or do actually obtain in union house wards.

The greater number of the Bath patients have been removed from the asylum at Wells to new lunatic wards erected at the Bath workhouse, and we have before us a boastful report from the guardians upon the condition of these patients. From this report it appears that the entire cost of the patients is 5s 5d per head per week.

“ A portion of this 5s. 5d. consists of establishment charges, which are obviously greater than those of the ordinary inmates of the workhouse, occasioned not only by the extra expense incurred in building the Lunatic wards, (the interest of which, as well as the rent of the acre of land being duly calculated,) but also by the cost of extra diet, by the salaries of nurses, superintendents and medical care.”

We learn from the report of the county asylum from whence these patients were removed, that the weekly expense per patient for provisions alone was 3s 8d, to which must be added the cost of farm and garden, 5d, so that

supposing the patients in the Bath union-house to have the same amount and quality food as they had at the asylum the sum of 1s 4d per head per week would be left to defray the cost wages, establishment charges, coals, &c., together with the interest of the building debt, and £182 10s a year towards liquidating the capital. We say advisedly, *if* these most unfortunate patients receive the same amount of food which they did at the asylum, for we have heard a remarkable account of the quantity of food which, for a time, they actually have received.

However, the guardians undertake to show the great saving which their lunatic wards effect, and they vaunt figures which demonstrate that they do in deed and truth effect a money saving of £194 3s 4d per annum out of the wretched insane people whom a loop-holed legislation has placed under the tender mercy of their saving management. They succeed in keeping most of their patients in these economical wards; "In only ten cases has it been necessary to remove to Wells patients requiring personal restraint;" and they conclude the report with an expression which, if read by any reasonable inmates of the workhouse, would certainly have saved them a dinner, for whose appetite would not be spoilt by this, 'Praise God Barebones' finale to the balance sheet of an undertaking by which, without the slightest legal sanction or right, they imprison the wretched inmates of these lunatic wards in such a manner as to effect a saving of just cent per cent upon the cost of that care and treatment to which the laws of the land entitle a destitute lunatic; the whole cost of rent and maintenance in the workhouse being 5s 5d, and that at the asylum being 10s 9½d. The Committee conclude with the hope that, "The lunatics' wards in the Bath Union will be found, *under the blessing of Almighty God*, to have answered their appointed end"!!!

Well may Dr. Boyd express a doubt of workhouse assistance to the very different "appointed end" of asylums. "It is submitted that, under the present poor law, no dependence can be placed on the workhouses to relieve the asylum of chronic cases to any great extent."

Dr. Boyd records numerous applications for the admission of patients of the middle class, unable to pay the charges of private asylums. He enforces the experience of other superintendents that "the intercourse of private patients with the pauper lunatics in an asylum is not desirable; the private patient becomes discontented, and renders the others so." He however thinks that, "in the acute stage no incon-

venience would be experienced by associating the two classes of patients," and he expresses an opinion, though not as his own, which goes still further.

"It has been suggested, that it would simplify proceedings, and afford time for the friends to make their arrangements, without injury to the patient, if all cases, not found lunatic by inquisition, were sent at once for curative treatment to the County asylum. Slight alterations in County asylums might be sufficient for such a purpose."

We cannot approve of this suggestion nor of the admission of middle class patients into county asylums, during any stage of the disease. We have had some personal experience in this matter, respecting which, the last opinion given on the same basis, is that of the Visitors to the Essex Asylum who say in their report, "that the admission of private patients was inconvenient and inconsistent with the quiet and with the good management of the great body of pauper lunatics," and was therefore discontinued.

Surely it will in every way be best to keep the county asylums to their legitimate purpose, and to utilize to the utmost the noble charities for the insane for the benefit of the struggling and suffering class intervening between wealth and pauperism. Bethlehem and St. Luke's cry aloud for patients, and the well-informed physician of the former affirms that one reason why that noble charity has so few applicants is, that many private asylums now receive private patients "on terms very little above those usually charged for paupers." Then there are other excellent hospitals for the insane, founded, like St. Luke's, upon the donations of the benevolent, the Warnford, the St. Thomas's, Barnwood, Coton Hill, Nottingham, Cheadle, the York Retreat, &c.; let all these fulfil the charitable duties for which they were founded, as indeed most of them worthily do, and if these means are insufficient for the demands made upon them, let them shew a good cause and again appeal to the unbounded charity of the wealthy English public. This is the obvious solution of the middle class insane difficulty. Let this be fully tried and found wanting before we wander in devious and, as yet, illegal paths.

We have availed ourselves of passages in Dr. Boyd's report to ventilate our own opinions rather than to criticise those which he so well expresses not as his own but as those which are floating in society at this time when there is a



wide, though perhaps not very earnest, agitation in all questions of lunacy.

Dr. Boyd's report is, as usual, a model for such documents in the professional department. He details the number of patients under treatment and the nature of the diseases during each quarter of the year: gives tables marking the daily number of fits of each epileptic; also a most useful summary of the facts elicited by the statistical tables, and another devoted to the obituary. Among the epileptics the number of fits by day has been more than double those by night; the largest number during the year was 380 in a man, and 433 in a woman.

We are glad to observe that the largest number of patients admitted was brought from their own homes, namely 102, as against 42 from workhouses, and 8 from other asylums. In some counties the objectionable and unlawful practice exists of taking all, or nearly all, pauper lunatics to the workhouse first, even with the full intention of passing them to the asylum. It would have been interesting if Dr. Boyd had noted the relative proportion of patients cured among those who came from their own homes and from workhouses. In the pathological part we note as a curious fact that ten patients (more than one-fifth of the whole) are stated to have died from inflammation of the brain or its membranes; in our experience cerebral inflammation is rare among the insane. There was one instance of inflamed kidney, but no Bright's disease, from which the insane appear to enjoy a degree of immunity which is remarkable considering that intemperance is the most frequent cause both of insanity and of Bright's disease, and that in the latter affection, delirium is of frequent occurrence.

What superintendent will not envy the management of an asylum so spacious and airy that the Commissioners themselves recommend the conversion of galleries into dormitories, as at the Lincolnshire Asylum?

“To relieve pressure for the present, the recommendation of the Commissioners in Lunacy to convert one of the galleries on each side of the Asylum into a dormitory, and to double the number of patients now passing the day in two other galleries, is being carried out. It is hoped that this arrangement, by which forty additional beds will be secured, will not irremediably interfere with the ventilation of the galleries which are to receive the increased number of patients during the day, but it can scarcely be regarded without some misgiving. Should the difficulty, however, not arise, and the experiment now being made of returning patients who are incurable

and harmless to their friends or parishes be successful, the necessity for enlarging the building may be avoided for another year at least.'

Mr. Symes, in the report of the Dorsetshire Asylum, comments upon the worthlessness of the returns in admission papers as to the duration of the disease.

"The great frequency of parish officers in their "statement" when patients are admitted, noting down "one week, two weeks, a month, a few months," as to the time the patient has been insane; whereas, in many instances, I have found that "an odd way of going on," or "great peculiarity of manner, causing observation," &c. has been noticed probably for a year, or even more. Doubtless, this was when the patient should have been cared for, and then with every probability of recovery."

The statements contained in these papers of the supposed cause, and of the dangerous or suicidal tendencies of the patients are, according to our experience, scarcely more trustworthy. We can, however, with a bad grace find fault with the relieving officers and overseers by whom this part of the paper is filled up, when our medical brethren display so much negligence and ignorance in filling up the medical certificates. It is stated in the report of the Devon Asylum that a patient was brought for admission on the statement of facts as indicating insanity, "that he put things in his pocket and could not talk;" and we have recently had a sharp looking youth brought for admission with a medical certificate containing only this statement of facts indicating insanity—"Nothing except his appearance."

In the many essays on criminal lunacy which have of late appeared, a very legitimate distinction, as it seems, has been drawn between persons acquitted of crime on the ground of insanity, and who may fairly be presumed to be in many instances the victims of neglect, and the very different class of criminals who have become insane after conviction, insane convicts as they are called, whose presence in county asylums must be much more objectionable than that of the former class. Yet here is an instance of a new method by which the Government authorities may disincumber themselves and gain admission for these insane individuals into county asylums.

"The man had been a convict in Dartmoor Prison for some length of time, and was discharge on "ticket of leave," and sent to his parents at Weymouth. His first act was the use of violent language towards them, swearing they were no relations of his, and

uttering threats of a very unpleasant nature. He was immediately conveyed to the Union, and from thence here. He was reported to me as having been insane several months, and this being so he must have been discharged from the prison in an insane state. It was a great annoyance, therefore, to receive such a criminal; yet, with one exception, he has hitherto behaved quietly enough. An application was made to the Secretary of State for his removal, but refused."

This plan is almost as ingenious, though not quite so hardy, as the manner in which the military authorities of Chatham have disembarrassed themselves of insane soldiers, namely, by turning them loose in the high street of Rochester, having given previous information of their intention to the poor law officials.

The Leicestershire and Rutland Lunatic Asylum is one of the last examples of a mixed asylum, and we observe that the Visiting Commissioners, Mr. Procter and Mr. Gaskell, recommend that the private patients should be accommodated elsewhere, in the following terms :

"There are fifty private patients in the Asylum. We understand that patients of this class have been repeatedly refused admission here. We submit to the consideration of the Committee of Visitors, the expediency of separating the two parts of the establishment from each other, and procuring (or if necessary, erecting,) a building on some other site for the private patients alone. This plan has been adopted at several places where the same union of private with public patients existed, namely at Gloucester, Stafford, and Nottingham, and has been attended, we believe, with success in each instance."

Thus we find that even in those institutions which were originally designed and constructed for the joint occupation of pauper patients and middle-class private patients, and which derive funds for the maintenance of the latter from the accumulated donations of the benevolent, the system of treating the two classes under the same roof, has after a long period of trial been abandoned, in all instances we believe, except that of this asylum, and that on the best authority its abandonment is recommended here also. With this experience before us how can we recommend the admission of private patients into county asylums, where neither structural accommodation nor yet funds have been provided for their maintenance?

We shall include in this notice what may be called the Report of a private asylum, being the fourth number of

Dr. Prichard's Reports of Cases of Insanity treated at Abington Abbey. We cannot quite concur with Dr. Prichard in the importance which he attaches to the statistics of treatment in asylums, whether public or private. Even a large asylum, under admirable management, may be filled with chronic cases, so as to exclude the admission of recent ones ; and this may still more readily be the case in small private asylums. A small asylum of this kind under the most able and liberal management, might not discharge a patient from one year's end to another, while in another the number of cures during one year might exceed the admissions ; indeed this appears to have been almost the case at Abington, where 14 patients were dismissed, 10 being cured, against 11 admissions. If the publication of statistics of cure is to be accepted at the value which Dr. Prichard proposes, the guardians of the Bath Union not only triumph over the superintendents of county asylums in their wonderful economy, but in the results of their treatment, for they affirm that in their little lunatic establishment, containing only 89 patients, most of whom are idiots, they have within two years discharged 35 patients wholly recovered, and that 43 more have derived great benefit. It is true that we attach far more credit to Dr. Prichard's private statistics than to those of this public board ; but it not the less seems to us an unscientific test, unless the things compared are placed under the same conditions, except in regard to the condition whose influence it is proposed to test. If the proportion of cure is to be accepted as the test of treatment, it would lead us to strange conclusions. The number of transient cases of insanity which recover at home and nothing said, is greater than most people would believe, and yet physicians are on no point more unanimous than in their condemnation of the home treatment of insanity.

We believe that a well conducted private asylum is a great public boon, and that its value is not to be fairly tested by figures put into the form of statistical returns, which make no count of the alleviation of suffering, or of additions to the sum of happiness, however great, unless positively marked off *minus* by death, or *plus* by cure.

We are so far from giving credit to the assertion that the physicians of private asylums detain their patients beyond the period of their recovery, that we believe the practice to be far more common in county asylums. Take for example a case of intercurrent mania ; a patient liable to this form of insanity often finds a permanent home in a

county asylum ; after two or three discharges the parochial officials find that it is more economical to leave the patient in the asylum than to be fluctuating between the expenses of admission and discharge ; the patient reconciles himself to the asylum as a home, and there he remains : but in a private asylum the responsibility of detaining a man from his home, being in a sound state of mind, in anticipation of a future attack, would scarcely be incurred. We fear, in fact, that the recent agitation in these matters has been the cause of no little mischief in the discharge of patients whose detention would have been conducive, not less to their individual welfare than to the interests of public security. The tide of public opinion has set strongly against asylums ; soon, however, it will be slack water, and then a few outrages will probably turn the prejudices of the fickle public against the liberty of mad folk. A few striking examples either way are sufficient to turn the direction of public opinion.

“ An habitation giddy and unsure

Hath he that buildeth on the vulgar heart.”

Dr. Prichard directs attention to the mischief which threatens the true interests of the insane from legislation, calculated to degrade the status and character of the class upon whose character their welfare immediately depends, and he quotes the candid and wise forethought of this danger which was expressed by Mr. Campbell before the Select Committee on Lunatics.

“We must especially notice the very just remarks of Mr. Campbell, one of the Commissioners in Lunacy, in his evidence before that Committee, as they appear so apposite and forcible (although only such as we could have expected from a man of his experience and judgment,) and display views of so liberal and enlightened a character, when compared with those of some of the other witnesses—well meaning men no doubt—who, in their eagerness to make out a case for legislative interference, speak with an air of authority which does not properly belong to them, and who give expression to opinions which, under the most charitable interpretation, are indicative of narrow views, and which are, in not a few instances, unjust.

“I wish,” said Mr. Campbell, “to call the attention of the Committee to a point which seems to me to have been forgotten by some of the witnesses, and that is, that asylums are places for the *cure and treatment of the insane* as well as places of detention ; and I think that *great care* should be used, when we surround Asylums with so many safeguards, that we *do not degrade them*,

“and also those who keep them ; —I speak of licensed houses. I am fully aware of the defective and very unadvisable arrangement of having a licensed house for the detention of insane persons (because the treatment of the insane involves the detention of the person.) The fact of a person receiving another for profit, and having the power of depriving him of his liberty, is, I think, a most objectionable arrangement, but the question is, whether that arrangement can be got rid of, and whether all persons can, by law, be forced into chartered hospitals and public asylums. I think that if that cannot be accomplished, that it is desirable to try and induce persons of the highest character only, to take licensed houses and receive patients. I am afraid *that by degrading them*, and shewing such extreme suspicion of all those persons, by treating every one who has the care of an asylum or licensed house as a person who is *primâ facie* a man who would take advantage of his patients, and deprive them of their liberty for profit, we shall be doing an injury to the cause.”

These are the observations of a gentleman who knows what asylums really are, and who, we verily believe, desires to do justly by all parties, and we earnestly hope that the legislature may be guided and influenced by those who breathe the like generous and earnest spirit,”

“Doubtless, there is still room for advancement in many points, and that some alterations in the law, as it affects the insane, may be necessary and advisable ; but we are decidedly of opinion that more substantial good will accrue from the judicious counsel and co-operation of those who inspect asylums, and the voluntary efforts of those who have the care of the insane throughout the country, than by over minute legislation, which must inevitably oppress, and prove vexatious to men actuated by high and honourable motives, should it not have the effect of inducing them to withdraw from asylums altogether.”

The following statement from the report of the Nottingham County Asylum indicates the great difficulty which must be experienced by the authorities at Bethlem in ascertaining the non-existence of insanity in those cases of *manidè raisonante* of which Dr. Robertson has given us so instructive an example in this Journal. We presume that this dangerous and criminal woman has been re-admitted into the Nottingham Asylum as an ordinary patient, and that the superintendent will now be deprived of all opportunity of re-transmitting her to Bethlem, unless, indeed, she be discharged, and allowed to commit some new offence. The artificial distinction of insane persons founded upon the accident whether they have or have not committed some offence against the law, will be more than ever felt when the

new state asylum is opened. Is a murderous assault committed within the walls of an asylum an offence against the law? And if not, why not? If it is, lunatics of dangerous criminal tendencies may effectually be separated from others on something like a natural and real ground of distinction.

“The circumstances which necessitated the removal of a criminal patient in September last, require a more particular notice. The lunatic was a powerful woman, of depraved conduct, offensive language, and with a disposition to commit homicide. She had been an inmate of several asylums and prisons, had been a source of trouble to the public and to her own family for several years; and on one occasion had given rise to a trial at the assizes. She had several times during her residence here assaulted infirm patients and threatened to kill others. On the 18th of August last, without any provocation, she attacked a melancholic patient, and amongst other injuries fractured her thigh bone. It is yet doubtful whether the poor woman will recover from the effects of this violence. An order was obtained from the Secretary of State, for the removal of the prisoner to Bethlem, to which place she was accordingly conveyed, but has since been set at liberty, upon the ground of her not being insane. This Patient was again admitted as a dangerous Lunatic, January 24th, 1860.”

J. C. B.

*(To be continued.)*

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*Criminal Lunatics. A Letter to the Chairman of the Commissioners in Lunacy.* By W. C. HOOD, M.D., Physician to the Royal Bethlem Hospital. London: Churchill, (Pamphlet, pp. 28.)

No one can speak with the authority of so much experience and knowledge on the subject of criminal lunatics as the able physician of Bethlem, and his well timed and well written pamphlet is very acceptable now that the new State Asylum is approaching completion.

Dr. Hood points out the indiscriminate and not very accurate use of the term, “criminal lunatics,” and the wide distinction between those whose offence has been the result of insanity, perhaps neglected, and those whose insanity has been the sequel of crime.

There is another class who are the pest of all asylums in which they are found, namely, sane criminals, who have been

acquitted on the ground of insanity, or who have escaped from the prison to the asylum by feigning insanity. An instance of this latter kind when in an asylum, "will poison the minds of all with whom he is associated, and if he is sent back to prison, will speedily return, followed by others whom he has induced to act with equal duplicity." Here is a picture of this kind of animal drawn from the life.

"J. F., while awaiting transportation, as a convict in Millbank Prison, in the year 1849, murdered one of the warders; on his trial he was acquitted on the ground of insanity, and being ordered to be detained during Her Majesty's pleasure, was removed to Bethlem Hospital. His conduct in the hospital has been uniformly bad, and if any of his wishes are opposed, he threatens either attendants or fellow-patients with violence, and has twice nearly murdered those who were placed over him. He sets all his attendants at defiance, and takes the earliest opportunity to induce any fresh inmate to follow his example. He has spent most of his life in prison, and is known to be a worthless and depraved man. Not having shown any symptoms of the mental disease on which ground he obtained his acquittal, repeated applications were made by the authorities of Bethlem Hospital to the Home Office for his return to prison. These resulted in an order to transfer him to Millbank; but after remaining there three months, the Governor of the prison obtained a warrant for his return to the hospital, not because he was insane, *but because being neither a prisoner nor convict*, the authorities had no power to detain him in prison, consequently he continues an inmate of an institution in which gentleness and kindness are of the utmost importance for the well-being of the patients; and although his character is depraved, his example pernicious, and his antecedents exhibiting him as a savage murderer, and the worst possible type of humanity, his acquittal and subsequent sentence to be confined during Her Majesty's pleasure, prohibit his detention in prison, while his conduct requires that the general *morale* of the hospital shall be invaded and deteriorated by a stern discipline, very similar to that of a criminal gaol, which is indispensable in such cases."

Dr. Hood points to the distinction that must be drawn between those lunatics who have been convicted of slight offences, and those who have been guilty of graver crimes, and he proposes to extend the jurisdiction of the Commissioners of Lunacy, over the former class, and to empower them to discharge on the guarantee of friends or relations, that they shall be prevented from again disturbing the public peace. But a mere guarantee without penalty in case of infraction of its conditions, would be of little service; besides,



it would confer no power over the conduct of the person discharged, however dangerous it might be. A more efficient plan would be to place a doubtful case under the surveillance of some relative or medical man who should enter into recognizances to superintend the mode of life of the discharged prisoner, and to whom statutory power should be granted somewhat equivalent to that possessed by a Committee of the Person over a Chancery lunatic.

As for extending the jurisdiction of the Commissioners in Lunacy, we are convinced that it will be found needful to do so over all criminal lunatics whatever their degree of crime or their condition of mind. There is an excellent precedent for this in the practice adopted in Ireland, where the Inspectors of Asylums have the actual control of the State Lunatic Asylum, and where the action of the Government in all that relates to criminal lunatics, is directed by their advice. The inevitable difficulties which will attend the opening of the new State Asylum, of determining who to admit and who to exclude, who to retain and who to discharge, whom to treat with strict discipline and whom to indulge with comparative liberty; all these are matters which will, perhaps, need the sanction of the Secretary of State, but which will be best judged of and recommended by one or more of the Commissioners in Lunacy to whom this thorny department should be especially assigned. This, and other things, point to the necessity for a division of labour at that Board, greater than that which no doubt already exists though in an unrecognized form.

Dr. Hood commenting upon the several cases who, acquitted on charges of murder on the plea of insanity, had displayed no symptom thereof during their residence in Bethlem, points to one of the main causes of this mischievous fiction in the manner in which "specialist" physicians lend themselves to be the instruments of the lawyers to whom the defence is entrusted.

"If not insane, why were they acquitted? The answer to this inquiry must be that the jury acted upon the evidence of the medical witnesses, who had formed erroneous opinions of the cases. If this be a fair conclusion, we are led to enquire whether the evidence of medical witnesses, 'experts,' as they may be in insanity, is always sure guidance to a jury. It is believed that the majority of the medical profession object both to the mode in which evidence is now procured and now given in criminal cases; the solicitors for the prosecution and defence seek medical testimony not to elicit the truth, but to obtain a verdict for their respective clients. Physician

is pitted against physician, and surgeon against surgeon, while 'specialists' (a modern and very undesirable *soubriquet*) are supposed to bring with them the clenching evidence produced by concentrated study or particular aptitude, and all this difficulty is increased by cross-examination, which endeavours to reduce to the narrow limits of a mathematical problem the reasons for ever-changing pathological conditions.

"In criminal cases where the plea of insanity is to be advanced, the medical practitioner, unless he has been previously in attendance upon the prisoner, has seldom a sufficient opportunity of testing the mental condition of the accused. A few hours, perhaps less, are all that is allotted, and he is hurried into the witness-box to state before a learned judge, an astute and adverse counsel, and a perplexed jury, the ground of the opinion he has formed, usually involving some of the most delicate questions of psychological science.

"If the opportunities for arriving at an opinion were increased, the remedy would be to some degree provided; but, *volens volens*, the evidence sought from him, except by cross-examination, is only such as will benefit the case of the counsel who examines him in chief. *I could instance cases of great difficulty, and in a question in which very few men were capable of giving an opinion at all, in which particular medical men were retained, not for the purpose of giving evidence, but in order to prevent their experience and knowledge being made available by the opposite side; as a large retaining fee is often given to an eminent counsel, only to exclude the possibility of his taking part with the opponent.* Sometimes the public are satisfied, sometimes irritated, at the result."

How degrading is all this to the professional character! How inconsistent, indeed, with common honesty, for what right has any witness to accept a retaining fee, to allow the faithful expression of his knowledge and convictions to be burked with a bank note! There is no parallel between the position of a counsel and a witness. The one for the purposes of argument is the recognized *alter ego* of the accused, and all that he says and does is accepted as such. But a witness? A witness is a person who gets into the box and kisses the gospels in token that what he shall say shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. If there are men in our department of the profession, psychological physicians, who can allow themselves in the witness box the liberty of counsel, or even allow their mouths to be stopped in the manner described by Dr. Hood, if we were to call such men by their right names we should call them very harsh ones.

The remedy which Dr. Hood proposes is, that there shall

be two trials, one to determine the state of mind, and the other to ascertain the commission of the offence.

“The question arises, how is this to be altered? I would suggest, whenever insanity is set up as a defence, the trial of the prisoner for the offence with which he is charged, whatever may be the stage at which it has arrived, should be postponed, until the state of the prisoner’s mind at the time has been made the subject of inquiry, at the same or some following session or assize, as the case may be, and as then shall be directed before an ordinary jury, whose verdict of insanity, if such it shall be, shall in all cases be recorded by the Court as an answer to the previous indictment. It seems, indeed, altogether inconsistent and contradictory to allow a prisoner to allege that he did not commit the offence of which he is charged, and that when he did commit it he was of unsound mind; yet both these grounds of defence are admissible under the plea of Not Guilty.”

The following is the legislative formula into which Dr. Hood proposes to cast this opinion for practical use, in the sketch of a statute with which he concludes his pamphlet.

“If any prisoner shall appear on arraignment or during trial to be insane, or if on the trial of any prisoner evidence be given that such prisoner was insane at the time the offence with which he or she is charged was committed, it shall be lawful for the court before which such prisoner is arraigned, or being tried, to postpone such trial if it see fit, and to direct that at the same or some following assize or session, the state of the prisoner’s mind be made the subject of separate inquiry before a petty jury; independent medical testimony in every such case being directed by the court to be provided by summons of one or more medical men. And in the event of the prisoner being found by the jury on such separate inquiry, to be insane when arraigned, or during trial, or when the offence with which he or she is charged was committed, as the case may be, then in every such case the prisoner shall be sent to the county asylum or other proper receptacle for insane persons, and be dealt with as is herein above provided for persons duly certified to be insane while imprisoned in any prison or other place of confinement.”

When a prisoner so found insane shall be recovered, the author proposes that he shall be removed back from the asylum to the prison, and at the following or some subsequent assize shall be tried for the offence.

There are grave objections to this plan of a double trial. First, there is the double trouble and expense; then there is the delay before the second trial would take place, during

which evidence would decay—nothing is more evanescent; then there is the impossibility of separating the inquiry into the state of mind from the inquiry into the offence. The one almost invariably illustrates the other. Very often the character and circumstances of the offence constitute the main evidence of sanity or insanity. For example, there was Dove, the strychnine poisoner, whose deliberate and ghastly crime was the main evidence that he possessed a very clear knowledge of what he was about,—how could his state of mind have been inquired into without a minute inquiry into the circumstances of the offence? In nine cases out of ten the fact of the commission of the offence admits of no doubt. The offences of real lunatics are generally committed without disguise or attempt at concealment; and when there has been any attempt at concealment the plea of insanity is likely to be so ticklish, that counsel will not resort to it except in despair of obtaining acquittal in any other manner. The trial for the offence, therefore, in all but very exceptional cases, does practically resolve itself into a trial of the state of mind. While, therefore, we fully acknowledge the evils which the author has pointed out, we do not recognise the practical wisdom of the scheme by which he proposes to obviate them. The more simple and effective plan would be that which we have formerly proposed, namely, to require counsel before the trial to declare their intention to advance the plea of insanity, and on this declaration to delay the trial until the criminal has been placed for a sufficient time under the observation of experienced medical men, appointed by the Government for the purpose of examining into and ascertaining his real state of mind. Access under proper limitations, must of course also be permitted to any medical men named by those acting for the prisoner. The conviction and execution of Luigi Buranelli was undoubtedly determined by the evidence of Drs. Mayou and Sutherland, who were employed by the Government to ascertain his state of mind. In the case of James Atkinson, who escaped execution for murder in 1858, and whom Dr. Hood has found to be ‘a shrewd, designing, bad man,’ whose mode of life, both before and after the trial, was diametrically at variance with the plea of insanity which had been supported by three medical witnesses of considerable reputation, no medical man had examined the prisoner on behalf of the prosecution, so that his acquittal was entirely decided upon what Dr. Hood calls “*ex parte* medical evidence”

Although we differ from Dr. Hood on one or two points to which, as critics are apt to do, we have given a prominent place in the above notice ; on other subjects mooted in his excellent pamphlet we entirely concur, and we have no doubt that our associates will be as much pleased as we have ourselves been, with the general tenor of his wise and humane opinions.

J. C. B.

*Note.*—We are glad to see that Sir G. C. Lewis has commuted the sentence of death, passed on Annois (the foreign sailor who had assassinated his captain, and who was suspected but not proved to have been in an unsound state of mind at the time when the offence was committed) into one of penal servitude for life. A most unreasonable outcry has been raised against this solution of the difficulty, on the ground that the man was either sane, and ought to be executed, or insane and ought to be deemed innocent and therefore left unpunished. This chop logic assumes, that all sane murderers are executed, and all insane ones are left unpunished, both of which limbs of the argument are notoriously unsound. Our law fortunately admits of degrees of punishment according to the degree of guilt involved in the same kind of crime. It is not with us “an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth” and a life for a life, and if there is any one circumstance which more than another must be admitted to modify the degree of moral guilt, it is the state of mental health of the criminal. Insanity is a sliding scale from the smallest deviation from mental health to the most complete madness. Why should its responsibilities and immunities be ruled with geometrical precision? If the man sentenced to penal servitude is found hereafter to be really insane he will without doubt be placed in an asylum. Is not this better than that he should be placed for life in an asylum although he is of sound mind?

*Observations on the Offices of Resident and Visiting Physicians of District Lunatic Asylums in Ireland.* By JOSEPH LALOR, Esq., M.D., L.R.C.S.I., Resident Physician, and Manager of the Richmond District Lunatic Asylum. Pamphlet, pp. 48. Dublin.

In an Association composed of such various elements as our own, in which the one claim for membership is to be specially engaged in the medical treatment of the insane, the most ordinary prudence, as well as the most obvious justice would dictate, that all questions relating to the interests of the classes or divisions into which the Association naturally divides itself, should be treated in the spirit of the broadest toleration which is consistent with the primary object of the society, namely, the promotion of the welfare of the insane. This spirit of toleration will dictate to us that we must not too rashly judge questions relating to Irish or Scotch questions in lunacy by an English standard of opinion; and that while we are ready to gather instruction from all quarters, to shew that in turn we are ready to instruct in that catholic spirit which takes cognizance of those differences of opinion which different laws or other circumstances have imposed. It is certainly thus that the English members of our Association will desire to judge of the very important question which has arisen in the sister island respecting the relative duties of visiting and resident physicians of asylums. Judged by the English standard of opinion such a question could not now-a-days come into court, since it has over and again been proved by superabundant evidence, that, in this country at least, the system of dividing the responsibility of the treatment of the insane between a physician resident in an asylum and another physician resident somewhere else, has been quite incompatible with even a moderate standard of that easy and domestic, but not less real and regular discipline, upon which to so great a degree the successful management of an asylum and the efficient treatment of the insane must ever depend. In England the appointment of visiting physicians to asylums has been condemned not only in opinion but in practice, and the two or three examples of it which still remain, are understood to exist only during the continuance of personal interests. In Ireland, however, every asylum has its visiting physician or physicians, the limitation

of whose duties is at the present time an earnest and anxious subject of enquiry ; and one on which we are delighted to welcome a pamphlet from the pen of an Irish Superintendent which does honour both to himself and to his class, for it is rare indeed to meet with a pamphlet on medical polemics so logically and powerfully, and at the same time so temperately, written.

It would appear from Dr. Lalor's account that the visiting physician of the Irish asylums is a *remanet* from old times not quite pre-adamite, indeed, or even so old as the round towers, but certainly anterior to all modern improvement in the treatment of the insane, since he was created under the law which entrusted the management of the asylums to what were called lay managers, who were "subject to the directions of the visiting physician in all that regarded the treatment of the patients." With the exception of one unique specimen, the lay manager has disappeared, having been supplanted, according to Mr. Darwin's theory of the origin of species, by a class possessed of far more vitality and usefulness, to wit, the resident physician ; but the visiting physician, necessary under the old lay manager system, has in the new era retained at least his existence, if not all his importance, and the question presses for solution to what extent the circumstances of the new era shall impress themselves upon his activity.

It will be remembered by our readers, that one of the most important recommendations of the Royal Commissioners of enquiry into Irish asylums, was that the office of visiting physician should be transmuted into that of consulting physician, a very legitimate and useful transmutation of species under the new circumstances, as every one on this side of the Irish Sea will readily admit.

Dr. Corrigan, however, a physician of some eminence in Dublin, who had been associated in the Commission with gentlemen of great knowledge and experience in asylum matters, dissented from this earnest and unanimous recommendation of his colleagues, and he even went to the length of protesting against it in a letter, which, in its utter absence of common sense, would seem merely whimsical, if it were not also mischievous to the interests of the insane, and painfully unjust to that body of men upon whose action these interests most intimately depend. This injustice applies not only to the resident physicians of asylums in his own country, but to such officers wherever they may be. Indeed, he draws his illustration from this side of the

Channel, pointing most invidiously to the unhappy shower bath occurrence at the Surrey Asylum, as an instance of the cruelty, ill treatment, neglect, &c., which are likely to be committed or connived at by medical superintendents who are not under the espionage of visiting physicians. If Dr. Corrigan's judgment, had not been blinded by prejudice, he must have seen that this solitary instance which he was able to quote to serve his purpose, really, if examined, told the other way. When Mr. Snape was first appointed to the Surrey asylum, he was appointed as a subordinate medical officer to Sir Alexander Morrison, who was the visiting physician, and when this latter office was abolished he became by seniority as it were, medical superintendent. Now one of the strongest arguments against visiting physicians is, that the subordinate position in which their existence places the resident medical officers of asylums, prevents these latter appointments from being filled by first-rate men. Now although we would not say so much if it were not to refute this mischievous argument of Dr. Corrigan's, we affirm without fear of contradiction, that poor Mr. Snape was not the kind of man who would have been likely to have been appointed to have had the sole medical responsibility of one half of the great Surrey Asylum. His appointment was made under the blighting influence of that very system in support of which Dr. Corrigan cites its unfortunate result; a result from which those best calculated to judge, namely, the visitors of the asylum, have been so far from drawing the same inference that Dr. Corrigan has drawn, that in the reorganisation of their staff, and the appointment of Dr. Meyer, they have placed even a greater and more undivided weight of power and responsibility on the shoulders of their resident physician.

It is not easy to make extracts from Dr. Lalor's pamphlet, for it is so well and closely reasoned that one can scarcely get a whole link of the chain as a sample, without breaking its connexion, and exhibiting it as a fragment. Here, however, is a part of the argument against Dr. Corrigan's whimsical proposition, that visiting physicians should treat all bodily illness occurring in the inmates of asylums, leaving the medical as well as general treatment of insanity to the resident physician:—

“And yet there are physicians and surgeons found to say that if a lunatic in the paroxysm of his insanity cut his finger, however slightly, he should be handed over, as a matter of course, whether



the resident physician like it or not, to the surgeon, and that the resident physician should thenceforth have no voice in the management of his case until the cut finger was healed; or that if a patient was admitted in the early stage of acute mania, with ulcers on his leg, produced, perhaps, by straps with which he was tied before his admission, he should first be cured of those ulcers by the surgeon before the resident physician be allowed to prescribe for his so-called mental disease: and, further, that if the surgeon considered a strait waistcoat necessary to prevent the patient from removing the dressing ordered for the local disease, that he should have the power to order such instrument of restraint, irrespective of the advice of the resident physician, whose experience might enable him to suggest the care of an attendant, or other means, as more desirable. So, also, it is argued that a lunatic with diarrhoea, catarrh, psora, &c., should fall solely, and by right, to the charge of the visiting physician, no matter what his mental condition might be. Such absurdities, if permitted by rule, can have only one of two terminations, as regards the offices of resident and visiting physicians, and that is the abolition of one or other.

“In cases of sudden emergencies the resident physician must of necessity act, and if he is not permitted to treat ordinary cases of bodily disease that occur in his own institution, how can a man, so tied to the apron-strings of his visiting colleague—taught to rely entirely on the supposed superior skill of this colleague, and to thank his lucky star that he has such a person to share his responsibility, or rather to leave him none whatsoever in cases of bodily disease—totally unaccustomed to exercise his own independent judgment or unassisted tact—how can such a man be relied upon in such sudden emergencies as must arise? It is only a mockery to call the services of such a man, medical or surgical aid always at hand!!!

“The division of responsibility is a principle to the benefit of which, I think, the resident medical officers of lunatic asylums entitled in certain cases; but in other cases the opposite principle of a definite and undivided responsibility is a safeguard which I think the public interest has a right to demand for its protection; and I think this right is in no case more clear than in that of the ordinary treatment of the insane, as regards both their mental and bodily ailments. The public should on no account permit the resident physician to shift off this responsibility, or even share it with others; and no room should be allowed for doubts as to where the onus lies in case of any dereliction or malfeasance in the discharge of such duty.

“In place of reducing the office of resident physician to that low professional rank which I think the carrying out of Dr. Corrigan’s principle, by withdrawing the treatment of the bodily ailments of lunatics from his care, would be calculated to do, I think it would be desirable to make it still more the object of an honourable ambition than at present, so as to induce the highest class of men

to enter this specialty, and having entered it, to devote all their energies, not alone to the preservation of all their previous skill and knowledge, but even to the increase of it."

"It seems almost unnecessary to remark how much the resident physician must be lowered in the estimation of his fellow-officers, the attendants, and even patients of the institution, when it becomes known that he is not permitted to treat the bodily diseases that may arise in the lunatic asylum under his charge; and how much such a position is calculated to lessen the respect and authority in which I should hope it is agreed by all as desirable to place an officer, whom Dr. Corrigan himself admits should be chief officer of the institution."

Dr. Corrigan not only imputes the possibility of connivance at cruelty, neglect, ill treatment, and immorality, to the resident physicians of asylums, but he maintains that from their very position they must necessarily be ignorant medical practitioners, because, says he:—

"An asylum cannot furnish a resident physician with sufficient practice to keep up his knowledge of bodily disease, and he cannot have practice out of doors. No one would consider, for himself or his family, the professional opinion of a resident physician of an asylum as of equal value with that of the practising physician or surgeon outside."

The existence of this ignorance must be very much a matter of opinion; for our own part, we concur in Dr. Lalor's belief, that it does not exist; but if it does exist, and for the reason assigned by Dr. Corrigan, namely, insufficient practice, surely it is a strange proposal to take away the small means of knowledge, which the poor superintendent does possess! Dr. Lalor, however, rather retorts the charge, or at least institutes a comparison unfavourable to the visiting physicians:—

"If we view this question, as to the competency of resident physicians to treat serious bodily diseases as it should be viewed, not solely from Irish ground, the competency of the resident physicians, even unassisted by visiting physicians in ordinary or as consultees, of lunatic asylums of even small size in various part of the world in which the management of the insane has received the greatest and the most benevolent consideration, and in which the highest reputation in the specialty has been obtained, is so fully established, that in these countries the ridiculous assertion to the contrary would only create a laugh. The numerous publications of standard value from the pen of many such men, having reference not only to the moral but to the medical and surgical treatment of

insanity and the bodily diseases with which it may be connected or complicated, rank high in general medical literature. None of the few publications from visiting physicians of asylums which have appeared since the establishment of the office of resident physician can at all bear comparison with the latter."

In connexion with this subject, he complains that the visiting physicians of the Irish asylums, towards whom under trying circumstances the resident physicians have done all in their power to preserve friendly relations, have given no sign of disapprobation of the offensive letter of their self-constituted advocate :—

"I could have wished that all belief in this charge of incompetence against resident physicians of lunatic asylums, as well as in the assertion that there could be no sufficient safeguard against cruelty, ill-treatment, neglect, and even immorality, without a visiting physician, whose office it would be to see all cases of illness, accident, injury, pregnancy, and child-birth, had been publicly disclaimed by our visiting colleagues. Their testimony, though quite unnecessary for our vindication, would have been a consolation to us when smarting under the publication of an opinion not a little disparaging to our body. This consolation would have been the more grateful and the more graceful from men who refused to be complimented at the expense of their colleagues. It would have been a bond of union between the two classes, if the resident physicians were assured that none of their colleagues shared in such sentiments."

Dr. Lalor has not overlooked the fact that this question is at bottom not so much one of the relative degree of usefulness of resident and visiting physicians, as of the relative degree of usefulness of visiting physicians, and of assistant resident physicians :—

"There is a point of vital importance, as regards the well-being of lunatic asylums, which I notice here, because it is not unfrequently mixed up with the questions of the duties of resident and visiting physicians, that is, the necessity of giving a resident medical assistant to the resident physician in asylums, of a certain size. It is not unfrequent in persons to make unfavourable comparisons between English and Irish asylums without reference to the staff of officers which the Irish resident medical officer has at command ; and it is not uncommonly thought that a visiting medical officer is of equal use as a resident assistant. There cannot be a greater fallacy. A visiting physician may divide the responsibility, but he cannot possibly save either time or labour to a resident physician.

"Any one who knows anything of medical practice, knows that it takes more time from both ordinary and consulting physicians to treat a case conjointly with another than singly ; insomuch the

co-operation of a second physician, far from being a saving either of time or labour, is a loss of both to the resident physician. Not so the services of a subordinate resident assistant physician, who frequently acts under general directions from the head physician, saves him much time and labour; and by examining into details, and seeing them properly carried out, is a constant help and assistance to his superior officer. It is not my wish to take advantage of a misconception that may be on the mind of some, that the abolition or modification of the office of visiting physician would be a saving of expense—I believe it would be none; and in England, where there are no visiting physicians, the average cost per head for medical officers of asylums is, I believe, higher than in Ireland. But how much of the superior order and moral treatment of English asylums is owing to the superiority in number of the resident staff? I think that the office of visiting physician as a consultee has advantages, and I trust, therefore, that no consideration of small economy will lead to the abolition of the office; but a sufficient resident staff is still more necessary, and is in fact indispensable, and if the public will not grant such a staff and a consulting physician at the same time, I must honestly say that I think the resident staff is the most important of the two. At the same time let it not be thought that there will be any saving to the public or loss to the profession from the adoption of the English system in preference to the Irish. For, as I have already stated, the English system, I have reason to believe, costs more on the average."

Dr. Lalor might have said, English and Scotch system, for in truth, this system is more satisfactorily carried out in north than in south Britain; the full and thoroughly efficient medical staff of the Scotch chartered asylums being the very best feature in those institutions. In the Irish asylums there are no assistant medical officers, as they are called in England, there is only the visiting physician and the resident physician, and the consequence is, that whenever the latter leaves his duties for business or recreation, the asylum is left for a time without a medical officer. Now, any one not blinded by passion or prejudice must admit that, among a population so liable to medical or surgical emergencies as that of a lunatic asylum, the constant and real presence of a medical man is essential. A physician in the neighbouring town may be quite competent to order cod liver oil to a phthisical lunatic, or a surgeon to superintend the granulation of an ulcer on an old woman's leg, but what would be their use in a case of suspended animation from any cause, or attempted suicide from cut throat, or the very common asylum accident of choking from food in the pharynx or larynx? In asylums where the constant presence of a medical

man is not imperative, loss of life which would be preventable by medical aid is inevitable. We recommend the first coroner who holds an inquest on such a case to call Dr. Corrigan as a witness to justify the medical arrangements.

This, to our mind, is the most important point of the discussion. By all means let the visiting physicians enjoy "their vested pecuniary interests," as Dr. Lalor calls them, whether in the shape of salary or pension; but let them not stand in the way of officers so essential to the safety and general welfare of the inmates of asylums as the subordinate medical residents undoubtedly are; officers, indeed, upon whom in this country, and in Scotland, it is impossible to bestow too high a meed of praise. They are, in fact, to the resident physicians what his lieutenants are to a naval captain. A visiting port admiral may be all very well in his way, but we cannot do without the lieutenants.

We earnestly advise the resident physicians of the Irish Asylums to direct all their efforts to the acquisition of that, whose want Dr. Lalor even in the metropolitan asylum so deeply deplotes, namely "sufficient interior assistance." They should "cry aloud and spare not" until they obtain these essential requisites to the proper management of an asylum; and, if in addition to this constant aid, they should also enjoy the periodical satisfaction of receiving advice in difficulties from a friendly consultant, they will owe their gratitude to a Government more liberal to our common profession, than the one under which their British brethren labour in the commonweal.

We conclude our notice of Dr. Lalor's excellent pamphlet, with the statement of the reasons which have urged him to its publication.

"The resident physicians of Ireland have for some years endeavoured to accommodate themselves to a denial of their just position before the public, and in their own institutions hurtful to their just self-respect and honest ambition; and the publication of opinions on the part of some of their colleagues, reflecting on their competency, has not prevented them from continuing their efforts to bring about, by friendly arrangement, such a settlement of the question at issue between them and the visiting physicians as might be satisfactory, not only to them but to the public. The desire of the resident physicians to preserve amicable relations with their colleagues, and to avoid controversy as long as possible, is abundantly proved by this endurance and those efforts. But in my humble opinion the resident physicians cannot consent to perpetuate an undignified quiet by the sacrifice of what is due to public and pro-

fessional interests, and to the welfare of the institutions in which they should have so high an interest. Other means having failed, I see no alternative left but an appeal to public and professional opinion, and particularly to that of the Association of Medical Officers of Asylums and Hospitals for the Insane, whose zeal for the cause of the unfortunate creatures afflicted with insanity is so much above all suspicion, that coupled with their experience and knowledge of the subject, will give to any opinion expressed by them that weight which knowledge and impartiality are always sure to command; whilst the character for a proper *esprit de corps* which their efforts to sustain and advance general professional interests has earned for this association, entitles it to that general confidence from the profession which I believe it enjoys as it merits.

“I would therefore beg leave to submit for the consideration of my colleagues, the resident physicians, the advisability of bringing their case forward at the next meeting of the association, on the 5th of July, in London.”

The Association could not have a more legitimate object for its deliberations, and we trust that the collective experience and knowledge of its members may either succeed in discovering valid reasons for the maintenance of a system of asylum management which has been universally condemned here; or that they may be able to suggest some means of satisfying the “vested pecuniary interests” which stop the march of improvement in the sister country.

We trust that the good offices of the Association may succeed in promoting a settlement of this question in the manner most conducive to the efficiency of the medical staff of the Irish asylums, and to the best interests of their inmates.

J. C. B.

*Aspirations from the Inner, the Spiritual Life, Aiming to Reconcile Religion, Literature, Science, Art, with Faith, and Hope, and Love, and Immortality.* By HENRY M'CORMACK, M.D. London: Longman, 1860. 8vo. pp. 370.

If, from the above title, the readers of this book expect to find anything like an attempt to reconcile by argument the apparent inconsistencies of faith and knowledge, like that of Dr. Combe's work on science and religion, they will be entirely disappointed. The work is a mosaic of fragments on an

infinite variety of subjects more or less connected with ethics and theology. We were about to say that it is an example of what an able pen in *Macmillan* calls *Pensée* writing; but the instances there given, namely, Pascal, Novalis, Jobert, the Hares, &c., to which, of course, might be added Rochfoucauld, La Bruyère and others, all aim at an epigrammatic style, which is scarcely attempted by Dr. M'Cormack. As far as the form of this interesting work goes, Southey's commonplace book is nearer the mark, for a just comparison. Its matter escapes description, not only from its infinite variety but from the pervading character of its contents. A vast number of subjects either of thought or of sentiment, from religion, morals, metaphysics, science, and the topics of the day are referred to and played with, rather than discussed and examined; but in a manner indicating extensive reading, cultivated understanding, and a chastened taste. It is a delightful book to take up for five minutes, but few will have the resolute perseverance to read it from beginning to end. In many parts Dr. M'Cormack takes up the subject of insanity, looking at its surface, and what are, to him, its obvious relations. Here are his views on "A mind diseased."

"Insanity, whether as regards the mind or the heart, is simply the last result of impaired control over one's soul. Indolence, hypochondriasis, imbecility, spleen, in their several degrees, are forms of the same drear malady. But insanity evinces as many varieties as does the sound mind itself. It is still mind, indeed, but mind in ruin, perversion, and decay. Partial insanity, the tyranny of false ideas and emotions, or of emotions or ideas wrongly placed, is the minimum of which confirmed insanity, dementia, in short mental ruin, is the maximum. Multitudes, wanting power over their own minds, are continually lapsing into insanity, or living on its very verge. For, let us repeat it, there is no exact line of demarcation between the sane and the insane. The defects and perversions of the insane mind, are simply, in a more or less exaggerated form indeed, the deficiencies and perversions of the sane mind itself.

"The more decided our self-mastery, the greater, so to speak, is the impossibility of becoming insane. But the feebler our self-jurisdiction, the more the soul is given up to a perverted will, is wanting in development, the greater is the proclivity to spiritual decay. Ill-directed culture alone, lies at the root of this monstrous evil, and not mere disorganization of the brain and nerves, as an illogical, and, in itself, in truth, insane hypothesis, would have us to imagine."

This is, indeed, like turning to the pages of some old author;

to find cerebral disease ignored in the production of insanity. It is curious to note such opinions, though it would be waste of labour to endeavour to refute them; neither would it be fair to the author to deal with his aspirations as if they pretended to be statements of scientific truth. They are something above, or below, or beyond knowledge, often, indeed, placed in that dream world of spiritual things, in which all except the most hard and dry natures are apt to wander in periods of intellectual reverie, and to do so we firmly believe not without advantage to themselves; for the conceited pedant who believes in nothing but the multiplication table or the atomic theory of definite proportions, is as one-sided in his intellectual nature as the metaphysical dreamer himself. If we live and work in the fertile plains of practical life, it is good sometimes to ascend the mountain tops of speculation even though the air be attenuated and the view be obstructed by cloud and mist. It is good sometimes to walk alone in the spirit in those paths which lead we know not whither, to face the invisible, and to question the unknown.

Dr. M'Cormack's book is deeply suggestive of this tendency of thought; its very fragmentary form is peculiarly adapted, whether by design or not, we cannot say, to provoke mental thirst for that knowledge which is unattainable. Brief statements on intricate questions must ever be either platitudes or half truths. Dr. M'Cormack's statements and opinions are rather of the latter kind, and succeed in setting us to beat the bounds of our intellectual possessions, and craving to know what lies beyond; not unfrequently also they indicate a partial view through the cloud-border. Take for example, the following on "Spiritual Reclamation":—

"The progress of souls from darkness to light, from ignorance to knowledge, is among the more beautiful spectacles of our spiritual life. And, soon or late, this is a consummation which awaits us all. Yet, spiritual reclamation, whether on the large scale or the small, demands concentration of purpose, energy, and intelligence.

"Would we realise heaven, let us begin now. The paradise of our aspirations has its foundations here, and the capacities of the future are grounded on those of the present life.

"A twofold cosmos, natural things and spiritual,  
Must go to a perfect world.

For whoso separates those two,  
In arts, in morals, or the social drift,  
Tears up the bond of nature and brings death:

"As we love here, we shall love in a degree hereafter, as we feel and think now, so must we in some wise feel and think for ever. The



unseen world, with all its momentous transactions, let us be assured, is simple and natural as that in which we dwell. Ascetic horrors and ascetic gloom, travesty and deforming with frightful, yet vain imaginings, the beautiful city of God, are sorry preparatives for heaven. How, indeed, should sourness and formality, convictions on which no ray of imagination or feeling seems to shine, consort with the angelic amenities, the transporting assurances of the life to come. For this, let us be well assured, is not as some inquisition torture-chamber, reformatory hulk, or condemned cell. In the celestial life, as here, so surely as God is light, and truth, and love, goal shall succeed goal, and quest follow quest, for ever. A new iris shall spring up, not to foil past efforts, but to allure us on to new, a constant becoming of which the perfect realisation is never. There, indeed, the great-souled patriot shall freedom find at last, there each self-denying saint the sanctities which lie folded within the inner life, and of which the perfect home is heaven."

Here is another example of the manner in which the author treats more mundane subjects:—"Unreal Crimes."

"Crimes that are no crimes, connected with belief and unbelief, have been set up in every age and time. Yet belief and unbelief, if the profession be sincere, have nothing in the world in common with crime. If belief and unbelief, observes Bailey, be involuntary, to apply rewards and punishments to opinion, were absurd as to raise men to the peerage for being ruddy, to hang them for scrofula, or to whip them for the gout. To set up as objects of praise and blame, things that really involve neither praise nor blame, is but to undermine the principles of morality, to play fast and loose with the best interests of our kind. All truth, conceptions the most spiritual and elevated, are self-evident and demonstrable, need, indeed, no extraneous aid or sustenance whatever. The idolatry of forms, and opinions, and times, irrespective of right and wrong, is only less reprehensible than the worship of stocks and stones."

It is refreshing and delightful to find a work so ingrained with pious feeling and religious thought, and, at the same time, so entirely free from the thralldom of any dogma. In his attempts to unite and combine the truths of philosophy and religion the author is peculiarly felicitous; a result, perhaps in some measure due to the unlaboured fragmentary manner in which he indicates rather than explains their numerous points of contact. There are some mental districts of which trigonometrical survey is scarcely possible, and this is especially true of the border marches between religion and philosophy. We can travel through the country, even live in it, but can scarcely map it out.

Here is a pleasant well painted view seen on the journey :—

On "Real Growth."

"The only real growth is spiritual growth. Behind the physical the savage sees a demon, the civilised man a soul. Philosophy, indeed, will bake no bread, but it will procure us God, freedom, immortality. It is the marriage of nature with the human soul. The principles of psychology, of all philosophy, like those of all religion, all truth, have subsisted from the beginning, not so, however, man's appreciation of them, which is progressive.

"The soul, observes a recent writer, in its attempts to bring the divine into closer union with the consciousness, has gradually built up its appreciation of the character of Christ. And thus it is more or less in our delineations of all greatness and goodness, our conceptions of the ideal and its realisation in man.

"It has been asserted that psychology, in place of correcting, ratifies the delusions or ordinary thought. This, however, must mean an erroneous psychology. Otherwise, we may gladly subscribe to Ferrier's eloquent remark, that all God's truths and man's blessings lie in trodden ways, and that intellect and genius are but the power of discerning wonders in common things."

It will be seen from these quotations that this book is what is called a good book without being insipid. Full of religious thought, it has not a tinge of cant or bigotry. It is also learned without pedantry, and is evidently the long accumulating record of the opinions and reflections of a highly cultivated mind.

J. C. B.

## APPENDIX.

### INQUISITION IN LUNACY.

A Commission *de lunatico inquirendo* was opened on Friday, Aug. 12, at the Castle of Exeter, at ten o'clock a.m., before Samuel Warren, Esq., Q.C., and a Jury. The person whose sanity was questioned was Miss Phœbe Ewings, a lady of 80 years of age, and the petitioner for the enquiry was the nearest relative, Dr. Greenup, of Warrington, in Lancashire. Mr. M. Smith, Q.C., and Mr. Karslake (instructed by Mr. Daw), appeared for the petitioner; and Mr. Collier, Q.C., Mr. Coleridge, and Mr. Kingdon (instructed by Mr. Gray), attended in opposition to the petition. The learned Commissioner was attended by Mr. Stewart, a gentleman attached in a responsible capacity to the Master's Office. The jury was composed of gentlemen of high standing in the county, the foreman being G. W. Soltau, Esq. The court throughout the enquiry was crowded.

The learned Commissioner, in opening the enquiry, said that they had assembled under the authority of the Great Seal, as they had just heard from the officer of the court, to enter upon a question of great delicacy and importance—the sanity or insanity of the lady whose name had been just mentioned. He had frequently had to sustain the very painful and anxious responsibility of pronouncing the decision of that question himself, without the intervention of a jury, and heartily rejoiced that, in the present instance, that responsible duty devolved on so large and influential a body of gentlemen, taken from the body of this great county, as he now saw impanelled before him. He was also glad to have the valuable assistance of so many of his learned friends at the bar, whom he rejoiced to meet on this occasion. "I must remind you," said the learned Commissioner, "that the exact and the only question which you have to try is, the *present* sanity or insanity of Miss Phœbe Ewings. To enable you to determine the question, a great body of conflicting evidence, I have reason to believe, will be brought before you; [at a subsequent stage of the proceedings the learned Commissioner stated that he had signed nearly 70 summonses to witnesses,] and among other witnesses are medical gentlemen, some of them of great eminence. But I must earnestly caution you against allowing your province to be invaded, or surrendering your rights to any witness whatsoever, however justly eminent. You will yourselves judge of their premises, and the inferences which they deduce from those premises—their testimony as men of great experience and skill is very valuable, but it is you and you alone who must pronounce the decision, in accordance with your own well considered view of their—and indeed of all other—evidence. As the law of England premises innocence till guilt has been proved, so it presumes sanity till insanity has been established. Finally, gentlemen, it is by this lady's own act that you are summoned together to-day—in the exercise of that important right which the law gives her. She thereby says, in effect, 'You allege me to be insane: but I will have that all-important question submitted to, and determined upon, by a jury of my country.' That is the simple question before you, and the learned counsel for the petition will now proceed to open the matter to you."

Mr. Smith, Q.C., then stated the case. He said Miss Phœbe Ewings, the lady who was the subject of the enquiry, was 80 years of age. She was born in Devonshire, her grandfather having been rector of Feniton, and her father a captain of a vessel; but her mother was a native of Lancashire. In the year 1800, her father died, and her mother was left with four children—a son, who was an idiot, and died in the same year; and three daughters, of whom Miss

Phœbe Ewings was the only survivor. In the same year her mother removed to Warrington, in Lancashire, and Miss Ewings lived there till after the death of her mother and her two sisters, when she came down to Exeter. In 1853, the sister Elizabeth died, and that circumstance preyed much upon Miss Phœbe's mind. She was observed at that period to be constantly moaning, and she wandered about the streets. Notwithstanding the remonstrance of her friends, she required that her sister's grave should be watched for a considerable period—a course which a sane person would not have adopted. From that time her mind, which was naturally feeble, became still more enfeebled. A gentleman, named Holland, who formerly lived at Honiton, but was now at Norwich, and who was related to Miss Ewings, called upon her after her sister's death, but her manner towards him was entirely changed since he last saw her, and she behaved with great rudeness to him. In the early part of October last she was attacked with paralysis, and was in a great measure deprived of speech. She recovered physically to a considerable extent; but her mind was entirely broken down. Indeed, there could be no doubt that disease of the brain had then supervened, for about that period she had an attack of insanity. She fancied that the persons about her were going to murder her, and she rushed out into the street at midnight. There could be no doubt that at that time she was insane. Mr. Beamont, solicitor, of Warrington, then managed her affairs, and it was thought desirable that medical gentlemen should see her. An investigation took place, and she was placed in a lunatic asylum. Dr. Kendrick and Mr. Sharp, the medical gentlemen who gave the necessary certificates, stated that she was incoherent in her discourse, and violent to her attendants, imagining that they attempted to strangle her. Down to the present time there was the same incoherence, and she still laboured under the same delusion. Upon the certificates of Dr. Kendrick and Mr. Sharp, she was placed in the Haydock Lunatic Asylum on the 30th of December last, her property being taken care of by Mr. Beamont. She then fancied that the persons at the asylum were endeavouring to make her a Roman Catholic. After being there a short time her relatives thought an asylum was scarcely a fitting place for a person of her means. The Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, the rector of Clyst, in this county, and a first cousin to Miss Ewings, thinking himself the next of kin, visited her at Warrington and removed her from the asylum, with the view of placing her with some of her friends. Steps were then taken by Mr. Beamont, who now opposed the present petition, to apply for a Commission of Lunacy, at the instance of Mr. Ellacombe. Pending these proceedings, she was taken from the asylum, and brought to Exeter. When she got to the railway station she exhibited great violence, showing that she was still in a state of insanity. She was placed in a first class carriage, but she thought it was a second, and alleged that great indignity had been shown her. On arriving at Exeter she was taken to the lodgings of Miss Cousens, with whom she had formerly lived. Mr. Ellacombe thought it would be desirable that a medical man should see her; and he called in Dr. Shapter. At that time her manner to Mr. Ellacombe was very kind; but it was suddenly changed, and she became entirely subject to the influence of Dr. Shapter. Mr. Ellacombe called a short time afterwards, but she refused to see him. Sudden changes of this kind were generally a symptom of unsoundness of mind. Mr. Ellacombe was requested by Dr. Shapter not to visit her; but Dr. Shapter assured him that there should be no dealing with her property, with which he should not be made acquainted. He also added that Miss Ewings had placed herself under his care and protection. About this time it was discovered that Mr. Ellacombe was not the next of kin, but that the gentleman who filled that position in the family was Dr. Greenup, who resided in Lancashire. That gentleman came to Exeter in April; and Dr. Shapter at first refused him permission to see Miss Ewings. He did, however, subsequently have a short interview with her, and his opinion was that she was not of sound mind, and was not able to take care of herself. On his return to Lancashire, Dr. Greenup wrote to Dr. Shapter asking permission for Dr. Fox, a well-known authority, to visit Miss Ewings. Dr. Shapter made no reply; but a letter was received from Mr. Beamont, who was then acting with Dr. Shapter and against the relatives, giving a flat denial. Under these circumstances, believing Miss Ewings to be mad, Dr. Greenup petitioned the Lord Chancellor for a commission to enquire into her state of mind. The case came before the Lords Justices on the 3rd of June. The application was opposed by affidavits from Dr. Shapter, and from

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some medical gentlemen whom he had called in ; but the Lords Justices were not satisfied, and they directed Dr. Bucknill of this county, to make an impartial report. That gentleman in his conversations with Miss Ewings, discovered that she had made a will, leaving the whole of her property, except a few legacies, to Dr. Shapter. She was utterly unable to give any account of her property, but she produced a paper, written by Dr. Shapter, on which there was a statement of the sources of her income, the property being set down at £13,700. She herself did not know how much it was, or how it was invested. Another extraordinary fact appeared, namely, that Dr. Shapter had been appointed by her the guardian of her property and her person. It was certainly a strange thing that a ward should make a will in favour of her guardian ; and the law observed very great jealousy in such cases. But why was Dr. Shapter appointed guardian ? Sane persons did not require guardians. He (Mr. Smith) was happy to come to an explanation given by Dr. Shapter, namely, that he did not intend to derive any personal benefit from the affair. But, if a person of sound mind chose to give another his property, why should not that other person accept it ? Upon Dr. Shapter's affidavit going before the Lords Justices, they at once granted the Commission. In a letter to Mr. Beamont, Miss Ewings's solicitor, Dr. Shapter said, "I have consented to undertake this charge, (the guardianship) and will, therefore, be obliged by your coming here and taking her instructions and doing what is requisite." On the 12th of March, a month after her arrival in Exeter, Dr. Shapter wrote :—"Miss Ewings has never said anything to me about making a testamentary disposal of her property, but I beg most explicitly to state that I shall not in any way suggest or interfere with her disposition of her property ; save that, were she to propose to bequeath any property to me, placed in relation to her as I now am, I should use my influence to counteract such an act, and should undoubtedly repudiate it if done." The prophecy, unlike most prophecies, came true, though it was not every one who had the opportunity of assisting in the realisation of his own prophecy. The account which Dr. Shapter gave of the instructions for the will was this :—"On the 15th of May she desired me to take her instructions for her will. I at first declined, and desired her to consult her solicitor. She, however, urged me to comply with her request, and I at last consented to take her instructions. She then declared certain legacies, amounting altogether to £1,000, and desired me to be residuary legatee. I objected, but she positively insisted, and expressed the greatest desire to constitute me residuary legatee, so as to dispose of all her property, preferring me to anyone else. To relieve her mind, but still adhering to my determination previously made known, not to avail myself of any benefit, I added my name as residuary legatee, and she then signed the instructions." Was that the mode in which a sane person was usually treated ? Would he not have said, "I am much obliged to you, but I really cannot take this benefit ; and if you make such a will it will not be acted upon ?" A solicitor was called in afterwards, and a copy of the instructions given him. This was just prior to the hearing before the Lords Justices ; and the will was made behind the backs of the relatives. Giving Dr. Shapter the fullest credit for honourable intentions, no man could say that his intentions could be carried out under all circumstances that might occur. The bequest under certain circumstances might have become absolute, and it would then be beyond his power to control it. The repudiation of the £12,700 in the letter to Mr. Beamont was no legal obligation upon Dr. Shapter. There was another fact which seemed to show that Dr. Shapter did not treat Miss Ewings as a person of sound mind. In his affidavit he declared that he had never received any fees from her, and that he had not cashed the draft for £30 which she had given him in return for small sums he had advanced to her, nor would he allow his daughter to accept a present of a work-box from Miss Ewings ; and yet he took the will in his own favour. It was difficult to understand such conduct except on this theory—that Dr. Shapter was under some delusion that she was of sound mind, while in his own sane senses he believed she was not. He must have had two minds on the subject. He had the delusion that Miss Ewings was sane ; but as an honest man he thought she was not ; and as an honest man he would not take the benefit of anything she gave him. The learned counsel then gave a summary of the evidence which he intended to produce. In conclusion he said that six months ago Miss Ewings was in an asylum raving mad, and it was plain that she was now in a state in which any man of intelligence, who

was friendly to her, could do as he pleased with her. Dr. Shapter might exercise his control for the best, but supposing she took a sudden dislike to that gentleman and became subject to the control of another person, there was no guarantee that she would be properly treated. The object of the present enquiry was to place her, supposing she was of unsound mind, under the protection of the Court of Chancery, which would appoint responsible and impartial persons to care for her. He (the learned counsel) believed the jury would arrive at the conclusion that owing to her unsoundness of mind she was unable to manage her property.

The following witnesses were then examined :—

Dr. James Kenrick : I am a doctor of medicine residing at Warrington. I have known Miss Ewings for many years. I never attended her professionally until October, 1858. For the past few years there appeared a listlessness in her manner, she walked in the streets as if she was walking neither for pleasure nor business. On going to the house in October last I was told that she had had a paralytic attack. Upon visiting her I found the usual symptoms. I thought from one circumstance that she was incoherent. Her speech was imperfect, and her pulse low. I called again and found the pulse better. In the December following I was desired by some of the Beamont family to go and visit her. I did go and I examined the state of her mind. I found Mr. Wood and Mrs. Mould with her. I had a conversation with her, and am of opinion that she was then decidedly insane. I gave a certificate accordingly. I may say that I found her in an excited state. She said that she should like to be taken away from the house. I said, where would you like to go, and she replied "I do not know." Upon mentioning Torquay she either said that she did not care about going there, or that there was no one there that cared about her. She said, "Would those creatures follow us there?" This was said in reference to a statement that during the night some demons had attempted to strangle her and rob her. I believe mention was made of the demons being outside the door at that time. I said to her "Certainly they will not follow you." She talked of liking to go to a Mr. Greenall, who is a magistrate, and also about a Mr. Lowe, who had been dead twelve months. She said she should like to go with him to Mr. Greenall's. Mr. Wood, the clergyman of the parish, was present, but Miss Ewings treated him as Mr. Lowe, who was the former clergyman. I had no doubt of her state of mind when I signed the certificate.

Cross-examined : Mr. Sharp is the regular medical attendant of Miss Ewings. The attack of paralysis might produce a confusion of words, at least to a certain extent ; but if often repeated I should look upon it as a confusion of ideas and not of words. When she was taken to the asylum she thought she was going to Mr. Greenall's.

Mr. Smith said he understood his learned friends admitted that she was of unsound mind.

Mr. Collier : Not in October. I admit that she was in December.

Ann Worrall : I formerly lived as servant to Miss Phœbe Ewings. I am now living with Mr. Hardy, in Cheshire. I lived with this lady about three years ago. I stayed 15 months, then went away, and returned in January of last year. I recollect Miss Ewings having a paralytic attack in October. It was very sudden. I went for a doctor. I was not the only person in the house. I went for Dr. Kenrick, Mr. Sharpe not being at home. I think that paralytic attack affected her memory. She was not able to recollect things as well afterwards as before. I observed that she called Mr. Ashton Miss Ashton's sister. This lady was afterwards with her. She frequently called persons by wrong names.

By the Commissioner : This was after the attack of paralysis.

Re-examined by Mr. Smith : I don't remember her calling persons by their wrong names before she had the attack. I recollect her being taken to the Haydock Lunatic Asylum.

The Commissioner : I think it is admitted that at this time the unsoundness was apparent.

Mr. Smith : This evidence is merely to show the character of the unsoundness.

Examination continued : One night Miss Ewings followed me upstairs, and then ran out into the street. I followed her in order to take care of her. This was between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, and she was dressed.

We got her back, but she ran out again. She said she thought there was some one in the house. I did not hear her say what she thought the person would do to her. There was no one in the house at the time but myself.

By the Commissioner : She had only one servant.

Examination continued : The second time she went out she remained until Mr. Sharpe came. When she was brought back she would not go to bed because "she dared not."

By Mr. Collier : There was no "follower" of mine in the house. (A laugh.)

Mary Lawton : I am a servant in Mrs. Lowe's employ at Warrington. I knew Miss Ewings for the last nine or ten years. She used to come almost every day to Mrs. Lowe's. I always thought her a "curious" sort of person.

By the Commissioner : I thought so for nine or ten years. She used to dress very shabbily, and her house was very meanly furnished.

Examination continued : I remember her sister's death. After that she used to be very sorrowful. She used to sigh and moan. Her sister died in 1853, and that I think affected her a good deal. I heard her say that she would have her sister's grave watched. I remember her having a paralytic stroke. I stayed in the house two nights by Mrs. Lowe's desire, there being only one servant kept. Miss Ewings did not know that I was there. The second night she called out "Fire!" and said the house was on fire. The house was not on fire nor was there any light or fire in the house at the time. She shouted out—"Who is there? Some one is there"—just before she was taken ill I saw her and she then said I was Mrs. Lowe's sister. She told me twice that she was afraid of being murdered. One time she called me "Mrs. Wood." She told me that she was afraid the window would be blown out. She said there was a dreadful storm, instead of which the night was beautifully fine. Just after that she went to the asylum. I went to Exeter with her by the permission of Mrs. Lowe. She went in Mr. Nicholson's carriage, and on the way to the railway station, she "rambled" all the way. I cannot say whether she was alarmed or was in a merry humour. I did not understand what she said.

By the Commissioner : Mr. Nicholson and Mr. Ellacombe were with us.

Examination continued : When she got to the railway station she screamed out "murder," and said they were going to make a Roman Catholic of her. She screamed "murder" several times, and called out for the police. Her manner was violent and she appeared terrified. After some trouble she was got into the railway carriage. Mr. Nicholson went with us as far as Birmingham. At Birmingham, when Mr. Nicholson got out of the carriage, she imagined that it was Mr. Beamont, and called out "Mr. Beamont, Mr. Beamont."

By the Commissioner : Mr. Beamont was her lawyer, and was not near at the time.

Examination continued : She called out and wanted to know if they could not "start," saying that she had been travelling all the winter. "Can't you start us," she said, "we are almost frozen." All the way to Exeter her manner was "rambling." I saw her taken to Miss Cousens, in this city.

Cross-examined by Mr. Collier : It was after the death of her sister that I observed the "sighing and moaning" I did not see her while she was in the asylum. At the Warrington station I saw Mrs. Barnsley, but I cannot say whether she keeps a private Lunatic Asylum.

By the Commissioner : I cannot tell whether it was after or before she saw Mrs. Barnsley that she refused to go.

Cross-examination continued : I do not think that the two porters who were called to assist in placing her in the carriage placed her in feet foremost. Will swear they did not put her in by force. One porter rode in the carriage with her. Mr. Nicholson and Mr. Ellacombe gave orders that this porter should ride in the carriage.

By Mr. Collier : I did not hear Miss Ewings say to Mrs. Lowe—"You, a clergyman's widow, and order me to be forced into a carriage!" I did not take sufficient notice to see whether she was tired or not. I did not ask her.

Mr. Coleridge : What were you there for?

Witness : I was sent for company. She had refreshments at Birmingham ; she came from Birmingham to Exeter without any. I had refreshments

myself at Birmingham, but not anywhere else. When Miss Ewings was at Miss Cousens's she seemed very happy; I have not seen her since.

The Rev. Ralph Allen Mould: I am the incumbent of Holy Trinity, at Warrington; I have known Miss Ewings since 1852. I lived next door to her. Her sister died in 1853. After that I observed that she walked in the streets "sighing and moaning." I heard that she had an attack of paralysis. When she began to go about again, I observed that she seemed in low spirits; and she used to call my mother my sister; and her general conversation was about her being "miserable."

By the Court: She complained of "those creatures." I said "Why do you complain so?" and she replied "Oh dear, oh dear, those creatures." I cannot say that I formed an opinion of the state of her mind. The day before she was removed to the asylum her servant ran into my house to summon me. I afterwards heard her screaming; she did not articulate any particular sound. I went into the house about ten o'clock in the forenoon. When I went in I found the nurse who had sat up with her during the night apparently struggling with her to keep her away from the window. When I went in the servant released her. Miss Ewings caught hold of the collar of my coat, and asked me to protect her. She said, "They are trying to strangle me and murder me." She repeated those words many times over. I tried to pacify her, and convince her that she was wrong; but I did not succeed. I tried to induce her to sit down in an easy chair near the window. She walked across the room still holding my collar. She then beat the window with her fists as if to attract the attention of any one who might pass. I took hold of one of her hands to prevent her breaking the windows, and got one of the servants to draw down the blind until the arrival of Mr. Beamont, who had been sent for. Mr. Beamont, Mr. Wood, Mr. Sharpe, and Mr. Kenrick were sent for. We held a consultation, and it was then that we thought she had better go to an asylum. I and Mr. Wood signed the certificate.

Cross-examined by Mr. Collier: I have every reason to believe that she was attached to her sister. I think that when a person continues in the state of mind in which Miss Ewings was for so many years—walking backwards and forwards in the street, sighing, &c., although it may not be a sign of insanity, it is a sign of simplicity and disorder.

Mr. James Nicholson: I am an attorney and solicitor practising at Warrington, and living there. I have known Miss Ewings for many years. I remember her walking in the streets. She had great difficulty in comprehending any subject. I may term it a "listlessness of manner."

By the Commissioner: I would not say positively whether I noticed it before her sister's death, but it might have existed.

Examination continued: I understood that there was an objection by some of her friends to put her in an asylum. In consequence of what was said I put myself in communication with Mr. Beamont. I went to the Haydock Asylum in company with Mr. Wood. I had expressed my dislike to her going to an asylum, and was aware that she had means to support her out of one. When we went to the asylum on the 29th of January, I and Mr. Wood were introduced into the sitting-room. There was an attendant. Dinner was on the table. As soon as she saw us she rose up in a state of the greatest excitement, and seized hold of my hand. She seized hold of me with one hand, and Mr. Wood with the other.

The Commissioner: Pleased or excited?

Witness: In a sort of "phrenzy, or of uncontrollable passion." We requested her to sit down on the sofa. She did so, and then addressed me "Oh! Richard, Richard." My name is James. She repeated the expressions many times. She then said "Richard Greenall." There was a Mr. Greenall living in the neighbourhood of Warrington. She said "Don't leave me, don't leave me, they will murder me." She said this in a very excited manner, and then added "they will murder me to night." Both I and Mr. Wood did our utmost to pacify her. She then said, "They are Roman Catholics here, they are Roman Catholics here." Her conversation did not seem to have any connection. I made use of some such expression as "nonsense;" but she said "They are, they have a priest, and they want me to go to their prayers."

By the Commissioner: She is a Protestant.

Examination continued: Her conversation was decidedly incoherent. I



have given a fair sample of her manner. I put myself in communication with Mr. Beamont both previously and subsequently. In February I undertook on my own responsibility to take care of Miss Ewings and place her in a private place. In February I received a letter from Mr. Beamont, informing me that I might take the responsibility upon myself. I assented. That was on the 11th of February, 1859. Several lady friends requested me to take her out of the asylum. The next day after I had the consent, Mr. Ellacombe called upon me. He was then a perfect stranger to me. Mr. Beamont told me that he was a relative, and rector of Clyst St. George, near Exeter. The name of Ellacombe was familiar to me. I had had conversations years before with Miss Ewings about her family pedigree. I then understood that Mr. Ellacombe was ready to receive Miss Ewings into his charge, when I said "Of course now a relative has appeared my office is at an end," and I retired from any further action in the matter. At his request I accompanied him to the Haydock Asylum, which is a private one. When we saw Miss Ewings, her conversation and manners were pretty much the same as before, but we were only with her a short time, say a quarter of an hour. We communicated to her that we were going to take her away. She was then very much excited, and seemed gratified beyond measure, and went down on her knees, and offered up a prayer for her deliverance. She asked for her shawl and bonnet, and put them on. Mr. Ellacombe conversed with her more than I did, calling to her mind family matters.

By the Commissioner: She went with us eagerly. She kissed every body around her before she went. Immediately after we had left the asylum she became very excited indeed, and seized hold of me. This was without apparent cause. She addressed me as "Oh, Joe! Oh, Joe!" She looked wildly out of the window, and said "You are deceiving me." She never called me "Joe! Joe!" before. She said "You are deceiving me, you are deceiving me," at the top of her voice. I endeavoured to persuade her that we were not deceiving her. When we passed by churches, &c., I pointed them out, but she denied that there were any at all. At Newton I pointed out a church but she said "It is nothing of the sort, it is no church." We took her to Mrs. Lowe's, she begging that we would not take her to her own house. She did not give any reason for it. She stayed there till the morning of the 15th. I then accompanied her to the station at her own request. I said, "I will go with you, Miss Ewings, if it is any comfort." Her answer was, "You must, you must." I told her she was going to her "dear Devonshire," having heard her express herself in those terms of that county. Mrs. Lowe's servant also accompanied her. When we were leaving Mrs. Lowe's house, I said "We must not lose time;" and she replied, "Oh, I must have my time." When we got to the station her manner was perfectly quiet, and she did not apparently object to leave. She afterwards cried out "Murder." This was on the platform. She cried out "Murder, murder; police, police; they are going to make a Roman Catholic of me." This was just as the train came up. I do not think that it was upon seeing Mrs. Barnsley. Her passion for the time was uncontrollable, and she continued to cry "Murder and police." Mrs. Lowe endeavoured to pacify her, reminding her that she was going into Devonshire. It was when on the point of starting that the porter was requested to help. She was not taken up and put in feet foremost. There was no violence more than "pressure." In consequence of the outbreak, Mr. Ellacombe got one of the porters to come into the carriage. I rather think I suggested it. Her manner was very much worse than it was before. I went with her as far as Birmingham, but during the journey she spoke very little. We tried to draw her into conversation, but did not succeed. At Birmingham she seemed perfectly content and tranquil. She had refreshments there with the servant, Mr. Ellacombe, and myself. She did not appear to be alarmed at the appearance of Mr. Ellacombe.

Cross-examined by Mr. Collier: I am attorney for the petitioner. I did not at any time maintain that she was not of unsound mind. I did not say she was "illegally" detained. I might have said "improperly." My view of her case was that she might have been provided for otherwise than by going to an asylum, that she might have been cared for in her own house. I did not threaten to apply for a *habeas corpus* on the ground that she was not mad. I certainly threatened to apply for her discharge from the Lunatic Asylum.

The Commissioner: Did you threaten to apply for a *habeas corpus*? You know very well if you did; you are an attorney. Witness: My letter will

say. I certainly threatened to make an application on her behalf. [The letter was then read. It stated that in the writer's opinion "Miss Ewings was improperly confined in the Lunatic Asylum."]

The Commissioner: Did you write this? Witness: Yes.

The letter went on to say unless she is at once released from the asylum, I cannot refuse to act in accordance with their (her friend's) instructions, and apply for a *habeas corpus*, or in such way as counsel may advise."

The Commissioner: Did you write that? Witness: Yes.

The Commissioner: Did you not know, as an attorney, that you had no right to a *habeas corpus*, except upon the ground that she was not mad? Witness: I cannot say that I so minutely weighed the letter.

Mr. Collier: Did you not know perfectly well that the only ground for a *habeas corpus* would be that she was illegally detained, not being mad? Witness: I considered that my application would be that she would be delivered up to her relatives for them to take charge of her.

In reply to the Commissioner the witness said: I cannot say that I considered it in respect to that point of law.

The Commissioner: On what ground, if not on that ground, could you make your application?—Witness: That she had been hurried away from her house, under the pretence that she was going to see some friends.

Mr. Collier: Do you mean to say that you threatened to apply for a *habeas corpus* because she had been taken to the asylum under the pretence that she was going to a friend's? Pray be careful, I am sorry to say so to you.—Witness: It was one part of my grounds.

The Commissioner: What was the rest?—Witness: I considered that Miss Ewings could just as well be cared for and attended to out of the asylum and under proper treatment as in the asylum.

The whole of the letter was then read. In addition to the above passages it stated that Miss Ewings' friends were desirous that she should not be kept in the asylum.

The Commissioner: A *habeas corpus* is a matter of right.—Witness: Yes.

The Commissioner: Then could the application do anything else than state that she was not mad?—Witness: No; but the letter was written in the hurry of the moment and without due consideration.

Mr. Collier: Did you not tell Mr. Beaumont that you thought she was not mad?—Witness: I will swear that I did not say so. I objected to the way in which she was hurried away from her house and confined.

Examination continued by Mr. Collier: I saw her on the 29th of January, more than ten days before I wrote this letter. She was extremely anxious to get away from the asylum. She said "They will murder me," and expressed a great dislike to be there. When she was taken away I accompanied her in the carriage. She went pretty quietly for the first 40 or 50 yards. It did not occur to me that she might think that having been "tricked" once she was going to be tricked again. She did not say that she mistrusted where we were going to take her. I told her where we were going, but she denied the truth of it. When at the railway station she called out before Mrs. Barnsley came up to her. I differ from the other witnesses on that point. I was utterly unable to account for her crying out. She had been tricked once, but I will not say whether it was through this that she cried out. The porters led Miss Ewings to the carriage. She was unwilling and resisted, but I cannot say that she made "active" resistance. The porters said, "Now, lady, the train is going on." A porter was put in the carriage with her. She would not speak afterwards. I and Mr. Ellaconbe were standing by when the porters put her in. There is a Roman Catholic chapel at Ashton, about a mile from the Haydock Asylum. I cannot say whether there were any Roman Catholic patients in the asylum. It was my intention if she came out of the asylum that she should be taken care of, either by myself or other friends. I have known Miss Ewings for 30 years, and her manner was always very peculiar. Her conversation was strange, and she was essentially dull in comprehending. For the last seven or eight years she had a difficulty in remembering names and circumstances. I considered that it formed a feature of her conduct, and it must have struck everybody. I do not know that it occurred to me that this peculiarity was any sign of her madness.

Elizabeth Bennett: I was attendant at Haydock Lodge Asylum, but I am

not so now. While I was there I attended on Miss Ewings, who always seemed in a very excited state. She said, "I am sent here, because my servants ill-treated me." At another time she said, "There are some persons behind the door coming in to hang me with ropes, or kill me." This she repeated whenever she was left alone. When she came to the asylum she had some money concealed about her. There were some notes, about £60 or £70 concealed in her stays. The state of her mind was bad. I do not think she was capable of taking care of herself.

Cross-examined by Mr. Coleridge: When I was putting on her dress she said, "Here is something to buy me a dress." What she said led me to look for the notes.

By the Commissioner: The notes were stitched in a piece of calico, both sides of the notes were covered.

Mr. Daniel Rossiter: I am resident surgeon, at Haydock Lodge Asylum, and have been connected with other asylums before. I was at Haydock when Miss Ewings came there, and I visited her daily. Her memory was very defective, she laboured under several delusions, one of which was that she was going to be murdered, and after she had been there a month she believed that we wanted to make her a Roman Catholic. This delusion continued the whole time she was there. There is a chapel in the asylum, the service being conducted by a clergyman. There are no Roman Catholic ladies in the asylum, and I can say that no attempts at conversion were made. When she left her health was better, and there was a slight improvement on the mind, but I consider that when she was in the asylum, and when she left, she was insane.

Cross-examined by Mr. Collier: She had apartments to herself. She always had an attendant, Elizabeth Bennett, who did not attend on any one else. When there was any amusement going on she came down into the ladies' room. Some of the ladies could visit her.

By the Commissioner: I cannot undertake to say that no Roman Catholic patient had communication with her. I cannot say to two or three dozen how many Roman Catholic patients there were, but to the best of my belief there was no private Roman Catholic patient there. The others were paupers. Both classes were provided for in the asylum.

The Commissioner: Do you call it a first-class establishment?

Witness: Yes, we take private patients. At the time Miss Ewings came, there was about 140 paupers and 40 or 50 private patients. 50 of these might have been Roman Catholics. The priest came about four times. There is only one priest that ever visits the lodge; there may be more in the neighbourhood. The first time I was told of his coming was in March. I found that the priest occasionally came there, and I gave directions that I should be told when he came.

Re-examined by Mr. Karslake: I have no reason to doubt that my instructions were obeyed.

By the Commissioner: Miss Ewings went to the chapel and conducted herself well. I will not swear that there was no Roman Catholic lady there, but I believe they were all Protestants.

By Mr. Karslake: There is no communication between the paupers and private patients.

By the Commissioner: I never heard of a proselyte. I have heard patients complain of the priest not visiting them.

The Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, rector of Clyst St. George: I am a relative of Miss Ewings; I was supposed to be the next of kin; I am a third cousin once removed. I had a correspondence between 20 and 30 years ago with the Misses Ewings about our family pedigree or relationship. The letter might have been sent to the sister who is dead. I do not think that I had ever seen Miss Ewings till I went to Warrington. I received a letter from a lady, a stranger, in consequence of which I wrote to Mr. Beamont, saying that I believed I was related. I went to Warrington on the 11th of February. I was informed that Mr. Nicholson was willing to receive her; I received her from the two gentlemen who had signed the certificate. I afterwards made an arrangement with Mrs. Lowe that she would receive her until she could be placed in comfortable lodgings. I went to the asylum, and I was introduced to Miss Ewings. She seemed to recollect my name. I told her we were come to take her away, and she said "When?" She was told "Now." When she was satisfied of our

intentions she fell on her knees and appeared thankful. She took my arm, and went down stairs, where I handed her into the carriage. Before she left she kissed all the attendants. On our way to Warrington she "rambled" in her conversation. [The witness then confirmed much of the previous evidence as to the absence of mind manifested by Miss Ewings as to certain things and places on the route.] I made arrangements for Miss Ewings to come down to Devonshire with me. I took her to Miss Cousens, and reported her to Dr. Shapter. She arrived here on the 15th of February. When I left her at Miss Cousens I said she would remain there only a short time. Dr. Shapter gave orders that no one was to see her, and I did not see her when I called the next day. I saw her on the following Friday, and she asked what I had been about, and I replied, to try and get a comfortable place for her; but she refused to go, became excited, fell on her knees, and said, "You can't take me away, I am very comfortable." I said I am not going to take you away immediately, but you must go. I have since met her twice accidentally. I was prohibited from visiting her, and I consequently made no endeavour to do so.

By the Commissioner: I refrained from visiting her because I understood that it was the wish of Dr. Shapter, and also that she had taken a great dislike to me. I afterwards understood that I was not the next of kin. Miss Ewings was born in 1780.

The Commissioner: How do you know it? Witness: I have an affidavit made by her mother.

Cross-examined by Mr. Collier: Miss Ewings was glad to come to Exeter, but I did not hear her say anything after I left her in the custody of Miss Cousens. I cannot say whether Miss Ewings was very glad to see a servant called Mary. I will not undertake to say that she recognised that servant. I believed she was comfortable at Miss Cousens. When I went to her the next morning to tell her that I had a comfortable house for her, she did not seem inclined to go. The words I used might have been, "That she must go," but she was exceedingly annoyed at it. I did not attempt to persuade her, though I gave her to understand that she must go.

By the Commissioner: I did not think from her manner to me that she had taken a dislike to me. She has the demeanour of a lady of education.

By Mr. Collier: I cannot say, without looking at my notes, when I learnt that I was not the next of kin. I do not know when I heard that Dr. Greenup was the next of kin. I have made no arrangement with anyone respecting this matter.

By Mr. Smith: At Warrington she said she was very glad to see me, and that I should have all the money she had. From my own observation of Miss Ewings she appeared to be a person of weak intellect and not capable of managing her own affairs. I have made a note to that effect.

By Mr. Collier: At the interview on Friday after she came down, I did not think she was sane.

Mr. Collier: Was there anything at that interview to show that she was of unsound mind?

Witness, after a long pause: If I had not seen her before I should not have said anything about it.

The Commissioner repeated the question and the witness replied: Certainly not, nothing occurred to lead me to think she was of unsound mind.

By Mr. Collier: She knew the persons where she was staying, and was aware I wished to remove her.

By Mr. Smith: My opinion from the whole of the interview was that she was of unsound mind. I have done duty in a Lunatic Asylum, and have had a gentleman lunatic under my own care.

Dr. Frederick Greenup: I am the petitioner in this case. Some years since, about 14, I called upon the two sisters. The conversation which ensued about our relationship lasted twenty minutes. At that time Miss Ewings appreciated the relationship. I did not see her again for some years, when I heard that she was in Exeter. It was my intention to call upon her. Before going to see her I called upon Dr. Shapter understanding that he was her medical attendant, I told him I wished to see her.

The Commissioner here interferred by saying that he was not here to enquire into the conduct of Dr. Shapter, but only to ascertain the state of Miss Ewings' mind.

Mr. Collier: I shall call Dr. Shapter.

The Commissioner: I do not either want to criminate or to exonerate Dr. Shapter.

Examination continued by Mr. Karslake: I went to see her, I sent in my card, but she said she did not know any one of the name. I said I had come from the neighbourhood of Warrington, and that some of her intimate friends of that place wished to see her. I mentioned the name of Mr. Nicholson, when she hesitated and said, "I dont know the name." She afterwards said to me, "Are you Mr. Nicholson?"

The Commissioner: Did she put the question?

Witness: Yes, I am quite certain. I then explained who I was, and Miss Ewings's attendant in a very kind manner explained the matter, but she merely said, "Eh, Eh," and made no further reply. Mentioned other person's names, and particularly that of Mr. Blackburn, but she did not know them. After a time she said, "I am much obliged to them." I was with her about a quarter of an hour. I considered that her memory had in a great measure left her. I should say that her intellect as far as regarded memory had gone. An application that Dr. Fox, of Bristol, should see her was answered by Mr. Beamont.

\* The correspondence upon this point was put in and read.

Cross-examined by Mr. Collier: Dr. Fox has since seen her. I had seen Miss Ewings once in my life before.

Mr. Collier: Do you generally make such an impression upon ladies? (Laughter.)

By Mr. Collier: Miss Ewings did not intimate that she thought I was come for her money. I only came to judge of her mental state. I did not come to Exeter to see if I was next of kin, but I had that object "ultimately."

Mr. Collier: "Ultimately!" Did not the old lady know what you came for? Witness: No; when I saw her 14 years ago it was at the suggestion of my sister. During the interval I have not sent any message. I have made enquiries from other persons. I did not come to Exeter until I understood that I was next of kin. I have brothers and sisters. I have not made any arrangement that we are to share the costs of this action. I am to bear the cost, but if I am unsuccessful, I believe my brother will bear me out. I presume that my brother will have part of the money, or at least as much as the law allows.

Christopher Holland: I am a surgeon practising at Norwich, and am a cousin of Miss Ewings. In 1827 the two sisters sought me out at Honiton: I was then an apprentice. They understood from enquires that I was the sole survivor. They were staying at Sidmouth, and invited me to visit them. Their manner was very kind. In 1831 they again visited Devonshire, when I saw them. I dined with them at the York Hotel, and they were very kind to me. In 1853 I heard of the eldest sister's death. I visited Miss Phoebe in that year, at Rochdale, and she received me with great rudeness. She knew me perfectly well.

Dr. John Charles Bucknill: I am the superintendent of the Devon County Lunatic Asylum. I have been so 15 years. During 18 years I have had experience in lunacy. The present number of patients in the asylum is 600, and it has increased gradually from 400. If you take the average it would be 450. I received a order from the Lords' Justices to visit Miss Ewings, and to report to them upon her mental condition. I visited her upon the 6th, 8th, 10th, 11th, 13th, 15th, 17th, and 21st of June. The interviews were generally long. On six occasions I had interviews with her at Miss Cousins', at St. Sidwell's. I made notes of my visits. The result was that I thought that her powers of mind were in a state of decay, and that she was undoubtedly in an unsound state of mind, not being able to manage her own property. She was very tranquil, and seemed glad to see me; she offered me roses and strawberries, and pressed me to see her again as a friend. In the first interview I elicited very little except defective memory. The memory was particularly defective with regard to names. Her manner was very lady-like and self-possessed, so much so indeed that persons not going below the "surface," might observe no defect. On the second interview, although Miss Ewings was generally tranquil, I found that she had been crying, and she said that Dr. Shapter, had been with her, and that she felt anxious about the termination of

the matter. She also said frequently, "Won't you protect me, won't you become my friend. They won't take me away and use me cruelly?" I asked her if she was used cruelly in the asylum, and she said, "Oh! no, I have been used most kindly," but she added that she did not like being in the asylum. I then examined her with the view of eliciting a delusion which she had in the asylum as to her attendants wanting to kill her, and she laughed at the idea, and denied that she had ever entertained such a thought. She said that she had heard strange noises in the asylum, but that they had been explained to her. She could not tell how long she had been at her present lodgings in Exeter. She said she had been here about six months, and Miss Cousens who was present remarked—"You mean to say you have left home six months." Miss Ewings then said she left home at Christmas. When I explained that I wanted to know how long she had been in the house, she could not then tell, but afterwards she repeated that it was six months, which confirmed my opinion as to the loss of memory. She was afterwards spoken to about her property, and the death of her sister. She said that she was born near Honiton; and she fetched a drawing of Feniton church, of which she said her father had been rector. I believe now that it was her grandfather who was rector. She added that her mother was wife to Dr. Bertie, cousin to the Earl of Derby. Other parts of the conversation confirmed my opinion as to her loss of memory. She proceeded without any enquiries from me to say that she had no relatives. She said that Mr. Ellacombe was not one, and that she had never seen him in her life before he came to the asylum. Then she proceeded to say, that she was afraid they would take her away, and that she thought they only wanted her money. I said "Very likely;" and she said "I will take care that they shall not have any; it is all provided for." She then stated that she had made a will leaving some legacies, and also some money to the Christian Knowledge Society, but all the rest to Dr. Shapter who had been a very kind friend to her. I asked her if he was to be her executor, and she said "Yes." I said to her "perhaps this enquiry is being made to prevent your making a will," when she replied "It is already done," but in a manner which made me doubt whether the will had actually been made. She said Dr. Shapter had made all the arrangements, and was to have the management of everything. Before I went to see her I asked Dr. Shapter to inform her of my visit and its purport, and I dare say that he had done so.

The Commissioner: What made you doubt it?

Witness: She mentioned it in a hesitating way, as if in fact she was only expressing an intention. I wrote down my impressions at the close of each interview. I enquired what her property was, and she said "I don't know." I asked if she could tell to a £1,000, and she said "No I cannot." "To £5,000," and she said "I cannot." "Any money in the banker's hands?" and she replied "a little for present use." "What does your property consist of?" her reply was "of funds and railway shares." Upon the point of time I asked her the day of the week.

A discussion here took place between the Commissioner and the counsel, respecting the report of Dr. Bucknill, which was very voluminous. The learned Commissioner remarked that if he had a full copy before him, he hardly thought it would be necessary to write down Dr. Bucknill's statements as read from notes of which the report was a copy. The original report sent to the Lords Justices was then handed to the Commissioner.

Dr. Bucknill then proceeded to read his report at length. The following were the most striking passages:—"Did she know the day of the week?"—"No."—"The day on which I last visited her?"—"No."—She said my last visit was on a Sunday, which was not the fact. I thought her powers of apprehension were defective as well as her memory. June 10th, I visited her and questioned her about her property. She said she had made Dr. Shapter her residuary legatee, "was that not the proper word?" I asked Dr. Shapter if a will were made, and he said it was. Dr. Shapter added "I should wish some alteration to be made in the will for my own sake."

Mr. Collier: My learned friend has made an attack upon Dr. Shapter, and I think I shall be able to show that he is a man of honour.

Mr. Smith said he had not made an attack.

The Commissioner: I think undoubtedly that a statement has been made—

we will not call it an attack—and it is only reasonable on the part of Mr. Collier that an explanation should be given.

Mr. Collier : It is an indirect attack, which is worse ; and, therefore, I wish Dr. Bucknill to say all that passed.

Dr. Bucknill : I make the statement, because I feel that it is only fair to Dr. Shapter. He told me this—although, when I drew up my report and sent it to the Lords Justices, I did not feel myself called upon to mention it.

Mr. Collier : What was it he mentioned ?

The Commissioner read the statement made by Dr. Bucknill—“ I asked Dr. Shapter if she had made her will, and he said she had and had signed it. I asked him when it was done, and he said subsequently to the visit of Mr. Sharpe, and that he (Dr. Shapter) wished some alterations to be made in the will for his own sake.” This conversation took place in Dr. Shapter's cottage garden, on the 10th of June. My fourth visit was on the 11th June. Whenever I questioned Miss Ewings about her will, it was only to see what her state of mind was. At this date I questioned her respecting her annual income and what the interest was, but she could not tell. I asked her what she paid for her lodgings, and she replied supposing I pay £100 a-year—that is £50 for the half-year, and £25 for the quarter. She could not tell what it was per week. In speaking of the will she said Dr. Shapter was her sole executor. Miss Cousens said she had witnessed the execution of the will. I was surprised to find her deficiency in figures. At one interview she said, “ What would my poor mother say if she knew that they persecuted me for my money.” [Dr. Bucknill then stated at considerable length several trials in counting money, to which Miss Ewings had been subjected. In some instances she failed, but in others she succeeded with some difficulty.] At my dictation she wrote a cheque for £15,000, but thinking it might not be a fair trial, as she might have thought it was only done to shew her power of writing, I tore the cheque up. Her manner at these interviews was calm and possessed. After mentioning many other instances, in which she was tried with figures, Dr. Bucknill said “ I told her that she made a bad hand ;” when she replied, “ I know you have a right to examine me, but you are very kind and patient.” I asked her to read, and she read two or three sentences from the “ Companion to the Altar,” and “ The Common Prayer.” She said she hoped that she would be allowed to take the sacrament, adding that she was not allowed to take it while she was in the asylum, and that they tried to make her a Roman Catholic, but that she said to them “ I am a member of the Church of Christ.” She read seven verses from the Psalms, but she miscalled or omitted one-fourth or one-fifth of the words. I wrote a note to Dr. Shapter, and asked her to give it to that gentleman. I can't say whether she knew what I had written, but she promised to deliver it for me. During a long examination respecting a visit on the 17th of June, the witness said I again subjected her to the figure test, and with the same result as in former trials, though if anything more favourable. She told me she had learnt the multiplication table, and said twice two made four, and twice three made six. She also said 20 pence made 1s. 8d., and 30 pence 2s. 6d. She could not tell me the names of the persons at the asylum where she had been, nor the name of the asylum itself. I asked her if she could tell the time by my watch.

The Commissioner : Had she her glasses on ?

Dr. Bucknill : No Sir. It might have been owing to the want of spectacles, or to the illegibility of the dial, but I cannot say. The time was ten minutes to nine, and the light was good.

The Commissioner : It was a rather sharp test for an old lady of 80.

Dr. Bucknill then referred to the examinations on the 21st of June, which were similar in character to former ones. Miss Ewings said she had been agitated by remembering that Haydock and Haddock were the same. She said she thought she had been with Miss Cousens six months. She thought her income was or might be a £1,000 a-year. She could not tell what she had given to the Christian Knowledge Society, whether it was £500, £1,500, or £15,000. She could not tell the time on my watch, it being in the middle of the day, and the time quite legible. The decay of mental powers may be set down as in part due to mania, and in part due to paralysis. If the paralysis only had occurred without subsequent mania, the probability is that we should have found her mind in a state of decay without delusion.

The Commissioner : Are you speaking with regard to her advanced age.

Dr. Bucknill : No. It would be very unjust to argue with regard to a person 80 years of age, in the same way as with regard to a person of 40 years of age. At 80 years of age a person was getting into what might be called "Second childhood."

By Mr. Smith : I think those two causes would be more likely to produce the effect of insanity in a person of advanced age. In fact I have no doubt of it.

Cross-examined by Mr. Collier : Dr. Shapter read to me the names of several persons to whom Miss Ewings intended to make legacies. I said "Will she leave you anything?" Dr. Shapter replied "Some trifling matter, perhaps." During the course of a conversation I understood that she intended to make a will, and I said to Dr. Shapter "Will you allow her to make a will while this question is pending?" Dr. Shapter said, "I assure you, on my honour, my intentions are straight and honourable." Dr. Shapter said "She is in as sound a state of mind as I am." When I left Dr. Shapter I was under the belief that a will would not be made. I don't think she is a person to be shut up in a Lunatic Asylum. I go farther and say I think she ought to be placed under the care of her friends. I do not think her mind is quite gone. I have examined her eight times, extending altogether over nine or ten hours. I went into this enquiry with the thought that Miss Ewings was sane, and have put down things with perfect impartiality. I had no desire to prove her insane. I went into the enquiry in an impartial spirit. The witness was then cross-examined upon his evidence with respect to the answers which had been given to him by Miss Ewings. She said that she was afraid that when she was taken away by Mr. Nicholson and Mr. Ellacombe, she was going to be taken to a place where she would be cruelly treated. She several times repeated her account of the journey in a very consecutive manner, and this goes to a certain extent to prove that she was of sound mind. Her loss of memory and her misstatement of facts were evidence as far as they went, that her mind was unsound. She stated that she rode in a second-class instead of a first-class carriage, and also that she was put feet first into the carriage. Upon the first interview alone I would not venture to say that she was of unsound mind. Nothing then passed sufficient to determine the fact. By itself imperfect memory is not a proof of unsoundness of mind. On the first interview Miss Ewings was agitated when I first went into the room, but afterwards became tranquil. She seemed to have a fear of "those people," meaning her relatives, taking her to an asylum. I am not aware that she knew that her liberty would depend greatly upon my report to the Lords Justices. I stated in my report that she lived in "dread of this event," meaning thereby her removal to an asylum. The knowledge of my reporting to the Lords Justices would tend to make her nervous, and thereby affect her calculating powers; but I may state as a fact that she was not nervous. She did not complain of my questioning her about money calculations. At the second interview she told me she paid £100 a-year for lodgings, and she said that is £50 the half year, and £25 the quarter. I then asked her how much £100 a-year amounted to per week, but she could not tell me.

Mr. Collier : Can you yourself tell ?

Dr. Bucknill hesitated.

Mr. Collier : Don't be nervous; take time. (Laughter.)

Dr. Bucknill : I decline to tell you.

Mr. Collier : You wont or you can't ?

Dr. Bucknill : I decline.

The Commissioner : I almost question whether the learned counsel himself could have told unless he had been instructed. (Laughter.)

Mr. Collier : Do you generally ask such puzzling questions.

Dr. Bucknill : No, but it was not done to puzzle her.

Mr. Collier : Was such a question likely to produce a soothing and tranquilizing effect? (Laughter.)

Dr. Bucknill : Certainly not.

Re-examined : When I had the first conversation with Dr. Shapter he said "I give you my honour that my intentions with regard to this property are straightforward and honourable," and I believed him. To a casual observer there would be nothing in Miss Ewings's manner to indicate unsoundness of mind.

By the Commissioner : Judging from my last interview on the 21st of June



last, I should say that she was of unsound mind. I should call her unsoundness of mind a mixture of chronic mania and dementia. Speaking in popular language I should call it a mixture of mania and fatuity, occurring in a person who once had a sane understanding. Her age and paralysis might be concurrent causes. The death of a beloved relative occurring to a person whose mind was already enfeebled by these two causes, might tend to bring on an attack of acute mental disease—mania, but the sister died seven years before the attack of paralysis.

The following is the conclusion of Dr. Bucknill's Report to the Lords Justices on the mental and bodily state of Miss Phoebe Ewings :—

“ Your Lordships will perceive from the above recital that it is impossible for me to concur either with those witnesses who believe that Miss Ewings is in the full possession of her faculties, or with those who consider her quite incoherent or imbecile. There can be no question that she suffered an acute attack of insanity in December last, and during the early part of this year. Her present state appears to be that of imperfect recovery. The attention, the memory, and the general intelligence remain to a certain extent permanently damaged; but not so far as to prevent Miss Ewings from taking part in society, or to justify the slightest interference with her personal liberty. It is impossible for me to say how far the suspicion and dislike which Miss Ewings entertains towards her relatives are the result of unsoundness of mind. The only indications that they are so are to be found in her unfounded belief that Mr. Ellacombe placed her in the asylum, and in her great and constant fear that she will be again taken to an asylum. The only trace of delusion I can discover is the belief that at the asylum they attempted to make her a Roman Catholic. This belief was expressed to me in so cautious and circumstantial a manner that I thought it might possibly be founded upon some misapprehension of reality. I therefore wrote a letter to Mr. Sutton, the proprietor of the asylum, requesting him to be so good as to inform me whether any of the official persons connected with that place were Roman Catholics, and whether the service of that faith was celebrated there. His reply in the negative, together with a letter on the subject from the Superintendent, to whom I did not write, I transmit to you. On one point my examinations have been conclusive to my own mind, namely, that Miss Ewings is quite incapable of transacting business, or of managing her property. On the other hand I am convinced that any interference with her personal liberty would inflict much needless suffering upon her, and as she lives in dread of this event, I beg leave to suggest to your Lordships that if not inconsistent with your duties in this case, you should cause her mind to be set at ease on this point without delay. Miss Ewings places the greatest confidence in Dr. Shapter and in Miss Cousens, and the fear that she may be removed from them and placed among strangers or persons to whom she has unfriendly feelings, embitters a period of life which all would desire to render as smooth and happy as circumstances permit. At present Miss Ewings enjoys excellent bodily health. She takes long walks, and has a good appetite. To a person, however, of her age, who has recently suffered from paralysis and insanity, the probability of some recurrence of active disease of the brain is very great. I think it right to inform your Lordships that Dr. Shapter consulted me on these proceedings on the 18th of May last, but that I declined to give an opinion on Miss Ewing's state of mind on his statement, or to visit her, on the ground that your Lordships might possibly wish to place upon me the duties of medical referee. I beg leave to subscribe myself.”

Joseph Charlton Parr : I am a member of the firm of Messrs. Parr, Lyon, and Co., bankers of Warrington. Miss Ewings had an account at our bank; and when she left Warrington for Exeter, she had a balance of £2,124 3s. 6d. Since that time £211 9s. have been added to the credit side, making £2,335 18s. 6d. The sum standing to her credit on the 30th of June, was £1,672 16s.—£663 2s. 6d. having been drawn out since the previous February. The account had remained untouched from the 24th of November, 1858, to the 15th of February last. In March we received an order signed by Miss Ewings, directing us to honour cheques drawn by Mr. Beamont. We have only honoured one cheque since, for £18 2s. 6d. Of the £663, £500 was for the Christian Knowledge Society drawn by cheque, signed by Miss Ewings, on the 28th of May. We were not surprised at so large an amount. I received the

dividends on £7,307 in the new three per cents, and on £300 in the three per cents.

Cross-examined: In December, 1853, Miss Ewings and her sister gave £500 to the Christian Knowledge Society; and in November, 1858, Miss Ewings herself gave another £500, making, with the £500 in May last, £1,500.

Dr. Charles Joseph Fox: I am the proprietor of an asylum for the insane at Brislington, near Bristol; and have been in practice nearly 30 years. I came to Exeter on the 10th of March, and in company with Dr. Shapter visited Miss Ewings. I received from her an incoherent account of her fears at Warrington, lest she should be injured by her servants. She told me that she had been placed by "those persons" in the asylum. I referred to Mr. Ellacombe having liberated her from the asylum, but she seemed oblivious of that fact, and only mentioned her apprehensions as to her removal to the station. My interview was not with reference to my giving evidence to-day. The interview was so short that although I formed an opinion I declined to make an affidavit upon it. On the 21st of July I saw Miss Ewings again, the interview lasting an hour and a quarter. She received me kindly and calmly. I told her I came at the request of Mr. Nicholson, of Warrington; and she spoke of him and his family as kind friends. She first said Mr. Nicholson was a Roman Catholic, but afterwards corrected herself, saying she meant her neighbour Mr. Ashton. She said she would not remain in her own house any longer but would rather remove to the parish workhouse as she considered herself in danger. She expressed great indignation against "those persons" who caused her to be removed to the asylum, though she said she had been kindly treated. Dr. Fox then confirmed former evidence as to the fears entertained by Miss Ewings respecting the designs upon her faith while at the Lunatic Asylum. I could not find out why she apprehended it. In her account of her resistance at the railway station, the reason she assigned was that she was placed in an inferior carriage. I asked about her property. I said is it £30,000? and she said "£30,000," repeating the words. I then said "Is it £20,000 or £13,000?" She then said "Oh! £30,000 is not much." When I asked her what would be the interest of £1,000 at five per cent, she could not tell—I said £50, and then I asked her what would be the interest of £1,000 at two-and-a-half per cent., and she replied £25, and she added "the bankers only allow me two-and-a-half per cent." I then said "If the cost of your boarding be £3 per week, what is that per month?" She could not answer, so I repeated the question, but instead of answering it, she said "My income is more than I can spend." She could not tell me anything about the details of her property. I did not press her to get the details. She said that during her sister's lifetime she knew all about her money matters. I asked her what year it was, but she could not tell, nor could she tell me the day of the month or of the week. I gave her my name, and repeated it once or twice, but she afterwards addressed me as "Dr. Buckland." I put no questions to her respecting her will, but said "In case a person dies without a will the law provides for its distribution among the relatives," and she replied "I have no relatives." Miss Cousens was in the room throughout the interview, and Miss Ewings frequently appealed to her for an answer to my questions. I had an opportunity of forming an opinion about the state of Miss Ewings's mind, and I came to the conclusion that she was of unsound mind, labouring under dementia, consequent upon paralysis. Assuming her to be 80 years of age, I should think it highly improbable that her health would be restored. Jane Warren, who was the attendant, told me "she was not out of her mind."

The Commissioner: That is not evidence.

Cross-examined by Mr. Collier: What I based my opinion of her insanity upon was her great incoherence, her very impaired memory, and her difficulty of comprehension. In no instance do I recollect that by repeating my questions she could give me an answer. But I will not swear that such was not the case. I do not think that simply looking at the fact of her repeating my questions was a conclusive fact in itself. I could not get any connected statement of the occurrences at Warrington before her removal to the Haydock Asylum, nor the names of any one connected with her, but she spoke of them as "those persons." If she had been "lugged" into a carriage by two porters I should not be surprised to hear her speak of it. Mr. Ellacombe gave me an account of the manner in which she was treated, and I

understand that she was not roughly handled. She could not tell me the day of the week, nor recollect my name. I think that when I pressed her she tried to recollect. She could not remember the difference between Dr. Bucknill and Dr. Buckland, though I do not attach much importance to that. I think her memory must have been defective to forget the name of a person who frequently visited her. I did not question her, being an old lady, in the same manner as I should a person of greater powers. She knew Dr. Shapter perfectly well. She did not remember Jane Warren being in attendance upon her. It is not unusual for old ladies to forget names and dates. She seemed to think that she was in danger from her servant. That was certainly a delusion. Upon my asking her the amount of her property she did not say she could tell the amount by calculating, but she did say that she could tell another day. When I asked her how much £3 a-week would be per month, I did not say whether it was a calendar or a lunar month.

It being now quarter past eleven o'clock the court adjourned.

#### SATURDAY.—SECOND DAY.

The enquiry was resumed this morning at ten o'clock.

Dr. Samuel Budd, who was the first witness, said I am a physician practising in this city, and am physician at the Devon and Exeter Hospital. I have paid two visits to Miss Ewings with the view of ascertaining the state of her mind. The visits were on the 5th and 6th of the present month. I made notes of the questions, and the answers show strong evidence of the state of her mind. At the first interview, on the 5th instant, I conversed with her about her property and found her ideas very indistinct. She had no knowledge of the funds and could give no account of her property; she could not tell where it was placed, she thought it was in the Savings' Bank. She could comprehend nothing of principal or interest. I said to her "When you want to buy anything where do you go for money?" She told me she had money in her purse, but knew not how it got there. She said at last when she awoke in the morning she found it there. I said "Supposing all that money spent and gone where would you go for more?" She said Dr. Shapter would give her some; he was so kind to her. I said, "If Dr. Shapter was unable to give you any what would you do then?" She then said, shedding tears, she supposed she would then be obliged to go into the workhouse. Miss Cousens was present. After remaining with her some little time her excitement subsided and she laughed and seemed to enjoy herself. She shook me heartily by the hand. The interview did not seem painful to her. There was nothing peculiar in her manner. My interview lasted about an hour. The next day I paid her a shorter visit. Her manner was not strange. She shook me by the hand and seemed to remember me, though she did not recollect the time of my previous visit, but seemed to think it was on the previous night. On the 6th I first spoke of the weather. It was raining hard, and she said, "The rain will do a good deal of good to the harvest and make the corn swell out;" she said that during the hot weather she had been very well. I said the season of the year had arrived when we must expect the heat to abate, and she said, "October and September." She said the present month was September, and that she came to Exeter in October. She said first that she was born in Lancashire and then in Devonshire. I said "Do you know Mr. Ellacombe?" She replied "No." "Is he not a relative of yours?" She answered "No." She added "I have heard of such a man, but I never saw him." I said "Did he not take you from the asylum in Lancashire and bring you to Exeter?" She replied "What business had he to do that?" Her responses quite convinced me that she is in a state of imbecility, and that she is quite incompetent to manage her property or to transact business. She is suffering from dementia. I should be quite surprised to hear that after an attack of paralysis, and an attack of acute mania, a lady at such an advanced age came out quite unscathed or recovered her mental faculties in their integrity.

Cross-examined by Mr. Collier: I should be rather surprised to hear that an old lady of her advanced age, should, after an attack of paralysis and dementia, walk several miles a-day. I understood that I was employed by the court. I was aware that there had been a petition for a commission. I preferred being employed by the court rather than by the petitioner. I consider that I saw her on the part of the court. I communicated the notes I made

to Dr. Bucknill, and I think I sent a copy to Mr. Daw, the attorney for the petitioner, but not to the attorney on the other side, though of course I should not hesitate to do so. I put down the answers which I thought would be evidence. There were many I did not take, and many which were of a negative character. I should think it was impossible to converse with her ten minutes without discovering her loss of faculties.

Mr. Collier : Do you agree with Dr. Bucknill that a person might converse with her for a hour and a-half without being convinced of her unsoundness of mind ?

Dr. Budd : It is not my impression. I do not think you could converse with her for an hour and a-half without seeing it. It is probable that her condition will not improve.

Mr. Collier : Of course it is not likely that a lady at 90 years will be brighter than a person at 80 years.—Dr. Budd : I will not say that her condition will materially alter in a month. I do not think she made hundreds of answers to my questions. I conversed about the weather, &c., on both occasions.

Mr. Smith : Did you remark anything peculiar in Miss Ewings's manners ?  
Dr. Budd : No ; I thought her manners pretty good.

Mr. Smith : Could a person sit at table with Miss Ewings for a certain time, and unless his attention were directed to her mental condition, might he go away without discovering that she was of unsound mind ?

Dr. Budd : I think it possible that she might pass muster under such conditions. But it is a very thin crust which in her case sustains the ordinary amenities of social life, beneath which lie the mere ruins of a mind.

By Mr. Collier : I cannot say that she liked being "trotted" through her property. I dare say that she knew the object of my visit. She did not appear to know anything respecting the funds.

Mr. Collier : Why did you ask her then ?—Dr. Budd : I first asked her if she had money in the funds, and I found that she did not know anything about them. I cannot say that those were the terms. I did not ask her directly what the funds were. I cannot recollect all her answers. I will not swear what her answer was about the funds. With respect to her property I might have said, "Is it in land?" but I will not swear one way or the other. I have not a very distinct recollection.

By the Commissioner : I have no belief on the subject but probably I might.

Cross-examination continued : I have no recollection that she said "It is not in land, but it is in the bank." I will not swear that she did not use the words. She told me that all her money was in the "Savings Bank."

Mr. Collier : I ask you if your recollection is so clear that you will swear that she did not say so.

Witness : I thoroughly believe she did not. I did not say "What are the funds?" or at least I don't think I did. I will not swear positively that I did not. My recollection is not so clear that I will swear to every word used during so long an interview. I did say she had no distinct idea about property and income. She appeared not to be able to draw the inference that if she had money in the funds or anywhere else it would bring her an income. I did not put any direct enquiry upon it.

Mr. Collier : I am asking you what are your premises ; because, with all respect to you, we may come to a different conclusion.

Witness : I did not ask her any direct questions on these points but I give you what I inferred. I don't think I asked her if she was in the habit of going out and buying things in the shops, and paying for them. I think she might be capable of going about to shops, and paying for articles, and taking the change. She would know that a penny would buy a bun. To a slight amount she would do shopping, but anybody might easily cheat her. I think she might sometimes, but not always, see that the change was right. I can't say whether she would ask for discount, but I think she might be taught to do it parrot-like. I did not know that she had some money in the "Savings Bank." I said, where is your money placed? and she said in the "Savings Bank."

Mr. Collier : That she told you. You said before "all the money" was in a bank, and you said what bank, and then she replied "In the Savings"

Bank?"—Witness: I can't say that she used the word "all"—but my impression was that she did. I asked her where both her property and her money were placed, but I cannot recollect whether she or I used the word "all." She told me that Dr. Shapter managed her affairs. She said "My lodgings are managed." It would not seem extraordinary that she received money from a person who managed her affairs. I think her condition shows a considerable extinction of faculties. I did not detect any delusion. I did not find there were any signs of mania. Judging from what I saw, I should call it dementia. I saw no signs of distinct mania.

Mr. Collier: Do you differ from Dr. Bucknill, who said that it was a mixture of dementia and mania?—Witness: Dr. Bucknill said he had detected delusion.

Mr. Smith: You may ask him his opinion, but not whether he differs from Dr. Bucknill.

Witness: I give you the result of my impressions upon her mental state from my own observation only.

Mr. Collier: I want to know whether you doctors agree or differ because we have to judge between you. Do you think it is a mixture of chronic mania and dementia? Do you agree with Dr. Bucknill upon that?—Dr. Budd: I suppose I must differ so far, that he observed what I did not. A person who has a delusion may not show it. You may have to seek for it. It does not always come to the surface. I consider her, judging from my own observation, to be in a state of dementia. I did not detect the signs of mania; and, therefore, so far as that goes, I suppose I must differ from Dr. Bucknill.

By Mr. Smith: I decidedly think she did not know the nature of discount, &c. Her condition may differ from day to day.

Dr. Harrington Tuke: I reside at Manor House, Chiswick, and am Superintendent of a private asylum at that place. I have devoted my entire attention to mental diseases for 18 or 19 years. I was requested to visit Miss Ewings. I saw her on the 10th instant. I was introduced by Dr. Bucknill in the presence of Dr. Shapter and a young lady. I did not understand her to be Dr. Shapter's governess, but learnt so subsequently. Dr. Shapter went away in a few minutes, and I was left with Miss Ewings and Miss Anthony. Finding that she was tranquil and calm, I suggested that Miss Anthony should leave, but she went up to Miss Ewings, and said "You don't wish me to leave, do you?" and Miss Ewings replied, "Oh, no." I felt her pulse, and found it fast. I mentioned this to Dr. Shapter, and he said it would naturally be so on the introduction of a stranger. Afterwards it became tranquil, and so was her manner, except at intervals. I was with her two hours and a-half. She was perfectly agreeable to sit with me, and I think I could have sat there all day. I several times asked her if I tired her, and she said "No." She said Dr. Bucknill never tired her. I said "I thought you were ill after two interviews;" but she replied, "Oh, no." I put this several times, and she said positively, "Oh, dear, it was not so." I found her very rational upon some things. She retained considerable power of mind both as to memory and facts, but it was uncertain power. It was deranged in its action. Sometimes there seemed to be an absolute want of memory; the general answers evinced a want of the power of comprehension. I asked her who was the reigning sovereign. She did not seem to understand the question. I said, "Who governs the country, but don't hurry yourself; I want to know who is the head of the country; who administers the law." I put it in all the ways I could think of, but she seemed unable to understand it. But the other lady very kindly interposed, and said "Who is the present Queen?" Miss Ewings immediately said, "Queen Victoria to be sure."

The Commissioner: I think she beat you in your question.

Witness: The governess knew that Miss Ewings was aware of that fact, because she had heard her say a short time before that Queen Victoria was a good woman. I asked Miss Ewings "who is this lady?" and she said Miss Shapter; when Miss Anthony said "you mean Miss Anthony." Miss Ewings had been addressing Miss Anthony as Miss Shapter during the conversation. She answered many questions pretty well when they were put slowly and carefully. I asked her the day of the week, month, and year, but all separately. She said it was Thursday, whereas it was Wednesday; she also said it was the 12th of September. I asked her the year of our Lord, she said 1839. The

governess said you mean '50. I again expostulated with Miss Anthony, but it was not done by her offensively, although it interfered with me. I asked her the above questions at different intervals, five times begging her to take time to answer them. Each answer was wrong, although I carefully told her each time. Sometimes she said it was March, and at others September, but never August, although I told her it was the harvest month, and she said it was her favourite month. Twice she shed tears, and several times laughed; tears on account of her state of thankfulness to Almighty God for her then state of happiness, and also when she mentioned the death of her sister. She laughed once very heartily. When I mentioned the subject of money, she seemed a little nervous, but after a time talked freely. I asked her the amount of her property, and she replied, with great hesitation, £13,000 and then £700. She then asked "Is that right?" I said I could not be sure, but I thought it was. I asked her how it was invested? Those were my words as near as I can recollect; where it was and how much it produced. I asked those questions singly, but could only get an answer to the last, she said—"About £400 a-year. Is that right?" I think she said I could calculate it. I am sure she did. I said I thought it was right, and that she need not trouble herself. I was very anxious not to put her through difficult calculations. She said she did not think she could write a cheque. "Do you know what a cheque is?" She did not. Do you know what a draft is? She said, "Yes. It is always what I signed when I went to the bank to get my money." "Do you sign such things at other times?" "No, never." Did you not write a cheque for Dr. Bucknill? She denied it and asked the governess, who said she had never heard of it. Miss Ewings then seemed convinced she had not. "You must have written cheques for Dr. Shapter?" I said this slowly over and over again, but she denied it. It suddenly occurred to me that I recollected the amount of the last cheque and said "Did you not give a cheque for £30?" She had no recollection of it, and positively denied it. It was an extraordinary instance of want of memory because I mentioned about the charities. She then said—"Yes £500 to the Christian Knowledge Society," but she denied as to any other. She could not state what her expenses were, but that they were paid once a fortnight. I asked her if she paid her bills, with the £12 (the money in her pocket) how long it would last her?—She had previously said she had that sum. She could not answer the question. I could not get any reply as to her expenses, she never looked at the bills. She said when her sister was alive she managed the joint money affairs. They took it in turns once a fortnight. She counted £12 10s. well. She said she did not pay Dr. Shapter because he was her friend and protector. I said "What does he protect you from?" and she said,—“He is my protector, at my age I want a protector.” I said have you not relations, and she answered "None at all"—“No second or third cousins?" "Mr. Ellacombe?" The suggestion of the name came from the governess. Miss Ewings said she would not have anything to do with him. This she said angrily and added, I would send him out of the room if he came into it. I expostulated with her, asking her reasons. She said she had been cruelly used and that Mr. Ellacombe had sent her to an asylum. I suggested the reverse, that he had taken her out, and she admitted it. I asked her what motive she thought Mr. Ellacombe had, but she did not seem to understand the question. At last she said—"It must have been a bad motive of Mr. Ellacombe"—She told me a long story about her journey in the railway carriage. She said her feet were placed foremost. She stood up desiring the young lady to hold her shoulders, and take her feet up as indicating the way a person would be carried. Believing it to be untrue, I repeated it; and she said her own servants held her with Mr. Sharp. I asked her about the asylum, but she could not mention the name of the place. I asked her who paid the expenses. She answered "I did not, and my lawyer did not." She said she was well treated, that she had a fine room, and that it cost her nothing." She then laughed most heartily, seeming quite to enjoy it. I asked her about her house, but she said she did not know anything about it. She said the furniture was taken to the bank. I said, "You don't mean the furniture?" and she replied "No, no, I don't know where it is." She then gave me a long account of her journey from Warrington. It was coherent, but I did not think it was true. She said that she rode in a second-class carriage, and that I found to be untrue.

By the Commissioner : I asked her now much money she had, and she replied that she did not know. Witness : I asked her if she went to the bank would they give her any money she asked for, and she replied "Yes, they would give £5,000 or £10,000. Would they give £20,000?" I said. She hesitated, and said "I should never ask for so large a sum." I then asked her about her will. She said "I have made my will; it was my own act and deed." I asked her as gently as I could how she had left her money, and she said she had given some legacies to servants, and £500 to the Christian Knowledge Society. She said she had a great many legacies given to her. I said "What have you left to Dr. Shapter?" She could not tell. I inferred this, as she did not answer. Considering this very important, I suggested various sums to her. Have you left him more or less than £500? She said "I cannot tell." I am quite certain about the words. I said "Do you know you have left him a handsome fortune." She said "Yes, it may be; he is my friend and protector." This conversation occupied some time. I asked her about her illness, whether she had been ill. She said "She never had been ill." I said "Have you never had an attack of paralysis?" She did not understand the question, and I explained as well as I could what the attack was, and she said "No, thank God, I have never lost my sense of sight, my speech, or any of my senses." She seemed angry, and said, what will they say next? I apologised, saying, I had information from her own medical attendant, Mr. Sharp. She was angry and agitated, and said "It is impossible." I asked her whether she had ever suffered under "nervous derangement." I said this as delicately as possible. She said "Never." She said it as if the thing had never occurred to her. I said, you have been in an asylum. She said "Yes." I said "No one can be put in an asylum without a certificate of mental derangement. She said "It was quite absurd. Me ever insane? quite absurd." I asked her if she believed in the Roman Catholics, trying to make her a papist. She said "No, never." But you surely have said so previously? She said "No, I never have." I mentioned Dr. Sharp's name, saying he might have thought you ill and signed the certificate thinking that you were ill. She said "She could not suppose it, she was never ill." She said Dr. Shapter never gave her any medicine, he came to see her only as a friend. I said had you not 100 guineas in your stays when you were taken to the asylum. She said "I will tell you all about that." This story of hers, like others was told at length, but very difficult to get at in consequence of her "rambling manner." It was very difficult to get at her meaning. She said she believed people were coming in and going out of her house improperly, but she could not say what people, only she was sure they were there improperly and that they were flurrying her, and therefore she put all the money in her stays. That she was frightened, and added "Life you know is very dear to me." I asked her if she was frightened of her life, and she said no, only she was afraid of the house coming down. The people came in and out, she was then seized and cruelly used, and then taken to the asylum. She showed me again how she was put in the carriage, which was the same way as before. Mr. Sharp, she said, was not present. It was her own servant who held her. I could not succeed in obtaining who it was had cruelly used her. I examined her to the best of my ability. She said she never read the newspaper, but at my request would try to do so. I handed her the paper, but finding that she was quite bewildered, so as to make nonsense to the listener by misplacing words, I said, "Oh, I will read it then." The governess said "It is because her hand shakes so," but I gave up the attempt, thinking it flurried her. In the course of a conversation she told me that she liked Dr. Bucknill very much, and that he was coming to see her that afternoon. When I took leave of her she evidently seemed to misunderstand who I was, I said I hope this long conversation has not tired you, and she said "No, oh dear no. It is so kind of my friends to come and see me." At other times she seemed to know me, and the object of my visit. She was excessively kind and affectionate, sitting by me and holding my hand, but this might have been through my trying her pulse. The other hand clasped that of the governess. I do not like to form a judgment upon one visit, and applied for leave to make another, but was refused. I formed an opinion of the state of her mind. I think she is of unsound mind, and incapable of managing herself and property, but wish to be distinctly understood that in her present state, she should not be placed in an asylum for the insane, because I think she might be taken care of out of an asylum, and her delusion about strange people would

be increased by the presence of other patients. To the question do you believe strange people had been in your house improperly? she told me that she still thought it was so.

The Commissioner: To what category do you refer her disease?

Witness: It is difficult to refer it, I consider it to be weakness of mind, following as it constantly does, either paralysis or acute mania, but there is some chronic delusion, and in technical language I will say it was the first stage of dementia.

By Mr. Karslake: Loss of memory, and inaccuracy of dates and facts and names are often consequent upon paralysis, not so often the result of mania.

By the Commissioner: Attacks of paralysis in the case of a person of so advanced an age are generally fatal.

The Commissioner: Supposing delusion to exist, is it more likely to be due to acute mania than paralysis?

Witness: Probably acute mania and not to paralysis. The loss of memory and the errors as to dates, facts, and names, which I observed are in my judgment the result of deranged action of the brain, and not the result of old age alone.

Dr. Tuke, cross-examined by Mr. Collier. He said: I wished to see the old lady again, but I had not the permission. I came here on Tuesday, hearing that her medical attendants did not wish me to see her on Thursday, the day before the commission; but I saw her only on Wednesday, and could not see her on the Tuesday.

Mr. Coleridge explained that it was in consequence of the legal gentlemen being absent at Wells.

Cross-examination continued: I would strongly advise your side, as you call it, not to produce her before the court at all. Upon a hypothetical case, I should say it would be better that she should not be examined by a medical gentleman the day before the commission. I mean to say that a conversation of two hours and a-half conducted in the way I did, would not have injured her. I tried whether it injured her physically, and think it did not. Upon my oath it did not confuse her, for at the end of the conversation she seemed more alert. In cases of feeble circulation it would act as a stimulant. Her defects arose in some degree from weakness or feeble circulation. There is a difference between weakness through too little circulation and madness. Her loss of memory, dates, &c., might be owing to a feeble circulation through the brain, and I think I may attribute part of her symptoms to feebleness in the circulation through the brain, but I cannot say to what extent it may be. It would be very variable. She might be better after dinner than before, or after a little wine, but it might act the reverse, but so far as my observation went it did. I think her very extraordinary and marked mistake as to persons, is one symptom of derangement of brain, and not old age. One mistake was calling Miss Anthony Miss Shapter. Another feature was her persistence in the mistake of names, which is a sign of the decay of the brain. I should not say that it showed "derangement" though.

By the Commissioner: Miss Anthony is a young lady.

Examination continued: She talked of several persons being at places where they were certainly not. The two things, names and places, are in my opinion the same. I should not think it derangement if she said Ellacombe instead of Nicholson. She used the word "workhouse" for "asylum." When she said "workhouse" the governess said you mean "asylum." This she said frequently. I am aware that this asylum was a place where paupers were, but she certainly confused her ideas about two places, so that her conversation was quite nonsense. I think she knew what "asylum" was. An old lady might be oblivious of dates, &c., without being deranged, but after I had told her four or five times she could recollect. If I see there is a person that cannot understand "Wednesday" when I tell her time after time, I think there is some deficiency of brain. I put down those questions which I think bore upon her unsoundness of mind. The two hours and a-half were much taken up by the conversation of the lady herself and Miss Anthony. I have put down what might be evidence of soundness of mind. I asked her if she was afraid of the "French invasion," and she said "No." There were several questions which she answered most correctly, and like a person of sane mind. I know that if an old lady is interrupted when



telling a story she is "put out," I asked her several questions about the head of the Constitution.

The Commissioner: If you were to ask Mr. Roebuck who was head of the Constitution, he would say the House of Commons. (A laugh.)

Mr. Collier: To witness. Who administers the law? A: I don't answer. Q: You complain of a quest on you put to a lunatic and yet when put to yourself you say it is not plain enough. A: I don't understand you. (A laugh.) Q: I put it to you clearly enough. Who rules in this country? A: The King or the Queen. Q: Should you say it is the Queen or the Chief Justice of England who administers the law? A: I should have said "It is the Queen." Q: What would you say upon consideration? Mr. Montague Smith interrupted.—Mr. Collier: There is no commission upon you. (A laugh.) After being further pressed the witness said this question might not have been put in the most proper manner. After a variety of questions the witness said that one of her symptoms of insanity was her morbid aversion to Mr. Ellacombe, the reasons she gave being insufficient. "If an old lady gives me an opinion founded upon insufficient reasons I do not say it is morbid" I, therefore, recall that answer. The dislike to Mr. Ellacombe was exaggerated and untrue. Supposing that Mr. Ellacombe was "fallible" and that Miss Ewings' dislike to him was just her behaviour to him, would be explained. If she had no wish to go into the train, and Mr. Ellacombe ordered her to be put in by porters, it might account for her dislike, but she had "condoned" the matter.

Mr. Collier: We are to suppose we are in the Divorce Court.

Cross-examined: I believe that she was very happy and contented at Miss Cousens. Mr. Ellacombe wishing to remove her might have accounted in part for her dislike, and especially when he said you "must go." Still I think it was a morbid opinion as she had no cause of complaint against him. It did not occur to me that her friends had not informed her that she had had an attack of paralysis. I told her that Dr. Sharp had said she had had an attack of paralysis. When I told her of it she was much excited and was angry, and said, "What will they say next?" I presume that she said about losing speech, sight, &c., from my explanation of paralysis, and then she said "I thank God." On my oath as a medical man it did not alarm her. She then said "What will they say next." I don't think it is right to conceal from persons of old age that they had an attack of paralysis.

The learned Commissioner: It might embitter or poison the rest of her life.

Dr. Tuke: I am very sorry that I mentioned it at all then.

Cross-examination resumed: I said it was the first stage of dementia, I do not think it right to put me in the box upon a conversation of two hours and a half.

By the Commissioner: I do not think Miss Ewings is likely to recover.

This was the last witness for the petitioner; and Mr. Smith applied that the original instructions for the will and the will itself should be put in as evidence. Mr. Collier objected to put in the will, as great difficulty might be experienced supposing Miss Ewings was not found to be a lunatic. The instructions were broken up when the will was signed.

The Commissioner agreed that there would be difficulty in putting in the will.

Mr. Karslake then summed up the evidence for the petitioner, contending that it proved the unsoundness of Miss Ewings's mind, and her incapacity to manage her property.

Mr. Collier then addressed the jury. He said this was an extremely painful enquiry, and one that was altogether unnecessary. There was not the slightest necessity for disturbing the few remaining years of this old lady's life. There was no reason whatever why she should be questioned and cross-questioned by a number of mad doctors. What was her state according to the evidence of the petitioner's own witnesses? She undoubtedly had an attack of paralysis, and suffered at one time from mania; but that was at the close of last year. Since that time Miss Ewings had come to Exeter, and according to the petitioner's witnesses she was now perfectly comfortable with Miss Cousens. What had she done that all these proceedings should be taken against her? Had she ever injured anybody? Had she ever acted like a mad woman except at the time when she was taken to the asylum? Why then had these proceedings been taken? The answer was this, that Dr. Greenup, towards whom she had all her

life entertained a well-founded aversion, wanted her money. The question that was now being tried was in effect the case of *Greenup v. Ewings*. Dr. Greenup's family some years ago had instituted a chancery suit against her branch of the family, and Dr. Greenup's side had had to pay the expenses. According to Dr. Greenup's own evidence he had only seen her once before during his life, and yet he came down to Exeter, searched her out and then commenced these proceedings, which had the effect of torturing the old lady. He (Mr. Collier) regretted the manner in which this case had been conducted. It had been managed like an ordinary *nisi prius* cause—the only desire of the petitioner being, by *nisi prius* manœuvres, to obtain a verdict. What evidence had been produced? There was Dr. Holland, who was brought all the way from Norwich to state that in 1853 Miss Ewings behaved rudely to him. The fact was that her sister died in October, and Dr. Holland went in the following May to condole with her. His learned friend (Mr. Smith) was going at great length into her condition some years ago; but the learned Commissioner very wisely suggested that the question in which the jury was more immediately interested, was her mental condition since she had been in Exeter. Why had they not called Miss Consens, with whom she had lived here? If they had been sincere in their desire to throw any light upon the case, they would have produced that witness. Instead of doing that, they had called a number of mad doctors, who were always looking out for insanity, and beating about the bush to find madness. He hoped the jury would bear in mind the warning contained in the learned Commissioner's charge not to surrender their judgment to doctors. God help all our old mothers, grandmothers, and aunts, if their faculties were to be tried by mad doctors. The opposite side had designedly withheld Mr. Sharp who had been for 30 years, the medical attendant to Miss Ewings. Dr. Bucknill admitted that that gentleman's evidence would have been important; but nevertheless he had not been produced, and the reason was that his opinion did not agree with that of Dr. Bucknill. Evidence had been given to show that she was much distressed at the death of her sister. He (Mr. Collier) conceded to his learned friend that she did grieve at the loss of her dear relative; he gave him the full benefit of all the madness which he could extract from grief at her sister's death. He (Mr. Collier) believed he should be able conclusively to show that since Miss Ewings had left the asylum she had perfectly recovered. Mr. Collier then went on to state that he should call Mr. Sharp before them. What was the manner in which the case had been brought before them? The other side had come before them (the jury,) saying they were only desirous of affording every information. They repudiated the idea of trying to get a verdict against Miss Ewings, but that the enquiry was only for her benefit. And yet they withheld from them the most important information they could give them. He (the learned counsel) would enquire how the case had been conducted, before he disclosed to them the evidence which he should bring before them. His learned friends had carefully avoided calling before them persons who had ever had dealings with Miss Ewings in Exeter. And by giving them no information whatever themselves upon the manner in which her affairs were conducted, they contented themselves by calling medical gentlemen, who were perfect strangers to her, gentlemen who formed their opinions partly upon what they said and partly upon what they heard. The first medical gentleman was Dr. Bucknill. This gentleman had made a very long report. The first observation which occurred to him to make was this, that probably if the jury had read that report themselves they would have come to conclusions quite opposite to that at which he arrived. He could not help thinking—and he thought his learned friend had thought so to—that they were not at all anxious that the whole of this report of Dr. Bucknill's should be read to them (the jury). It was his desire that the whole of the report should have been placed before them, because he thought that it would show that this old lady was never mad at all. They had not the opinions of the medical gentlemen only, but the premises upon which they founded their opinions. They could, therefore, form their opinions upon those premises as well as upon the opinions of the medical gentlemen themselves. He did not know that dealing with lunatics strengthened the logical powers and bestowed powers of reasoning. The doctors said, "We think she is a lunatic because of this, and that, and so on." But we were able to judge as well as they could, and we could draw our conclusions. He (the learned counsel) invited them to take notice of the premises, and he had no doubt that they would differ from them in their conclusions upon these said

premises. He had three or four medical gentlemen, of the highest respectability, who would be put before them, and who would entirely differ from Dr. Bucknill and the other medical gentlemen called by his learned friends. They would tell them that they thought the lady quite capable of managing her affairs at the present moment. He would beg their attention now while he went into detail upon the evidence. With respect to the evidence of Dr. Bucknill, that gentleman expressed a somewhat hesitating and qualified opinion upon the matter. He thought he was allowed this observation with respect to Dr. Bucknill's evidence. The case seemed to have puzzled him a good deal. It was a long time before he could make up his mind that the old lady was mad. He examined her for one hour and a-half at the first interview, and he said very candidly that although there were some indications of loss of memory, still if he had been called before them as a witness, after the first interview, he would have given his evidence in favour of Miss Ewings. That struck him as a strange fact. Here was Dr. Bucknill accustomed to discover insanity and trace it in its lurking places. He went to her for the purpose of discovering it with regard to Miss Ewings. He examined her for one hour and a half, and the result was that he could not form a decided opinion that her mind was unsound or that she was unable to manage her own affairs. That same gentleman tried her again and again, he believed altogether eight times. Well Dr. Bucknill told them that all this was very pleasing to her, and that she liked it very much. He thought they would be satisfied before the case closed that it was quite different, and that she dreaded those interviews beyond everything. She knew but too well all that was going on. She knew perfectly well that there were those who wanted her money. She knew that proceedings had been taken against her in Chancery, and she knew that they—(the jury)—had to determine upon her sanity or insanity; and that upon the result of their verdict depended her liberty; aye, her life, and all the comforts of her remaining days. She knew it, and felt it painfully. She knew that Dr. Bucknill was a man of great power. She knew that he was an agent of the court. She understood that she was to be put as it were through her catechism, and that she would be sent to school again. She knew the puzzling questions which were put to her, and although Dr. Bucknill and the other medical gentlemen did not mean it, yet it was their way of doing it. Why the poor old lady lay half awake with the multiplication table floating before her eyes in all directions. He dared say she lay awake counting twice two are four, twice three are six, twentypence make one and eightpence and thirty pence two and sixpence. (A laugh.) She really must have thought that she was to be put through a kind of catechism in this respect. When she was asleep some visions of the multiplication table were no doubt there topsy turvy or before her in some shape or other. (A laugh.) Talk of the ordeal of the plough share in olden times; this was worse. Upon that examination it did not depend whether she was to be admitted to a degree, but upon it depended whether she was to enjoy her liberty for the rest of her life. She knew that it was so. She understood what it was to enjoy life, and she was apprehensive of the examination of those powerful men. He said that it was the very anxiety on her part to do well before Dr. Bucknill, which prevented her doing well. He had known very able men who were entirely broken down because of their anxiety to do so. A very able man in this state lay awake thinking of the examination, and through it he was "plucked." He believed that she had been plucked by Dr. Bucknill. After further remarking upon this point, the learned counsel went on to say that he believed that when they came to examine her themselves they would find that she possessed a great deal of knowledge, that would astonish all these mad doctors. A peculiarity of the disease under which the unfortunate lady suffered was then pointed out by Mr. Collier, who explained that its effect was some days to make a person able to transact business with comparative facility and again the reverse. The evidence of Dr. Bucknill, which he criticised with much ability, was then noticed, the learned counsel at great length contending that instead of being unfavourable to Miss Ewings, it would, if they looked at it in its proper light, tend decidedly in her favour. The difference in the testimony of the various medical witnesses was pointed out, and from it the conclusion drawn that one day Miss Ewings was depressed, which caused an unfavourable impression, and the next day was much better. It spoke nothing against her total incapacity. In speaking of the questions which were put to the old lady, Mr. Collier characterised the majority

of them as too difficult, and quite sufficient to cause nervousness. He particularly alluded to the £100 a-year question put by Dr. Bucknill, who when asked himself the very question he had put to this alleged lunatic, what per week is £100 a-year, could not tell. Her answers to questions about her property they found exactly correct. What was it? £13,000, and then in a few seconds the second answer £700. This was found to be the case; her property was £13,700. Then, what is your income? £400 a-year. What was it? £396! Did this bespeak insanity? Upon these answers were they to found a verdict of insanity? After further reference to conversations, Mr. Collier directed the attention of the jury to the difference in the medical testimony respecting her actual mental condition. Dr. Bucknill said she was of unsound mind, because she did not know her property, but that was done away with by Dr. Tuke, who said she did. So they would find that they all differed more or less. He begged them seriously to consider the question. Dr. Tuke asked her about her will, and the property she had left to Dr. Shapter, but she did not answer. That was no proof of madness, because she might not have wished to tell, and only replied in that form by way of an evasive answer. But this was put down to her non-comprehensiveness, and upon these premises they built their conclusions, and they said—"She is labouring under delusion, and chronic mania." He believed that anything less like a maniac they had never seen. She was no more of a maniac than either of them. Then they said, she is suffering under insane delusion and morbid aversion. Her aversion to Mr. Ellacombe was no proof, and yet they were told that it was. According to Dr. Tuke it was evidence of insanity—not mere weakness from old age—but derangement. The learned counsel then remarked upon the circumstances which probably led Miss Ewings to entertain a dislike to Mr. Ellacombe. He thought it would turn out as complete a "mare's nest" as was ever imposed upon mad doctors. Mr. Ellacombe thinking that he was next of kin took all of a sudden a great interest in this lady, but as soon as he was found out that he was not next of kin, his interest vanished. (A laugh.) Mr. Collier then expressed his delight that he had to appeal to them—a tribunal of jurymen—instead of doctors—and had to ask them whether this lady was really under a delusion. It was said that one of her delusions was that violence was used when she was taken to the asylum. But the truth was that some force was used. She discovered that she was being taken there, and she resisted, so that her attendants employed some violence. Then with regard to Roman Catholics, it was an undoubted fact that there was an unusually large number of Roman Catholics at the Haydoek Asylum—the proprietor having admitted that there were at least 50. Another material fact was that the proprietor could not swear that one of the lady inmates was not a Roman Catholic, and had not had communication with Miss Ewings, and that that lady was not in the habit of attending a Roman Catholic church within half a mile from the asylum, and the priest was in the habit of visiting the asylum. If all this were true was it unlikely that some efforts would be made to convert her there? Roman Catholics, when they were sane, looked upon proselytism as their great object; and we could understand that that object would be pursued even more eagerly when they were insane. At any rate it was clear that the whole thing was not a matter of the imagination. Miss Ewings was a strong protestant, and like many others she entertained a dread of the Roman Catholics. Then with regard to Mrs. Barnsley, Miss Ewings saw that person at the railway station, and it occurred to her that she was again about to be tricked, as she had been tricked before, when she was taken from Warrington to the Asylum, when she had seen Mrs. Barnsley. The party handed Miss Ewings over to a porter, who bundled her into a carriage heels first. A porter was also placed by her side in the carriage, and it was not surprising that she thought she was in a second class carriage. He (Mr. Collier) in all his experience had never seen a porter riding in a first class carriage; and it was quite excusable that Miss Ewings should be mistaken. Then it was stated that she did not speak to Mr. Nicholson and Mr. Ellacombe during the journey to Exeter; but this was accounted for, when it was remembered that she felt indignant at their ordering a porter to place her in the carriage. When she arrived at the house of Miss Cousens, she recognised that person, and her state of mind rapidly improved. Mr. Ellacombe was begged to leave her alone, as she had endured a long journey; but he called to see her the next day. He also went again three or four days afterwards. And what did he go for? Although she was perfectly comfortable at Miss Cousens' he told her

that she must leave and go to another house. She thereupon took a dislike to him; and this the mad doctors called a proof of insanity. Thus the delusions when they came to be grasped disappeared. He did not impute anything wrong to Mr. Ellacombe, but his conduct at the railway station, and his desire to remove Miss Ewings, caused her to dislike him. That was the kind of evidence upon which the medical witnesses had formed their opinion as to her sanity or insanity. He believed he might have rested satisfied by replying to the case of his learned friend on the other side. When the evidence of the witnesses was analysed their conclusions vanished. The alleged want of memory was to a great degree explained by nervousness and other causes. When the doctors differed from each other as to the character of the disease, and the facts upon which they formed their conclusions, he might well leave the case in the hands of the jury, feeling satisfied that they would say the allegation of insanity had not been proved. He intended, however, to call Dr. Shapter and a number of witnesses, including those whom the other side had withheld. In the first place he should call Mr. Beamont, an old friend, who was acting as Miss Ewings' solicitor. That gentleman would give a short history of her case before she came to Exeter. This would not differ from the statement of the other witnesses as to the fact that when she was in the asylum she was suffering from mania or delirium. Mr. Beamont would further tell them that she had such a knowledge of her affairs as might fairly be expected from an old lady of 80 years of age. She was never a woman of business, or a woman of figures; but she knew quite enough of her affairs to be trusted with the management of them as well as with her personal liberty. He would also call Mr. Sharp her medical attendant, whom the other side were exceedingly anxious not to call. Mr. Sharp would tell them that her memory for a few years somewhat failed as regarded names and dates, a failing common to most old persons; but at the same time he believed there was no reason whatever for any interference with her liberty or with the management of her affairs. Another witness would be Miss Cousens, with whom Miss Ewings had lived perfectly happy since she had been in Exeter. Miss Cousens would state that she had conducted herself like any other lodger. Ann Rattenbury the servant at Miss Cousens would also be produced. It would be shown that Miss Ewings had walked about Exeter, making small purchases, giving the right money and taking the right change. In addition to these witnesses, he should call Dr. Shapter, and in reference to that gentleman he felt it necessary to make a few remarks. His learned friend (Mr. Smith) had disclaimed all intention of attacking Dr. Shapter, but he had nevertheless insinuated everything against him. The facts were these. Miss Ewings came to Exeter, but not at the solicitation of Dr. Shapter. Dr. Shapter had known her when she and her sister were here before in 1852. They had corresponded with Dr. Shapter's sister, which continued till the death of the latter in 1853. When Miss Ewings came to Exeter, in February last, Mr. Ellacombe called in Dr. Shapter. Miss Ewings at once recognised him, and he treated her with great kindness. She had no relations about whom she cared a farthing; she disliked Dr. Greenup, for the reasons already mentioned, and she was also displeased with Mr. Ellacombe, who was a third cousin once removed. She had lost her only sister, and she had not a friend or a near relation in the world. Dr. Shapter behaved very kindly to her, and what was more natural than that she should become attached to him? Any old lady of that age would require some one to take care of her; and Miss Ewings took a liking to Dr. Shapter. He knew this, and being a highly honourable man, and thinking that she might make a testamentary disposition of her property in his favour, took a most manly and honourable course. He felt that, however straightforward his conduct might be, and however free might be the disposition of the property, yet as a medical man, such an act might be reflected upon. To be free, therefore, from ill reproach he adopted a course than which none more honourable could have been pursued. He wrote a letter to Mr. Beamont, sending copies to Mr. Nicholson and Mr. Ellacombe, in which he expressed his determination not to accept any bequest that might be made in his favour. A more unfounded attack, therefore, than that made by Mr. Smith had never been made on any professional man. Miss Ewings strongly urged him to become residuary legatee, and he only consented when he wrote those letters renouncing all benefit to himself. If, after writing such letters, Dr. Shapter had taken possession of any of the property, he would never have been able to have shown his face in Exeter again. An important fact connected with the will was, that Miss Ewings did not resolve

upon making it until after the visit of Dr. Greenup. She knew that Dr. Greenup wanted her money, and she was determined he should not have it. She knew also that if she died without a will her property would go to him; and accordingly, as soon as he had left, she determined that the will should be made. These were the facts, and he anxiously hoped that the jury would not by their verdict deprive Miss Ewings of her liberty during the few remaining years of her life.

The learned Counsel then called the following witnesses:—

Mr. William Beaumont, solicitor, Warrington, said: I have known Miss Phebe Ewings for more than 50 years. She lived in a house of mine for 30 years. I have been on intimate terms with her. I am her attorney, but she has not had any law business since her sister's death on the 10th of October, 1853. Then I settled her affairs. Her mother died in my house in the year 1826.

Mr. Coleridge: Do you know that there has been an estrangement between the petitioner's branch of the family and Miss Ewings?

Witness: I know it now, but I did not know it before. Miss Ewings frequently went away for a long time into Devonshire. On one occasion she was away for three years, and on two other occasions she was away two years. She had lodged for a considerable time with Miss Cousens previous to the last occasion. I recollect Miss Ewings being much distressed at the death of her sister. She withdrew at the time from society more than was thought wise. I tried to pacify her, and told her to go more into society. I always considered the elder sister had the entire guidance of all her affairs when she was living. I did not live in the house with them, but three doors below. I saw them constantly. I recollect in October last having heard that Miss Ewings had had a paralytic stroke. Perhaps it was a month after that time, but I heard of it. When I saw her she appeared just as before. She appeared to be completely restored so far as her bodily appearance went. There was no trace of it in her body, but there was a little in her mind, and also her disposition. She seemed rather more melancholy than before. She appeared quite capable of discussing matters with me. I saw her on the 23rd of December at her house; I went there. She seemed quite as usual. I called on her as a matter of friendship. She was tolerably cheerful, more so than usual; she asked me to come again. She was not at that time a lunatic. She talked to me about my wife and all sorts of subjects the same as another old lady. It did not occur to me that there was anything the matter with her mind. I promised to see her again in a week. On the morning of the 30th of December, the morning on which I was about to visit her, I was fetched by Mr. Mould to go to Miss Ewings. I went and found there Mr. Mould, his mother, Mr. and Mrs. Wood, a Miss Harrison, an attendant, and a servant. Miss Ewings was very much exhausted. She remained at the window and called to the persons who were passing for protection. She complained of persons being in the house. She complained also of her servant. I don't remember that she said anything but that her servant was dishonest, and that she was going to harm her. I did my best to pacify her. I succeeded in the course of two hours in getting her to sit down. Mr. Sharp, of Warrington, was her medical attendant, and I sent for him. He did all he could to soothe her, but without effect. She had the belief that there was great danger in remaining in the house. She showed me her throat, and said persons had tried to strangle her. We all (eight of us) came to the conclusion that the best thing would be to send her to an asylum. I thought her decidedly insane. There was an interval of three hours before she was sent away. She was taken to the asylum in a carriage. She went in the carriage in the expectation that she was going to live somewhere else. Whilst she was in the asylum I asked Mr. Sharp to visit her and report to me. I wrote on the 31st of December to Dr. Shapter. I knew that a correspondence had taken place between Miss Ewings and Dr. Shapter, and that was the reason I wrote to him. In consequence of the letter I wrote to Dr. Shapter, I received a communication from Mr. Ellacombe. From time to time I received reports from Mr. Sharp, and I transmitted them to Dr. Shapter. I sent one or two of the reports to Mr. Ellacombe. On the 6th of February last I received a letter from Mr. Ellacombe. In consequence of that letter I sent him a full report of her case. He arrived at my house on the 11th of February, and he went with Mr. Nicholson and myself the next morning to Miss Ewings. I never saw her after she left Warrington until I saw her in Exeter. I heard of her arrival at Exeter

through Mr. Ellacombe. In consequence of a letter previously received from Dr. Shapter, I went to Exeter, and I there saw Miss Ewings. She was very cheerful, and said she was very happy; she appeared more happy than I had seen her for several years past. In my opinion she appeared as if her mind was in no way affected. In speaking of her business, she said "You know I don't like business, and I hope it will be settled for me." She then gave me a cheque for £100 for the payment of several debts. I filled up the cheque, and she signed it. She told me to settle with Miss Cousens about the expense of her living, and told me that I was to get the money when I wanted it. She said she did not want to be stinted, as she had property amounting to £12,000; she said her income was several hundreds of pounds, and that was the reason she did not want to be stinted. At that time I was not aware of the total amount of her personal property.

It being now half-past six o'clock, the court adjourned till Monday.

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### MONDAY.—THIRD DAY.

The court resumed its sitting this morning at ten o'clock. The interest in the case was evidently undiminished.

Mr. Beaumont was re-called. He said, Miss Ewings first said she thought her income must be about £600 a-year, but she spoke doubtfully. I told her that I thought it could hardly be so much. I was some considerable time with her. I said "yes, madame," and she said she had told me three or four years before not to use that term, which was quite true. She showed me some letters received from her friends, and made some comments, which appeared quite just. One letter she said she should not answer, as she did not think the writer had behaved well to her. I think it was a just conclusion. It was a lady who wrote the letter.

The Commissioner: Does it compromise the lady to mention it?

Witness: Yes.

The Commissioner: Then we had better say nothing about it.

Witness: Her statement was quite rational about the letter. I saw her the same evening at Dr. Shapter's cottage. The conversation took place at Miss Cousens'. In the evening when I saw her at Dr. Shapter's she was exceedingly polite, pointing out several places in the scenery. She named the places correctly, because I have since learnt such is the case. She showed me Exmouth, the direction of Dartmoor, Starcross, &c. Exmouth is some distance. She was quite correct; I did not discover any want of comprehension. No conversation on business passed except this:—"What present was I going to take home to my wife," and begged that I would show it to her. I saw her the next day, when general conversation passed, and she begged to be remembered to all her friends. I communicated with Mr. Ellacombe, sen., that day, and I told him what had passed. He sent in his account, and I paid it. I saw her in church on the morning of the 17th of April. We walked home together. We talked about ordinary subjects, she alluding to her friends at Warrington. She said that she was very glad that Dr. Greenall was likely to come in again, referring to the election then pending. She said that she had read my speech, and produced the Warrington paper containing it. On the 18th of April I talked to her about her will. Dr. Greenup had been there, and that was one reason of my coming down. I told her she was well enough to make her will, and if so she had better make it. She said "I will when I am a little more tranquil, but I will mention it to Dr. Shapter," who was not in Exeter that day. I think nothing else took place.

By the Commissioner: I told her that she had better make her will, as people came hunting after her money.

Examination continued: She said nothing more about her will then. I saw her again on the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd of May. She seemed somewhat alarmed. She had been served with a process in lunacy on the 17th.

By the Commissioner: She said she knew what I had come about and she wished me to defend it.

Examination continued: I came in consequence of her sending me the "paper." She told me to defend it, and signed the notice for this jury. She would not sign it till it was explained. I told her it was a notice that she meant to resist the petition. At first she said she was afraid, I asked Dr. Shapter to explain it, who was present. He told her what I had said, and she then signed it. Nothing else passed, I came away. That was on the Monday. My impression is that she was not at church on the Sunday. I only saw her once. I came late on the Saturday night. I was employed about the affidavits. I saw her again on the 15th of June, first in Exeter and afterwards at Dr. Shapter's. She told me that Dr. Bucknill had been putting her through her calculations. She said "He asked her to count."

By the Commissioner: I won't swear that it was the exact words that she used, but I think they were.

Examination continued: She took out her purse. She said she had been puzzled. She was sitting at the time. She said "He had asked her to count, and said something about the multiplication table." She had been puzzled. She took the money out of her purse and counted it correctly, she said she was ashamed of her shabby purse, I then gave her mine. The purse was shabby, and I believe she was ashamed of it. My purse was a very handsome one. She put her money in her own purse, and folded mine carefully up and put it in her pocket, and said she would use it when this enquiry was over. I have seen her in company with some eight people at dinner. She conducted herself most rationally and properly. I think it was in April last. She joined in conversation. She spoke of her friends, she starting the subjects, which were principally about Warrington. Her remarks about what other people said were quite pertinent. I recollected repeating an epigram about a marriage which she laughed at very much. I have known her 40 or 50 years. I think she is of perfectly sound mind and capable of managing her affairs. I saw her yesterday and she talked rationally.

The witness here offered to repeat the epigram which related to the siege of Sebastopol.

The original Commissioner intimating that he should like to hear it, the witness repeated the following:—

What means to-day the mingled rattle,  
Of bells and cannons in our town?  
Is it that Mars, the god of battle,  
Has brought the Russian eagle down?  
No! still hov'ring o'er us, in defiance,  
Mars has not slain the traitor yet;  
But love and hymen in alliance,  
Have caught a *Lion* in their net!

By the Commissioner: I think her quite capable of managing her affairs, and should have no objection to take her instructions to make a will. But I would say that I have not seen her at any lengthened interview lately. In May, when she had been served with a process, I don't think I should have liked to have taken her instructions.

Examination continued: I received all her letters. I ought to have received a dividend warrant from the London and North-Western Railway. I did not open her letters though. The dividend warrant did not arrive, and I asked if it was among the letters which I had sent her. She brought out her papers, and it was not among them. I afterwards learnt that Mr. Ellacombe had stopped it.

Cross-examined by Mr. Smith: I searched to see if the letter was there. I believe she said she was not aware that it had not arrived.

By the Commissioner: It had not arrived.

Cross-examination continued: I am the solicitor in opposition. I came on the 21st, a Saturday. I came because she had sent me the paper. She did not send it, but Mr. Campion did. I saw her on the Monday morning. I saw on the Sunday a gentleman, Mr. Charles Ellacombe, about making an affidavit. I had spoken to Dr. Shapter about steps to be taken to oppose the petition. Directly I received the notice, I commenced steps to have it tried by a jury before I saw her. I think it was begun in London. She said that she knew I was one of the persons who had helped send her to Haydock, and,



therefore, she asked Dr. Shapter about it I think before signing. I can only explain it by that, though I have been her solicitor so many years. [Mr. Campion's letter was put in and read.] She seemed to be attached to her friends at Warrington, and was not therefore friendless. She had received kindnesses from them. Mrs. Lowe was one of them. After the paralytic attack she seemed more melancholy. I did not observe that her memory was any worse or more defective. I know that it was thought desirable that she should be placed in a private place and not in an asylum. I did not visit her in the asylum. I think Bowden was the place mentioned. I believe it is a very healthy and pleasant place. It is a suburb of Manchester. I did not know there were any relatives, but afterwards understood from Mr. Ellacombe that she had relatives in Devonshire. He stayed at my house. My firm is Beamont, Urmsom, and Davis. It was agreed that an order should be made for an application in chancery. I think when she went to the banks for money they filled up the cheques and she signed them. I came down to Exeter in consequence of Dr. Greenup having been here. I think Dr. Shapter wrote the letter which I received. I have not received a letter from Miss Ewings since she has been in Exeter. I do not think I received a letter from her for the last twelve years. I told her she was well enough to make her will. I commenced the conversation. I think it is very likely that I might have heard from Dr. Shapter, either by letter or word of mouth, about it. I won't undertake to swear about it. I believe I did not speak to Dr. Shapter about it. I think it very likely that Dr. Shapter, in some of his letters, had alluded to her fitness to make a will. [A letter, dated 12th of March, was here put in and read.] I said on one occasion that she was too much excited to have attested a will. I saw her alone on the 18th of April. [Another letter, of the 7th of May, was here put in and read.] I did forward an account of her property to Dr. Shapter. I have never written to her about it. I sent the letter to Dr. Shapter. I did not prepare any document in consequence of the letter of the 12th of March. I have certainly not prepared any documents for her, except the cheque for £500, which I sent down in blank to Dr. Shapter. It was filled up by me on the 10th of May, and sent on that day. She pointed the places to me. In some respects her eye-sight was remarkable.

By the Commissioner: She had "long sight." I have not seen her read except at church.

Re-examined: She had friends at Warrington.

By the Commissioner: Her friends comprised many of the principal people at Warrington.

Re-examination resumed: She was greatly displeased with Mrs. Lowe about the asylum. She said Mrs. Lowe had ordered her to be placed in the carriage by force when she was coming to Devonshire. She repeated it again and again that she was displeased with Mrs. Lowe. Mrs. Lowe had nothing to do with taking her to the asylum.

By the Commissioner: I wished her to state the names of the friends to whom she wished to leave her money. She said nothing to me about being made a Roman Catholic. I knew nothing about her delusions except from the affidavits.

The Commissioner: Don't you think that any one sincerely wishing to ascertain the true state of her mind, should have made this enquiry?

Witness: I did not do so.

Mr. John Sharp, surgeon: I live at Warrington, and have attended the Ewings's family for 30 years or more. Miss Ewings's sister died in 1853. I was in the habit of seeing Miss Phoebe Ewings from time to time before her paralytic attack. I do not know whether I attended her professionally. She visited my family. She retired from society much. She seemed to be more desponding. She had peculiarities, but not more than most old maidens or bachelors. (A laugh.) Her general disposition was generally good. Her conversation was natural but often trivial. This is the character of her mind. Her conversation, however, was natural. From the time of her paralytic stroke her memory was rather defective, and increased at the time of going to the asylum. I visited her in the asylum four times.

The Commissioner: Mr. Collier admitted that she was at this time.

Examination continued by Mr. Kingdon: On the 8th of February, the last visit, I did not detect loss of memory, but she said she heard noises in the house. I did not see her again until the 28th of May, at her lodgings, at Miss Cousen's, in Exeter. I put down on a bit of paper notes of the conversation.

[The witness then proceeded to read from his notes which he said he had made the same day.] Dr. Shapter told me that he wished me to see her. She shook me heartily by the hands, said she was very glad to see me; began by referring to the recent troubles in Warrington; she said "You know," but did not add what. I said to her "Come, now, you must not say anything about Haydock, you know you are far removed from there." She then enquired after Mrs. Sharp, my sons, the alterations of the parish church to which she had given some money—asking if any of the vaults there had been disturbed. Her mother and sister had been buried there in vaults, but not her last sister which the law prevented. This disturbed her. She was buried in a vault in St. Paul's Church. She thanked me for a newspaper I sent her, containing an account of the laying the foundation stone of the extension of the church, and of Mr. Greenall's election; asking about her pew in St. Paul's church she used to go to. It had been cleaned. She asked if her house had been turned "up side down." I know no more about the pew she mentioned. She asked how her house in Busy-street looked. This was the one she lived in. There were five persons at the dinner table that day besides Miss Ewings and myself. She asked me if I would take a parcel for her to Warrington. She talked chiefly about the election, and asked what the Radicals did. She was a good Tory. (A laugh.)

Mr. Smith: She has not chosen her counsel.

Mr. Collier: You cannot say not well. I don't think my friend can call it a proof of her madness. (Laughter.)

Mr. Smith: Certainly not.

Examination continued: When I was going away she gave me a parcel and told me what it contained. It contained sea-weed collected by herself and sister, and desired me to give it to Miss Sharp. When about to leave the table she spoke to Dr. Shapter. All I heard was the "fee." She did not say anything to me about the "fee." I was at Dr. Shapter's about two hours. I thought she took the greatest amount of talking, which rather interfered with my eating. (A laugh.) The presence of an old friend was interesting.

By the Commissioner: Her conversation was quite rational, and such as she had been in the habit of using when in Warrington. I say the same of it in the evening. I saw her yesterday morning and evening. In the morning I was with her about a quarter of an hour. Mr. Cole and Dr. Shapter were with her. In the morning she enquired after my health. Mr. Beaumont went into the sitting-room first, and I followed him. She was standing on the floor. She was dressed in a walking dress. She said, "I won't go to church this morning." Dr. Shapter advised her to go, but she said, "No, I will go this afternoon." Then she made some reference to this "shameful affair."

By the Commissioner: I don't know that those were her words. I said keep your mind easy, all will go on right. She then said something about Dr. Kendrick and Mr. Mould going to the railway, that she met them, and that she supposed they had been "going against me." I said I heard their evidence, and I think it was as much for you as against you, if not more. She did not make any reply. Nothing was said about seeing her in the evening. But about six o'clock I was at Dr. Shapter's country house, and Miss Ewings came. I had three-quarters of an hour's conversation with her. The principal part of the conversation was about her friends in Warrington. She called their names except two. One was Mrs. Lowe's daughter, whose name I do not know though I know her personally.

The Commissioner: During the three-quarters of an hour's conversation, did she refer to this enquiry?

Witness: I believe she did not once make allusion to this enquiry.

Examination continued: Her conversation at that time was quite rational, and the same as before the attack of paralysis. She enquired about Mrs. Lowe, who had told them to put her in the carriage. She asked how Mrs. Lowe and her daughter were. I said she had had a paralytic stroke. She said "I am very sorry for her though she behaved very cruelly to me. Her family is subject to palsy." I said I don't remember whether they are. Twice she said she was sorry, and twice that the family of Mrs. Lowe was subject to palsy. I think she is of sound mind, but her memory is still defective. I think decidedly she is capable of managing her property. I should have no objection to attest any will she might execute. But I think she should not be excited. I have said

that I think she was quite competent to execute a will. I have said so to several persons.

Cross-examined by Mr. Smith: Her conversation was natural, but on trivial subjects. Her memory so far as manner was concerned was failing. In the year 1853 I observed it particularly. She was very much affected by her sister's death. The paralytic attack affected her speech, and one arm. I signed the certificate under which she was sent to the asylum, and visited her four times. I saw her afterwards on the 13th of February. I thought she was unsound, and I am still of opinion that at that time she was unsound. I did not see her again until the 28th of May. After the paralytic stroke and before she went to the asylum I found that she entertained some suspicions about the servants. But I did not know at that time whether there was any foundation for the thought. Mr. Sharp then confirmed a former witness's statement about Miss Ewings wandering in the streets, and especially when she run out of the house. I liked the servant to be present at my professional interviews with her, to see if she answered right. She "thanked" me for a newspaper which I had sent her.

The Commissioner: I took it to be that she only "thanked" me for it.

By Mr. Smith: I rather avoided any conversation that would excite her. I did about her "delusions." Last night she was quite calm when talking about her Warrington friends. She was calm, in good spirits, and frequently laughed. Mr. Ireland Blackburn lives about eleven miles from Warrington. I recollect Mr. Isaac Blackburn's family. They have left for a great number of years. The Bostons have left about 20 years. Mr. Ireland Blackburn's family did not live in Warrington. I heard the word "fee." Dr. Shapter nodded his head. She did not give me a "fee." She formerly paid me my amount every year. Mrs. Lowe was always very kind to Miss Ewings, who had a very strong objection to go to the asylum. She appeared contented to be in Exeter, and spoke words to that effect yesterday. She is able to manage her property, but of course requires a person to assist her. I can't say whether she is able to correspond.

By the Commissioner: Her sister could continue a conversation for a longer period. Miss Phœbe would stop abruptly at times.

The Commissioner: Did you take wine? A. No. Q. Did you see her take wine? A. No.

Cross-examined by Mr. Smith: If she was free from excitement she would be free to execute a will. Assuming that she was told that persons were coming down hunting after her money, I don't think she would be in a fit state to execute any instrument, especially if she was told that they were coming down in an hour or a short time. If eight or ten people were to go and see her, I don't think she would be excited. A little tended to excite her, especially strangers being present. I don't think she is in a fit state to be taught anything, or to learn by herself. I should have enquired about her "delusions" had I not known her. I only wonder her "mania" has not returned after the examinations she has undergone.

Re-examined by Mr. Collier: I think her memory has failed since her sister's death. She used one person's name for another. I think it arose through a mistake of words. Her mind had not failed so far that I should think her of unsound mind. This is up to the time of the paralysis. When I saw her at Exeter she had recovered very much to my astonishment, and I found her as well as she was before she had the attack of paralysis. She looked very well, and more like she used to do, she used to be very pretty. Bodily and mental health often go together, but one may fail without the other. She looked better than she had for six years. There is nothing very peculiar in her failing, more as regards memory, than when not excited. I was in court when Dr. Bucknill gave his evidence. I think the examination of that gentleman did confuse her. When cross-examined by Dr. Bucknill as she was, I should think she would be confused, and should be astonished if she was not. When nervous she would not be fit to make a will. But supposing her excitement to have subsided, and only friends to be with her, then I think she would be in a fit state to make a will. Each of the times I have seen her, I think she could have made a will.

Mr. Collier: Does she know by whom she is surrounded? Witness: Yes, I think so.

Re-examination resumed: She shook me heartily by the hands.

Mr. Collier : Does she know what going to church means? A : She was pretty regular in her attendance.

Mr. Collier : We must assume a good motive.

Witness : When she is calm she knows her friends from others, and could call them by name.

By Mr. Collier : She has told me that she has visited the Rostons. She spoke to me about the newspaper, and spoke about the contents. She asked me about the vaults, &c.

The Commissioner : Did she refer to the contents in such a manner as to lead you to believe that she had read it?

Witness : Oh yes. I think she had said she had read every word.

Mr. Collier : We heard from Dr. Tuke that she failed to read a paper. Might it be that when put into her hand she might fail through the examiner doing it?

Witness : I thought so when I heard the evidence. If excited she could scarcely be able to read. She might be able to read, but I have no proof that she can read.

Mr. Smith : I was going to ask that question.

Witness : I cannot say anything about her knowledge of figures. I should say "certainly not" to the question that every old lady was a lunatic because she could not do figures. (A laugh.)

The Commissioner : You have told us this morning the state of mind in which you say you found her yesterday?

Witness : Yes.

The Commissioner : It was your judgment that so far as her powers of management goes, she can manage her affairs?

Witness : Yes.

The Commissioner : Now the question is, and I have written it down for you, supposing Miss Ewings had yesterday taken the life of another person, and you were this morning asked—if she were being tried for her life—whether she was a rational being and accountable for her actions, would you answer that she was of sound mind, or that she was not?

Witness : I should say she was of sound mind when I saw her, but that having had an attack of mania it might suddenly return, and then of course she would be of unsound mind, but if she had done it while talking to me then I will say "while in a sound state of mind," but no medical man can say how suddenly an attack of mania may return after it has once appeared. If my memory serves me right, I might say that on the evening of the day when she ran out of the house in an excited state she was calm in the morning.

The Commissioner : But supposing no attack of acute mania had supervened—of which we have spoken—do you think that if she had killed any one it would have been "murder?" Would you now sitting in that chair tell the jury that in such an aspect of the case, you believed that she was of sound mind?

Witness : Of sound mind.

The Commissioner : Suppose with your present knowledge—which you have given to the learned counsel and the jury—you were now to be suddenly informed by some one that she had taken away life?

Witness : The answer would be, that a sudden attack of mania might have set in; but my impression is that she would not have done it while talking with me, but she might have done it in consequence of a sudden attack of mania having come on.

The Commissioner : Are they very liable to such attacks of acute mania?

Witness : I can't say peculiarly liable to sudden attacks, but I know they may have it.

The Commissioner : Did you ever hear of the late Dr. Pritchard's work?

Witness : Yes.

The Commissioner : Do you consider him a good authority?

Witness : Yes.

The Commissioner : Do you agree with this—"The disease—mental insanity—often appears in a more marked and sudden manner in elderly persons who have sustained a slight attack of apoplexy or paralysis—which has perhaps speedily recovered—and which might be expected to have left traces of the disease. The expectation is verified so far as the sensitive and motive powers are concerned, but the seat of intellect is found to have been shaken at its very centre."

Witness : I don't think my experience will enable me to say.

Charles Nicholls Cole : I was at Dr. Shapter's last evening, about six o'clock, and saw Miss Ewings. Dr. Shapter and Mr. Sharp were there. I walked up with Mr. Sharp to dine there, and Dr. Shapter afterwards arrived. Miss Ewings arrived afterwards. I was in her company from a quarter past six till a quarter past eight. She was introduced to me. Mr. Sharp spoke to her for about a quarter of a hour, when I left. I could see that she knew to whom she was conversing. I confirm all Dr. Shapter said about her while I was there. At dinner she sat near me. She appeared reasonable. She did not manifest any want of intellect, and she talked about ordinary matters the same as other people. Speaking about archery she said she could not pull the bow. I spoke about a lady who broke her leg at the Crystal Palace. She said she regretted it, and also she was sorry that she had never seen the Crystal Palace. She shook hands with us and said, "I trust my affairs will go on all right."

By the Commissioner : She had a smile upon her countenance when she said it. Perhaps it might have been in a cheerful manner.

Cross-examined by Mr. Karlake : Her manners are ladylike. She did not of course talk to me like she did to Mr. Sharp, because I was a stranger. Our conversation was upon general subjects.

By the Commissioner : I did not attempt to elicit the state of her mind. She seemed very self-possessed. There was no depression about her. She does not look above 60 odd years. She is the most remarkable person I ever saw for 80 years old.

Dr. Thomas Shapter examined by Mr. Collier : I am a physician, of Exeter. I knew the Misses Ewings seven years ago when they were in Exeter. They lodged here some months when they were here. I and my family saw a good deal of them. I was their medical man, or, I should say, the elder sister. There were acts of intimacy. My sister and Miss Phoebe Ewings contracted an intimacy. After they went back to Warrington the elder sister died. During her illness I was corresponded with, and after the death mourning was sent. My sister occasionally corresponded with Miss Phoebe Ewings. I had the misfortune to lose my sister last year. I forwarded a letter ten days afterwards to Miss Ewings, which I found addressed to her. I sent a note myself announcing her death. I received a letter in reply, written by Mr. Wood. About Christmas last I received a letter from Mr. Beamont, announcing Miss Ewing's illness, and making some enquiries about her relations. I forwarded that letter to Mr. Charles Ellacombe, of Alphington. To the best of my recollection I heard nothing of her till the 15th of that day, when Mr. Ellacombe called and said he had brought her from Warrington. He gave me a general description of her being in an asylum. We agreed that I should see her the next morning. I did call and see her. I will speak chiefly from memory.

By Mr. Smith : The book I am referring to embraces all patients who visit me.

Mr. Smith : I must see it if necessary.

The book was handed in.

The Commissioner : As to everybody else it is strictly confidential, because it is the "general diary."

Examination continued : When I saw Miss Ewings on the 10th, at Miss Cousens, she was rather excited, but she told me in a coherent manner the history of her troubles. She first spoke about my sister's death, and said she hoped I had received the letter from Mr. Wood, which I had. She could write, but it was rather the work of time, and labour, and trouble. Immense labour, I may say, and not satisfactory to her afterwards—she doubted her power. She immediately recognised me, and asked at once about my children and family, and seemed very glad to see me. She then proceeded to detail to me what she termed "the sorrow she had gone through." She first told me that she had had great agitation, and that she distrusted her servant, because she thought her servant was robbing her. She said one night she heard a noise up-stairs, that she crept up quietly, that she looked through the keyhole of the maid servant's bed-room, and she saw there what alarmed her. She said "It was shocking ; it alarmed me greatly, and shocked me horribly." "I then," she said, "ran down stairs, rushed out of the house, and cried thieves and murder, for I thought they were going to murder me."

Mr. Collier : Did she tell you then what she saw ?

Witness : No, not at that time.

The Commissioner: Why? Did you not ask her?

Witness: Because I listened to her tale. She said subsequently that she thought she saw a man there. She then went on to say that she had been very violently used in her own house. She said that she had been very violently held, and that she had been thrown down by the person who had held her. Then the next day she said eight or ten of her friends met in my house, and they told me if I staid in my house that injury would come to me, and that Mr. Gilbert Greenall would be glad to see me (Miss Ewings) at his house. She said "I doubt the fact, because I think he was away"—however, I was put into a carriage with a strange woman. I thought it might be important, said Dr. Shapter—but I only ascertained it lately that the person who clasped her around the neck was a one-arm person. She said she was put into the carriage with a strange woman. After we had gone some little distance I discovered that we were going the Lancashire and not the Cheshire road, upon which I became alarmed, and said "You are deceiving me," and she then described how she put her head out of the window and called out to the postboy or driver to stop, because he was going the wrong road. The woman in the carriage first endeavoured to soothe me, and then held me down by force until we came by a turnpike-gate, when another woman got in and assisted in holding me down, I then gave myself up as lost, and was quiet for the rest of the journey. She then proceeded to relate that she was put into the asylum and described to me the staircase, which made an impression upon her. She said she was obliged to attend one or two balls given to the insane patients which was distasteful to her. However, she said they behaved very kindly to her and very proper. She then said that Mr. Nicholson and Mr. Ellacombe had called to take her out of the asylum, and she said, "Very glad I was to get out." She said Mr. Ellacombe told me that he was the nearest relative, but I knew that he wasn't." Then I was taken to Mrs. Lowe's, who told me (Miss Ewings) that Mr. Ellacombe had told her that he was the nearest relative, and that he, the elder Ellacombe, and all the Ellacombes were to have my property. Jane Warren and Miss Cousens were present at this interview. She then described to me in nearly the same terms as the other witnesses have done the scene at the railway station at Warrington. I think she said she called out, "You a clergyman's widow, and yet see me treated in this way." She spoke of Mrs. Lowe standing by and seeing her thrown into the carriage in that way. She said the porter in the carriage was in his shirt, and that it was in a second class carriage she was put. She spoke of Mr. Ellacombe with disrespect and dread. The cause she assigned was that he had been the cause of the violence at the railway station. When Mr. Ellacombe called on me about one o'clock, I told him that she being an old lady it would be better for him to let her stay three or four days. From my conversation with Mr. Ellacombe he impressed on my mind that she suffered under dementia, but I thought her much as before, except a little agitated. On the 17th she expressed a strong wish to stay at Miss Cousens. Her story was coherent. On the evening of the 18th, when I came home, I found there was an urgent message from her. I went and found her much agitated. She said Mr. Ellacombe had been there, and had thought to remove her violently from Miss Cousens, but that she had fallen down upon her knees to him, and then he said "She must go to-morrow." She then appealed to me. Jane Warren and Miss Cousens were present at the time. She asked me as a christian, and as a gentleman, to protect her, and said "May I not apply to the Lord Chancellor." I told her no person could remove her against her will without a proper medical certificate that she was out of her mind, and that I was not prepared to give such a certificate. I left her much calmed and comforted. The next morning I saw her and told her I had received a letter from Mr. Ellacombe, saying he had abandoned the intention of removing her. She again appealed to me as a christian and as a gentleman. They are her terms. If there was any attempt to remove her I was to apply to the Lord Chancellor. In the presence of Mr. Winslow Jones and myself she repeated the story of being taken to the asylum. Though he was a stranger there was no incongruity, or incoherence, though she might have been agitated. She is perfectly able to converse, and has proved an agreeable friend to me.

The Commissioner: If I and the jury see her will that make her nervous?  
A.: To a certain extent it will, but I have prepared her for the visit, and I think she is quite willing to come this afternoon and see you in this court.

Witness : I think it is beyond her mind to be asked "calculation questions." If she is not agitated I think her capable of conversing upon all subjects. I answer that without the slightest reservation. It is not remarkable for an old woman of 80 to be easily puzzled. She told me she was 80 on the 18th of this month. I don't think she looks more than 70. [As a proof of her physical power the witness mentioned several instances, among which was that she had walked to Cowley Bridge about a mile and a-half, and that seeing his children using some "dumb bells" about a month since in his garden she took them up and used them well. Each bell weighed 7 lbs.] If there is any relief of paralysis it is that she cannot propel her tongue. It was agreed between myself and Mr. Jones that she should be left quiet for one month. I said I would see Miss Ewings and ask her to pledge herself that during that period she would sign nothing. Mr. Jones attended professionally on the 24th February on behalf of the next of kin. She then complained of her want of wearing apparel and money. She had, I am sorry to say, no change of linen from the 16th to the 25th. She said she was kept without. On the 28th she repeated the complaint. She was very anxious to go to church on the 2nd Sunday after she was in Exeter. She spoke about the church of St. Lawrence, where she used to go. Upon putting a question to her she said, "I recollect the clergyman of St. Lawrence used to administer the sacrament in a way which I did not like. For he used to give us the bread and cup together and then merely say the words." It is true that seven years before she had made that complaint. I think it is a remarkable proof of her strength of memory. Dr. Fox called on me on the 10th of March. It was left entirely to him whether he would see her, and he did. In the presence of Dr. Fox and Mr. Ellacombe I said, in my opinion, Miss Ewings was quite capable of transacting any and all business. I said to Dr. Fox, and Mr. Ellacombe on the 10th of March that "I thought she was quite capable of signing any document properly explained to her, and that I should have no hesitation in witnessing it. That she could leave her property to whom she liked, but that I was the only man in England who could not accept it." I further told Mr. Ellacombe that if she signed any document I would let him know.

By Mr. Collier : I said I could not accept it in reference to myself and my position, and not out of any mistrust of her capacities. I know that observations are made upon medical men when wills are made in their favour under such circumstances.

The Commissioner : And it is very salutary too, that such observation should be made.

After relating the particulars of an interview between Miss Ewings and Dr. Fox on the 10th of March, Dr. Shapter proceeded to say :—On the 12th of March she desired me to write to Mr. Beamont, authorising him to make me her guardian. She said she wished to have her affairs settled, and that she had never had the care of money. She said she had no relations, or none she cared about. That her nearest relations were unkind to her and her mother, and that she wished to be protected against them. She hoped I would not let Mr. Ellacombe come to her. She desired some money as she had not given Miss Cousens her Christmas-box. It was her custom to send her a guinea every year, but had omitted it this. I still adhere to the fact that I think her mind is clear, and that she has mind to manage her affairs. [A letter written by Dr. Shapter, in relation to this point, was here put in, read, and confirmed by him.] Her wish to make me her guardian did not make me think her unable to manage her own affairs. I certainly do think that it does not indicate an unsound mind for an old lady of 80 to wish a guardian. I think her capable of signing anything she is called upon to do. She is a woman of very remarkable mind. I will defy anyone to make her sign anything which she does not wish to sign. [Instances were given by the witness to support his testimony. Among them was one in which Mr. Beamont asked her to sign a paper relating to the action, but which she declined to do until explained. Other instances referring to the gift of £500 to the Christian Knowledge Society, and £45 towards the restoration of the church of Warrington.] She signed a cheque for me for £30. I had advanced her the money. She asked if she could sign the drafts, but I told her her money was her own. She said this because of the pending action. She said she had a right to give her own, went into a back room, sat down, adjusted her spectacles, and read the

cheques. [The witness detailed at length the many enquiries she made respecting the cheques, &c., to indicate her soundness of mind.] She said "Would you sign it if it were yours?" I said "Yes." She then signed it, a cheque for me for £30. She had no difficulty in doing so. She told me that her clothes had arrived. She showed me a printed report of the Warrington Ladies' Society, and gave me a description of the persons. Her own name was down, which she said was spelled wrong. When speaking of Mr. Nicholson—who, she said, was an old friend of the family—at the railway station, she said "I saw his heels." (A laugh.) She also added something else not complimentary to him.

By Mr. Smith: These notes were made at different times. One note was made on the 28th of March, and there was a little addition about a month ago. In looking over my notes I made some addition.

Witness: She wished me to open her letters. She received a letter from a lady on the 4th of April—say from a Miss G. She read it and did not very well like it. She said it was stuff and nonsense. She made a running comment upon every paragraph read.

The Commissioner: One lady commenting upon another. (Laughter.)

Witness: It was a most accurate description of the letter. Her remarks were so just that I made the remark. Having deposed to a call of Dr. Greenup, Dr. Shapter said "When he came I thought he came to see her, because he was the next of kin." It was only after a good deal of persuasion that she consented to see him. Afterwards she said she would make her will and leave her money to whom she liked. She was only sorry that she had not done it before, but she always disliked business. She said, "I particularly wish that Mr. Ellacombe and Dr. Greenup—who, when she saw them, she received in a very reserved manner—shall not have my property, because the Greenups have tried to take my sister's and mother's property; but there was a friend—I don't recollect the name—who fought the battle for us, and they had to pay all the costs." The next day she again resumed the subject of her will. She wished to have the particulars of her property, and I was to write to Mr. Beamont about it. She remarked what an injury it had been to her not making her will, and said she had nearly done it four years before. A reply was received from Mr. Beamont, and I communicated it to her, when she said I thought it was rather a little under £14,000. I made a copy on a piece of paper. I did not give her Mr. Beamont's letter. She went through the items, and at length said "There are £200 in the Savings' Bank. [Evidence was then put in to show that this was perfectly right. It appeared that each of the sisters had £199 in the Savings' Bank.] She said "My bankers at Warrington give me two per cent., but my lady friends tell me that it is too little." [A letter dated the 11th of May, and written by Dr. Shapter to Mr. Beamont, was then put in and read.]—A long conversation here ensued respecting the regulations of a will, but it possessed no public interest, except to show that Miss Ewings exercised her reasoning faculties in giving certain directions respecting a few gratuities to ten poor old women.—Witness: She perfectly comprehended what she was about. The gifts to the ten poor women of 2s. a piece were to be immediate. She knew the difference between an immediate gift and a bequest. She said I should like to give away several things, but I must not make myself too poor. After a few more questions upon this point the evidence went on to Dr. Shapter's dealings with Dr. Bucknill. I showed to Dr. Bucknill the letter I wrote to Mr. Beamont, saying that I would not take any bequest. Dr. Bucknill made a couple of comments. When he came to that passage which says "I should repudiate anything left me, he said "Yes, that is all very right." On the 30th of May I again visited her, and she said she wished her will to be made out of hand; I gave her the paper and proposed to send for Mr. Beamont. She said, "but you can do it, can't you." I said yes. I then read over the legacies and asked if they were the right sums, and she said they were. She then said I wish you to be executor and residuary legatee. I told her I did not wish to have her property. She remonstrated, and said she had a right to give it where she like. I then said I would send her instructions to Mr. Beamont. She said, "I wish to have it done now." I then proposed that Mr. Gray, an attorney of Exeter, should be sent for. She asked me who Mr. Gray was, and said he was Mr. Beamont's agent, and was acting in Exeter on her behalf. I also said he was the gentleman



who had drawn up Mr. Sharp's affidavit, and whom she had seen on Saturday. She said she did not know and had no confidence in lawyers. She had no confidence except in me. I told her there must be two witnesses; and she said she should like old Mary, the servant, and Miss Georgina. I told her there was a difficulty, as Miss Georgina Cousens had a legacy. She said, "Pay her at once." I rang the bell for Miss Cousens, and desired her to go for Mary, saying it was to witness Miss Ewings's will. I added at the top of the paper, "This is the will of me, Phoebe Ewings," and at the bottom, "I appoint Dr. Shapter residuary legatee and executor." By this time Miss Cousens and Mary were in the room. I then explained to Miss Cousens that her witnessing the will would invalidate her legacy; that I had mentioned this to Miss Ewings, who had said I was still to carry out her instructions and give her the legacy. Miss Ewings, who at this moment had the pen in her hand, and was sitting at the table rose from her seat, walked up to Miss Cousens and said, "You and your sister can have your legacies directly," and then turned to me and said, "Let them have their money at once." She next turned to old Mary and said, "Recollect there is no legacy for you." She resumed her seat and signed her name in the best signature I ever saw her make. The two witnesses signed. I then explained to Miss Ewings before them what she had done, that her money was still her own to give it away in charities, that she could destroy her will or do what she liked with it, and that when Mr. Beamont came he must read it over to her and explain it fully. I took it away and by that post I wrote a full account of the transaction to Mr. Beamont. I also showed it to Mr. Gray, who attended on Miss Ewings and made another will. She then said, taking the original instructions, "People are very curious," and then tore the paper to pieces. On the 2nd of July the second will was made, myself, Mr. Gray, and Miss Cousens being present. Miss Ewings would insist on my remaining, and she executed the will. Immediately afterwards I wrote to Mr. Beamont. I have seen her before and after Dr. Bucknill's visits; and I noticed that she was then very nervous and dreaded them excessively. On the day after Dr. Bucknill's fourth visit she was dreadfully agitated, and her mind was so disturbed that she could not say a word. She said she had been disturbed during the whole of the night with figures. The night succeeding my interview was a sleepless one, and she was much agitated on the following morning. I agree with Mr. Sharp that the effect of such interviews would be to impair her calculating powers. Her politeness would often induce her to conceal a great deal that annoyed her. On one occasion Dr. Bucknill cross-examined her in my garden, and she fell back against the rails exhausted, saying, "I can stand it no longer," and I remonstrated with Dr. Bucknill. I think Dr. Bucknill's visits would confuse her mind altogether. On the second visit of Dr. Bucknill at my garden she was very cheerful and lady-like; and it was quite impossible for the most imaginative man to find out that she was insane. She is a little enfeebled and embarrassed by these proceedings and examinations. She is not looking so well now as she did a month ago; but I am surprised that she bears it so well, as she understands the nature of all these proceedings. Undoubtedly she is in sound mind. I have never seen anything during the six months she has been in Exeter to indicate that she was of unsound mind. I do not say that her mind is not enfeebled by age. At times she does not show much quickness of perception. You address a question to her, and you fancy she does not hear it. You address it a second time, and then she is herself again, and will enter into conversation. That is not uncommon in persons of her age. She has a most remarkable memory; much better than I have. She will, however, at times make use of wrong words. She has a little difficulty with regard to getting out the right name. If she were speaking to you (Mr. Collier) for ten minutes she might turn round and address me as Mr. Collier. This is a mistake of words, and not a confusion of ideas. I attribute it to the creeping on of old age, and to the paralytic attack, which has given that peculiar quality to her mind of making use of wrong words. That habit constantly recurs in persons who have had paralytic attacks. My opinion has not been altered by the evidence of Dr. Bucknill, Dr. Fox, or any other medical witnesses.

Mr. Collier: Have you made the slightest concealment of anything?

Dr. Shapter: Never, at any time. I showed the letter to several medical gentlemen. I believe all who came except Mr. Roberts. On the 28th of May, she was told that it was thought there would be an end of the petition, and she

then asked if she were to make a will if it would be disputed? I said, "I don't think that any will which you were to make could be successfully disputed." Dr. Shapter, in concluding his evidence, stated that Miss Ewings in giving instructions about her will wished to make him residuary legatee. Though he had never heard her use the word before. She said, Is it right? "I told her I really did not wish to have her property."

The court here adjourned from five o'clock until seven.

Dr. Shapter was then cross-examined by Mr. Smith: He said,—I had not seen Miss Phoebe Ewings from 1852 until she came to Exeter lately. My sister corresponded with her. I think she must have written within the last twelve months. My impression is that she had paralysis which affected her tongue. I never from the first to the last said she had any unsoundness except from the decay of old age. I am not convinced that she has had any attack of mania. I have very great doubt about it, and I still doubt it.

Mr. Smith: When she was put into the Lunatic Asylum do you think she was unsound? Witness: I think she had a severe attack of delirium.

By the Commissioner: I mean that disturbance of the mind that she had no control over herself.

By the Commissioner: Do you not call that insanity?—Witness: You may call it passing insanity.

By the Commissioner: Do you think the medical gentlemen who signed the certificate wrong?—Witness: I question the delusion. There was an exaggerated feeling about her. She might exaggerate very much what took place, but I think there was very good grounds for her belief. She told me that a woman of one arm had thrown it around her neck.

Mr. Smith: Do you believe what such patients tell you?—Witness: I have since ascertained such to be the fact. I do not think she has been subject to any delusions except sane hallucinations. There might not have been a man in the room when she said there was.

Mr. Smith: What is the difference between delusions and hallucinations?—Witness: She might have seen a shadow, and have become alarmed.

Witness: When she went into the street, I think there was an exaggerated feeling from that hallucination.

The Commissioner: You do not think she was under any delusion?

Witness: I do not think she was, but at any rate she had an exaggerated impression. Taking her to the asylum might have made her mind more feeble.

The Commissioner: Do you think when she was removed that she was suffering from unsound mind?

Witness: I think she was suffering from delusion.

The Commissioner: Was she rightly taken to the asylum as a person of unsound mind?

Witness: I doubt the policy of it.

A variety of similar questions by Mr. Smith were then put to some of which the witness said: I do not surrender my opinion to that of others, who have seen her before she went into the asylum, and when she came out. It is very difficult to define the difference between delusions and mania. I should be very sorry to do it. Delirium is more a passing irritation of the brain, while mania depends more upon disease of the brain, and is more likely to be permanent. Delirium would be likely to pass off with the source of irritation. I have known persons suffer under delirium more than two months.

Mr. Smith: They would be in a state of bodily fever at the same time? Witness: Yes.

Mr. Smith: Have you heard of any bodily fever in her case? Witness: I have not heard of any delirium while she was in the asylum. I have not heard in evidence of her being in a feverish state.

Cross-examination continued: Delirium might pass off with the exciting cause. I discussed with Mr. Ellacombe the propriety of suitable lodgings for Miss Ewings near Mr. Ellacombe's house. I think I advised it, at least I knew about it. She communicated her dislike about Mr. Ellacombe the first time I saw her. He had been the means of bringing her out of the asylum. She said Mr. Ellacombe had forced her into the railway carriage, and that she doubted his intentions. I tried to remove her doubts, and have never spoke disparagingly of Mr. Ellacombe. She believed that he had something to do with placing her in the asylum. She could not believe that he had a good motive

in bringing her to Devonshire. She had a grudge against Mr. Beaumont for putting her in the asylum. Though he is her solicitor now, she still "reflects" upon him.

Mr. Smith : She has confidence in him as a solicitor, but thinks him wrong in putting her into the asylum.

Witness : Precisely so. I think she has entire confidence in Mr. Beaumont, and still thinks him as a friend, but thinks of the "indignity" put upon her in thrusting her into the railway carriage. I think she was treated there with great indignity. I told her generally that I thought Mr. Ellacombe intended to act kindly towards her. Her conversations are very agreeable and not trivial. [The witness was pressed upon this point by the Commissioner, but maintained his opinion that her conversations were not frivolous and trivial.] I differ from Mr. Sharp if he said so. I withdraw my words if I said she could converse rationally on "all" subjects. That is too comprehensive. I think she had a good education. I had authority from Miss Ewings to refuse permission to persons calling themselves "next of kin." (A laugh.) She said she had no relations, and that her nearest relations had been unkind to her. I did not say "Oh ! It is a family quarrel, it will be good feeling to make it up." I did tell Mr. Fox and Mr. Ellacombe on the 10th of March, "That I was the only man in England who could not receive her money." The idea arose in my mind that she intended to leave me something, and I knew my position was very peculiar. She was a person of remarkable memory. I told Mr. Ellacombe that I would let him know before she signed any document ; that was on the 16th of March.

Mr. Smith : And afterwards you spoke of getting the powers to enable her to make you the protector of her property. What position did you expect to occupy ? Witness : I thought she wished me to manage her pecuniary arrangements.

Mr. Smith : You might have done that without being formerly constituted the protector of her property. Mr. Smith read the letter by Dr. Shapter, stating that he was desired to apply for the power. Witness : I thought I should take the charge of her, that nobody else should interfere. I told Mr. Ellacombe I thought he was not the next of kin.

By the Commissioner : I think Mr. Ellacombe was rather a "connection." Witness : I think no man would make her sign a document if she did not wish to do it. I do not say she could understand anything. As a general rule she had a great dislike to transact business. She would not sign the notice for the jury till it was explained. She signed a cheque as I have said, and one for me for £30 for money advanced.

By the Commissioner : I have not used the draft. The date was the 16th of May.

Cross-examination continued : I think she had a perfect right to do as she liked with her money. I did not prefer cashing this cheque. All communication with her was by me. The 5th of April was the first day mention was made about her will. I don't think she was in a state of excitement. I gave her the particulars about her will, the day after I had received them. She first mentioned her intention of giving me a legacy on the 11th of May. She merely said she wanted to give me a legacy, I explained to her the position I was in, and that I should not accept the legacy. She said "Their must be some thousands left and I should wish you to have them."

By Mr. Smith : The legacies altogether were about £800. That would leave about £13,000, or the bulk of her property. She said these persons are all wealthy people, and my property is nothing to theirs, I only want to give them something by which to recollect me.

Cross-examination resumed : She still wishes me to be the residuary legatee. She clearly understands now that I am. Mary and Miss Cousens attested the will. She had given Mary £10 a short time before. The will was entirely in my handwriting. I did not tell Mr. Ellacombe that she was going to make a will nor Dr. Greenup. I did tell Mr. Holland. I said, in a letter, "I mean to repudiate all benefit myself."

Mr. Smith : Had you sufficient influence to prevent its being done?—Witness : It was not done with any premeditation. I thought that anything she wished to do under present circumstances ought to be done.

Mr. Smith : Why? You would not take the cheque money "under existing circumstances?" Witness : No, but I used a great deal of influence.

Mr. Smith : Could you have prevented it if you like? Witness : I think I might, but it would have placed me in a difficult position ; I rather wished to avoid it if she asked me what she must do with the money. I never influenced Miss Ewings in any one respect.

Mr. Smith : Did you use your influence to counteract it? Witness : I did use a fair amount of influence.

The Commissioner : You said just now, that you never influenced her at all, and now you say you used a great deal of influence. Is that consistent?

Mr. Smith : Did you not say you used a great deal of influence in order to get her to sign a paper, which Mr. Beaumont couldn't? Witness : I explained the paper, and so far used that influence.

Mr. Smith : And should have undoubtedly have repudiated it if done? Witness : She believes I am now residuary legatee.

Mr. Smith : You said you never disguised anything from her? Witness : Yes, I did.

Mr. Smith : This is a pretty considerable disguise, is it not? Witness : Yes, it is.

Mr. Smith : Do you think it is a strange thing to make you the depository of £13,000? Witness : I should have repudiated it.

Mr. Smith : Did you intend for the "next of kin to have it?" Witness : I took it that the "next of kin" would have had it.

The Commissioner : You intended that the repudiation should comprise not only yourself, but all members of your family? Witness : Most unquestionably.

Mr. Smith : Did you suppose that it would ultimately have come to the next of kin? Witness : I did not suppose anything about it.

Cross-examination continued : If that will had come into operation to-morrow I should have paid the legacies, and the other money to the next of kin. That has been my expressed opinion.

Mr. Smith : Then you would have done this, and yet did you ever treat a sane person that way before? Witness : (After a long pause,) did not reply.

Mr. Smith : I suppose not? Witness : I did not know that you were waiting for an answer. (Oh !)

The Commissioner : Did you ever treat a sane person in that way? Witness No, certainly not.

The Commissioner : This is a solemn question. Did you believe her sane at the time? Witness : Yes, and I think so still. I think she has a perfect right to leave her money to whom she pleases.

The Commissioner : Supposing you had died the instant after she had, would not your executors have had the property? Witness : It did not flash across my mind. I rather thought I should repudiate it, and not take the money.

Mr. Smith : Then this will was made by this old lady because Dr. Greenup came and annoyed her, and then you take the property with an intention of repudiating it. Witness : I believe so. That is the case. Persons were not allowed to see her by my sanction at her request. I don't think that I should prefer seeing a patient alone in such circumstances. The £10 she gave to Mary was included in the £30. I think it is understood that Mr. Beaumont paid her lodgings. She paid nothing except little casual expenses about the town. She had not made any agreement with Miss Cousens, because she desired that I would. There are additions to my notes. I have never received any fees whatever myself.

Re-examined by Mr. Coleridge : If I remembered anything afterwards I added it to my notes. The cheque for the £30 settled my account. I have never treated any one before in a similar manner, because I was never placed in a similar situation. I mentioned to several persons that I intended to repudiate this money. I formed in my own mind a definite notion of what I intended doing with the money. Supposing the will should have come into operation I questioned in my own mind whether I should give it to charities, and I then came to the conclusion that I must repudiate it, because if I could give it to charities I could put it in my own pocket. Whether it was to go to charities or to Dr. Greenup I had never thought. I distressed Miss Ewings if I expressed a wish not to benefit.

Mr. Coleridge : Was that the inducement to let it be done? Witness : That was the inducement to let it be made in that form.

Mr. Coleridge : Did it appear to give her relief? Witness : Very great relief.

Mr. Coleridge : Since the will was made in its present shape these proceedings have been taken? Witness : They have.

Mr. Coleridge : Therefore you have had no opportunity of bringing to her mind the effect of the present will? Witness : That is precisely the position of the case. She had told me that she had no near relatives. She is disinclined to transact business. Assuming Dr. Sharp's account to be true, I should say she was labouring under delirium, and that it was passing off. The common sense of mania is that it is a disease of the brain itself. I should say there was some physical cause for delirium, and that it subsided as it passed off. It is a disturbed rather than a diseased mind. My notions of delusion are "false conclusions"—a belief in something which does not exist.

Mr. Coleridge : May a person in an excited state have impressions made upon their mind greatly exaggerated and yet not a foundation for it? Witness : Yes, undoubtedly.

Mr. Coleridge : That is different from a delusion, is it not? Witness : Yes.

Mr. Coleridge : Is that belief in continuing to entertain an exaggerated impression of a past fact perfectly consistent with a person being sound in mind? Witness : I think it is.

Mr. Gray, solicitor, of Exeter, said, I am Treasurer of the Lunatic Asylum. I have, therefore, seen many lunatics. I attend a weekly board. I have met Miss Ewings within the last two or three months. I met her at Dr. Shapter's. I had an opportunity of judging of her manners. She joined in general conversation rationally, and there was nothing in her manner to induce me to think she was anything different from other persons. I met her on the 23th of May again. I met her at dinner. After confirming much of former witnesses' evidence the witness went on to say that he had been employed in making the will. Dr. Shapter told me that Miss Ewings would be glad for me to make a will, and in consequence I went to that lady. Dr. Shapter had furnished me with a list of the legacies. I told him that I should like to see her alone. I went into the back parlour, and she shook hands. I thought from her manner that she expected me. I said, I understand from Dr. Shapter that you have a wish to make your will. She answered in the affirmative. I read every name with every amount, and she nodded assent to it. I ascertained that she fully understood the matter. I said have you any other legacies to leave? She said "No." I then said to whom do you propose to leave the residue of your property? She said "to my dear, kind friend, Dr. Shapter." Dr. Shapter was present. He had proposed to leave the room, but she would not permit him. She took hold of his hand and said she wished him to remain. She said I don't wish to leave anything to any relatives. I asked her this, I said to her, "supposing Dr. Shapter should die in your lifetime, to whom then would you leave your property?" After some consideration she said, "That can't be, I am too old." I said it is an event which might happen. She replied, "True, life is uncertain." She then said, "I would then wish my property to go to Master Tom and the rest of the children." I said do you mean Dr. Shapter's children? She said, "Yes." In what shares? She replied in equal shares.

By the Commissioner : Dr. Shapter was present all the time.

Witness : When she said she would leave the residue to him, he said "Pray, don't do it," but she said you must, you must have it. She said "I wish Master Tom to have the larger portion." I said "What proportion?" and after a time she said, "I think I shall give him the whole." Dr. Shapter did not make any remark. "But suppose he dies in your lifetime?" "Then the other children can have it?" "Equally?" "Yes." I then went into another room and prepared a will in accordance with those instructions. She said "Dr. Shapter was to be the executor." I said "I shall want a second witness." Dr. Shapter said "Won't Miss Cousens do?" I said "Yes, except she has a legacy of 19 guineas, which will invalidate it." He then said "Perhaps Miss Ewings will permit her name being left out of the will, and will give it to her in her lifetime." She assented. She and Dr. Shapter were standing side by side. The will was executed by Miss Ewings in the usual way. Dr. Shapter handed up to her what was the will, which he had prepared, and she said "What am I to do with

this," holding it in her hands. I said "You can destroy it," and she did tear it up in very small pieces. She said "I will tear it up, because no one shall see the contents." Dr. Shapter did not make any remarks. I then left. I did not take charge of the will. During all these proceedings I considered her in a very sound mental state, and also on every occasion on which I have seen her. I saw her last evening in a cab and shook hands with her, though I did not speak to her. She appeared to exercise an independent judgment in the matter. Nothing indicated the slightest aberration of mind. Had she done so I should not have allowed her to do so. It was evident that she was pleased when it was finished.

Cross-examined by Mr. Karslake: I left the will upon the table. Dr. Shapter was there, and was the executor. I left Miss Ewings and Dr. Shapter. My offices, which are in Queen-street, are about three-quarters of a mile from Miss Ewings'. I took paper with me. I went to the house in Dr. Shapter's carriage. He was with her when she appeared. I waited about two minutes. She seemed prepared for the interview. When she said, "Dr. Shapter, my dear friend, I leave the residue to you," she burst into tears. I had seen her twice in society. The first time I met her was on the 25th of May, at Dr. Shapter's. The witness was then questioned as to the affidavits which he said were sworn to before him, on this occasion, he being a Commissioner. I do not come here as a scientific man. I am the treasurer of the asylum. I made no draft of the will.

A discussion sprung up respecting the original, but the Learned Commissioner said he thought there was sufficient evidence.

Cross-examination continued: There is a legacy given to a gentleman named Ellicombe, that is Mr. Charles Ellicombe. Master Tom is about 15 years old. It was to go to Dr. Shapter first, then Master Tom, and then to all the other children equally. Dr. Shapter made no objection to that. I left Dr. Shapter in the room, and found him there when I came back from making the will.

Re-examined by Mr. Coleridge: There was a list of legacies. There might have been relatives in the list.

The court here adjourned, it being nearly eleven o'clock.

#### TUESDAY.—FOURTH DAY.

The court opened this morning at ten o'clock.

Esther Georgiana Cousens: I keep a lodging-house in St. Sidwell's; I have known Miss Ewings for 15 or 16 years; she and her sister have stayed at my house two or three times, remaining two years on each occasion. Miss Ewings was brought to my house on the 15th February, by a gentleman and two females; it was about nine o'clock in the evening; she recognised me, and appeared delighted to see me; she recognised my servant, who saw her first; she has been staying at my house since; I have seen her almost every hour; I consider her perfectly sound in mind; her memory is good, except as to names; on the night she arrived she enquired for her old friends in her usual manner; I recollect hearing from Miss Ewings of a visit by Dr. Greenup; she handed me his card, and said, "Another of my so-called relatives have come to see me, but I received him very coldly." She said, "I know nothing more about him than you; I don't know that I have ever seen him before; I think I recollect one or two of them coming to my house in Warrington; I think it must be seven years ago." She added, "I suppose he is another after my money." Dr. Shapter was there almost constantly; I was generally present; I was there when Dr. Fox came; I recollect a gentleman coming with a paper (the process). When we were walking in Exeter, some days afterwards, Miss Ewings saw the name of "Campion," and said, "I suppose that is the man who has served me with the paper." She is quite capable of shopping; she is very exact about it; if I ever paid for anything she always manifested care to repay me again. This has often happened; she bought a shawl and a bonnet; she attends church regularly, and seems to understand the service as well as any one; she turns over the pages of the prayer-book; she has once taken the sacrament; she was disturbed in consequence of "those wicked people," particularly Mr. Ellacombe, and did not, therefore, take the sacrament oftener; I have slept in the same room with her, and there has been no disordered fear. When Dr. Shapter and Miss Ewings conversed about her property, I never listened—I always avoided that topic of conversation with her. On the occasion of the signing of the will, Miss Ewings said she wished to leave me and my sister £20 a-piece, but she wished me to have it then; I then

signed the paper ; sometime afterwards I signed another paper ; Dr. Shapter, Mr. Gray, and Miss Ewings were there ; I saw Miss Ewings sign the paper, and I then signed it. When Mr. Gray had left, she said, " I am glad I have done what I have." Two or three days after she said, " You can ask Dr. Shapter for the £20—you might as well have it now." She then said, " I should like to make it £50, and this I will tell Dr. Shapter—I mean between you and your sister."

Cross-examined by Mr. Smith : She was never left alone.

The Commissioner : Why was she never left alone ?—Witness : When I say " never," I mean generally, but she used to prefer some one being with her.

Cross-examination continued : I did not hear what passed between Miss Ewings and Dr. Shapter ; I have not been in the habit of sitting with my lodgers like I have with Miss Ewings ; she never told me that she cleared up the "mystery" about Jane Warren ; she used the words "so-called relatives."

By the Commissioner : I never told Dr. Shapter that she used these words.

Cross-examination resumed : Friends visited Miss Ewings ; there were Mrs. Smith and Miss Chamberlain ; after Jane Warren left Dr. Shapter did not give me directions not to admit any one without his consent ; when she was absent she constantly wrote to me ; I have never seen her writing letters during the time she has been with me ; some time since she said " I cannot trouble myself with letter writing ;" she never went shopping alone.

By the Commissioner : I never recollect Dr. Shapter requesting me to go with her ; she appeared much pleased with the visits of Dr. Bucknill so far as I saw ; this continued for a little time, and then she got distressed again as with other people.

Cross-examination continued : I told Mr. Beamont that she would not be left much alone ; I believe Dr. Shapter knew that I went out with her ; some shawls were sent to the house for her to select from ; the bonnet was bought in July ; she bought a small neckerchief and a few trifling things.

By the Commissioner : A little binding for a dress ; she never went out for a walk alone ; she asked me to go with her ; I bought a few trifling things for her when she first came ; no arrangements have been made for her lodgings, nor has anything been paid ; Dr. Shapter and Mr. Beamont have spoken about it ; the two sisters when they were here paid £1 ls. per week for their lodgings ; one paid one week, and the other the next ; before Jane Warren left Miss Ewings said " Are you paid ?" I said " Do not trouble about that ;" when she said " We are staying here like paupers." At a conversation between Miss Ewings and Mr. Beamont, she said, " You will provide all for me, and I wish you to be paid ;" I did not come to any terms.

By the Commissioner : She frequently made allusion to the death of her sister.

Cross-examination continued : She spoke of being at the asylum ; she said her servant had behaved badly, but that she wished to say nothing about it.

By Mr. Smith : I can't say whether she ever spoke of Mr. Ellacombe in Dr. Shapter's presence as " that wicked man ;" she might have done so many times ; she never called Miss Pengelley, Miss Ellacombe, in my presence ; she frequently said " I feel I am safe now ;" she always appeared pleased after the visit of Dr. Shapter ; I have not had the legacy ; I always told her not to trouble herself about it.

Re-examined by Mr. Coleridge : I have never been requested " to keep a watch over her ; she chose the first shawl at £1 ls., which was returned, and likewise a second at £1 12s. ; when I gave her the change, 9s., she counted it over ; she looked at the receipt and put it away ; when Mr. Ellacombe called and told her she must leave she, was in great grief, and cried much ; I do not consider that he spoke kindly to her, and it was not till Dr. Shapter came that she was comforted.

By the Commissioner : I breakfasted with her this morning ; she did not eat quite as much as usual ; she got up at seven o'clock ; last night she asked me how it was going on, and said she hoped it would soon be over. This morning she grieved very much, and cried a good deal ; she said how she had been treated ; she said " I suppose there will never be any rest for me again."

By the Commissioner : I told her last night that Dr. Snaaper had been examined. She said " I am sure he will do anything for me as a friend." She spoke about " the wicked man." Last night when she went to bed she said " Ah ! ah ! how bad he (Mr. Ellacombe) has treated me ;" or " Ah ! how

badly he has been." She never said anything about being made a ward under the Lord Chancellor. She never said anything to me about being made a Papist or a Roman Catholic.

By the Commissioner : On my solemn oath I never heard her say so.

The Commissioner : "I ask you again solemnly"—(A long pause.) Witness : No, sir, I do not recollect it.

The Commissioner : On your oath, did you not notice an alteration in her when she came? Witness : No, sir; she was looking weak, and said she had been very poorly.

A letter written by Miss Ewings in June, last year, was here produced by the witness, read by Mr. Coleridge, and handed to the jury. There was nothing in the contents indicating insanity in the writer.

Mary Ann Rattenbury : I have been a servant with Miss Cousens for 25 years; I see no difference in Miss Ewings now from when I saw her before, except in the want of memory as to dates, names, &c.

Mr. Charles Richard Ellicombe : I live at Alphington, on the Dawlish road. I have known Miss Ewings from 20 to 30 years. I have seen her from time to time. I am nephew of the Rev. Mr. Ellacombe. We spell our names differently. I have corresponded with the Misses Ewings. [A letter dated 2nd December, 1853, written by Miss Phœbe Ewings, upon the death of her sister, was here put in.] I received other letters, but cannot say when I had the last. I have not got the reports of Mr. Sharp. I recollect Miss Ewings came here in February last. My uncle first informed me of it by letter. About ten days afterwards I called. She saw me. I found her much better than I expected. She received me very kindly. She enquired about my mother, and hoped she was better, and also about my sister. My mother had been poorly. I saw nothing about her which indicated unsoundness of mind. Several other matters were discussed. I have seen her four or five times altogether. On the 18th of May I spoke to her about a horticultural *fête* coming off on Northernhay. She said she was going there shortly for a walk. She asked if I was going to Scotland this year, knowing that I had been in the habit of going there. I should think that her memory was good. She spoke and conducted herself most rationally. I was treated in the same way as any other person would treat me. I believe her to be a person of sound mind.

The letter of the 2nd December, 1853, was put in. It was written in a very pious and affecting manner, alluding to her sister's death.

The Commissioner said he thought it was written with singular propriety, and certainly did not evince anything but the most proper feelings.

Mr. Coleridge : It shows her to be an educated person.

Mr. Smith : It was written in 1853.

The Commissioner : Of course, but it is exceedingly well written. I do not believe that a single person in this court could write with greater propriety and feeling.

Cross-examined by Mr. Smith : Dr. Shapter told him that he could see her when he liked.

By the Commissioner : She did not speak upon her "troubles."

By Mr. Smith : I was not desired not to say anything upon that subject.

Maria Henley : I am a servant to the mother of the last witness; a few weeks since, in June, I think, I took her some flowers from my mistress; she sent her kind love to Mrs. Ellicombe and was much obliged; she said as soon as she was well enough she would call, but lately she had been so "worried" that she had not been able to do so.

Mr. George Carter : I am an optician of Exeter, and on the 20th of May last I took some spectacles to Miss Cousens, and saw Miss Ewings; I showed them to her; she looked at several, and at last she found one that seemed to suit her; she shewed me a pair she had purchased from me some time since; I found that she had chosen a pair of medium power, and opening a prayer book she read a text, remarking that it was the text about which she and Miss Cousens had been speaking, she said she could read it remarkably well. She added that she could not see objects on the table better with the new than with the old spectacles; I explained that they were for "near sight." She afterwards spoke of persons whom she had seen in my shop. She also asked after my sister; I did not know that she was aware I had a sister; she then enquired the price of the spectacles; I said two guineas; she said the price is not much more than for the



black ones ; she put down two sovereigns, which I took up. I paused while she searched in her pocket for 2s. She seemed to make a calculation on the margin of her purse, and then dropped the shillings back again ; she put the 2s. into her purse, and "I mentally considered that they were gone for evermore." (Great laughter.)

The Commissioner : This is much too moving an incident not to be put down.

Witness : She enquired for a case, and desired me to go home and get one. I did so, and brought some to Miss Cousens, and told her to present my compliments to Miss Ewings, and tell her that I had to receive 2s., the price of the spectacles being two guineas. As I spoke these words, Miss Ewings appeared and said "I am entitled to these 2s. for discount, and if you don't like to let me have them for the two sovereigns I will have the cheaper pair. I will have the pair of "blacks, which were 18s." That shut me up. (A laugh.) I let her have the spectacles and case for the £2. I thought her the "shrewdest" woman I ever knew. (Loud laughter.)

Mrs. Mayne : My daughter carries on business in High-street, as a milliner ; I assist her in her business ; on the 15th of last month a lady came to the shop, my daughter showed her some bonnets, and she chose one : she said I am afraid you have not one to fit me, they are worn so small. (A laugh.) They are worn small. (Another laugh.) She wanted one made larger, and chose one for that purpose. She said it was more becoming for the bonnet to come further over the head. She then asked to see the trimmings. She chose "mauve."

The Commissioner : I have not the slightest idea of what it is. (Much laughter.)

Witness : It was most decidedly a good colour for an old lady. The bonnet was trimmed and sent home, and she said if she was pleased with it she would call and pay for it. In the morning she did call, and said it fitted her exactly, and that she was pleased with it, and wanted her bill.

The Commissioner : Did it come over her head ?—Witness : Yes.

Mr. Coleridge : Was it a nice aged bonnet ? (A laugh.)—Witness : She said she liked the bonnet very much, but added "You have put a different straw. I shall be obliged to have the bonnet trimmed in a similar way if ever I have it trimmed again."

The Commissioner : Did she want it disguised where the "junction" was ? (Much laughter by the ladies in court.)—Witness : She paid for the bonnet there and then.

By the Commissioner : She did not ask for discount. She paid £1 0s. 11d. for it. She said she thought the cost increased in consequence of the trimmings. She managed the whole business herself.—The witness then detailed several instances of conversation to prove the rational manner in which Miss Ewings conducted herself. A lady was with her at the time, but did not interfere.

Cross-examined by Mr. Smith : She did it in a lady-like manner. (A laugh.)

Mr. Smith : Does it require much intellect to chose a bonnet ?—Witness : Yes. (A laugh.)

Mr. Smith : Is it the first thing they learn and the last they forget ?

The Commissioner : Take care, Mr. Smith—you are on ticklish ground !

The Witness—who appeared rather indignant at the observation of the learned counsel—said, gentlemen are just as particular. (Renewed laughter.)

Mrs. Ann Carter, wife of Mr. George Carter, said : Miss Ewings, when passing her husband's shop, came in and had a conversation with her. She referred to her sister's buying a pair of spectacles in the shop ten years before. She mentioned her (witness) having had a little dog, and asked what she had done with it. She told her that she had parted with it. In conclusion she adverted to the fact of witness's recollecting her. I did not observe the slightest trace of unsoundness in her mind. She conducted herself the same as any other person would.

Cross-examined by Mr. Karslake : The little dog used to sit at the door of the shop.

Mr. John Rickard deposed that Miss Ewings had a watch cleaned at his shop, for which she paid. The manner in which she paid him indicated that she must be a person of sane mind.

James Portbury : I am a gardener to Dr. Shapter, at his cottage. I have seen Miss Ewings there several times. When there she particularly noticed Exmouth, the Belvidere at Powderham Castle, and the Belvidere at Sir Lawrence

Palk's. She talked most rationally about flowers, &c. Her knowledge, in my opinion, denoted a person of superior mind.

Mary Wood, who formerly lived as servant with the Misses Ewings, deposed to the behaviour of Miss Phoebe Ewings. It was most rational and considerate. She manifested great care in having her sister's grave properly railed in. She employed a person to watch the grave for some time in order that the brick-work might not be injured before the railings were put up.

Miss Susan Maria Louisa Anthony, governess in Dr. Shapter's family, gave evidence to prove the sanity of Miss Ewings. She said Miss Ewings was quick in observation. Having had frequent opportunities of observing her, witness should never have entertained the opinion that she was of unsound mind. The witness narrated in full the descriptions which Miss Ewings gave her of her state of mind after the examination of the medical men. After a visit of Dr. Bucknill, she said she felt fatigued and exhausted, adding "I have borne it pretty well." Once she fell on witness's neck in a very excited state, and sobbed. She said "I have gone through one of those questionings again; it is dreadful." Her spirits were low in consequence. Miss Anthony was then examined at great length upon some notes which she had made. She firmly believed there was nothing about Miss Ewings to indicate insanity.

Cross-examined by Mr. Smith: I remember telling Mr. Gray that I had some notes. I made the notes partly for my own satisfaction and partly on account of Miss Ewings, when Dr. Tuke visited her, but not on account of Mr. Gray. She has counted out her money before me, but I never counted it with her. She volunteered to count the money with Dr. Tuke. Last night she said "All that I ask is to be put in the position of a christian woman. I am not mad, but they want to make me so." She constantly spoke of Mr. Ellacombe as at the bottom of it, and said he was a "wicked man." She said last night that there was some mystery between Mrs. Lowe and Mr. Ellacombe, which she could not fathom.

Dr. George Andrews Paterson: I practise at Tiverton, and have some knowledge of lunacy cases; I have seen Miss Ewings for the purpose of forming an opinion upon the state of her mind; I met her on the 21st of May at Dr. Shapter's dinner table; her manner is collected and lady-like; she conversed with those near her; in many instances she started the conversation with perfect propriety; she mentioned the names of several of her friends and enquired after them in a manner which showed she understood what she talked about; she knew my object; after dinner I had a private conversation with her; she spoke of her trouble, of her being placed in an asylum, and also her fear of being placed in one again, but being aware of these proceedings, and evidently a good deal affected by them; there was nothing peculiar about her; I thought her manner wonderful for her time of life; she sometimes used one word instead of another; she saw the print of an epigram which was recited; she seems to be a very pleasant person so far as I could judge; on the 20th of July, I saw her again at her lodgings; I gave no notice of my visit beyond sending in my card, when I saw her; I said "Do you remember me?" She replied "Oh! yes, I remember meeting you at Dr. Paterson's;" I did not correct her in this mistake of names; the two months which had elapsed between the first and second interviews were favourable to her; in speaking of the bonnet bill, she said they had put Hewings or Flewings instead of Ewings; she said the Ewings were a much older family than the Flewings, and that there was a knife grinder of that name. (A laugh.) I think this went to show that she recollected things; there was nothing about her to indicate lunacy or insanity; she has recovered from the paralysis, except in the tongue, which is slightly affected.

Dr. Paterson was cross-examined at considerable length by Mr. Karslake, especially as to his opinion respecting the difference between exaggerated impressions and delusions. Dr. Paterson said that in his opinion mania did not as a general rule follow paralysis. When such was the case, a change of character generally took place.

Mr. Lionel Roberts: I am a surgeon in Exeter, and have been in practice 16 to 18 years. I have had occasional experience in lunacy cases. On the 25th of May I had an interview with Miss Ewings. I was with her about two hours, but was not in conversation with her all that time. She demeaned herself in a lady-like manner. I asked her the day of the week, and then the month. She replied correctly, May. I don't think she was aware of my visit, and there-

fore the conversation was natural. We had had conversation previously about the scenery. I pointed out to her the estuary of the Exe, and she observed a vessel. After a moment's hesitation she gave me correctly the date of the month. Her answers were unpremeditated. There was nothing to indicate that she was different from others. I was induced, taking into consideration her great age, to consider that she had a strong mind.

By the Commissioner: A right answer which she gave about the time she had been in Exeter, together with her general demeanour, led me to believe that she was of strong mind.

Examination continued: The evidence I have heard does not alter my belief that, considering her age, she has a strong mind.

Cross-examined by Mr. Karslake: For a lady of 80 she has a strong mind.

Mr. Karslake: When do you begin to discount from a lady's age?

Witness: I think in this case you might have begun when she was 70.

Cross-examined by Mr. Karslake: I have never been asked before to discount a lady. (Laughter.) Some ladies would be far more imbecile at 70 than Miss Ewings is at 80.

Cross-examination resumed: Hesitation in giving the day of the month showed carefulness. I have not had many lunatic patients. I did not know that she had been questioned about the days of the month.

By Mr. Coleridge: I consider her a sensible person; the minds of persons at 80 are generally not so sharp as at 40.

Mr. Charles Knighton Webb, consulting surgeon at St. Thomas's Hospital, said: He had visited Miss Ewings, and found nothing which manifested unsoundness of mind.

This being the whole of the evidence,

Mr. Coleridge addressed the jury on the part of Miss Ewings. He said he did not wish to use a strong or exaggerated word, but this was a matter of life and death to that lady. The whole pleasure and happiness of her life would be destroyed if their verdict was against her, and he was sure they would not come to such a conclusion without clear and overwhelming evidence. If the petitioner did not make out that she was of unsound mind they must say so. The petitioner had to prove that at that moment she was incompetent and incapable of managing her own affairs. It was not for him (Mr. Coleridge) to show that she was a person of brilliant or even of strong and unusual powers of mind. He had not even to show that she was quite equal to all the persons around her. If he showed that her judgment was still reasonable, that her memory and her will were still in the language of the law—"disposing"—he apprehended that the jury must draw the conclusion that she was, within the meaning of the legal term, of sound mind and disposing will and understanding, and quite capable of managing her affairs. He had shown that she had filled a lady's position in every respect till October, 1853. There was no doubt that the death of her sister produced a very prejudicial effect upon her; but he did not know that because she was extremely wrapped up in a beloved sister, and that the death of that sister much affected her, therefore any foundation was laid at that time of insanity or indications of a mind off its balance. No doubt they knew instances where the death of beloved relatives did produce lasting effects. Then she was not a woman fond of business, though she was equal to the discharge of the ordinary duties of life. On the part of the petitioner it was attempted to be shown that at this time there came upon her one of those foolish and insane feelings resulting in acts from which they were now to date the insanity which was imputed to her. It had been suggested by his learned friend, Mr. Smith, that because she had had her sister's grave watched, therefore she was under the influence of delusion. The fact was that she was vexed that her sister could not be buried with her mother and sister, and during the time the rails were being made to be erected round her sister's grave, she had a person stationed there to prevent injury to the tomb; but immediately the railings were put up, the watching was discontinued. But last year there came upon her the slight—he repeated slight—paralytic stroke; because from Mr. Sharp's and Dr. Kenrick's evidence, it was clear that she was treated for paralysis in a mild form, and that after a time she was as well as ever. He believed it had been proved that where paralysis and mania were connected—and where mania and paralysis were intimately connected—no such recovery took place, but that the patient rather went from bad to worse. But this old lady had recovered from all the external effects of this attack of paralysis. In this state, and living by herself, she suspected her servant of dishonesty. She went up one night to this girl's bed-room, and there thought that she saw a man. He would grant that it might not have been a man, but only a shadow. She did not investigate the matter, but became extremely alarmed, excessively excited, and rushed out of the house crying "thieves" and "murder," and nothing would persuade her that she had not seen a man; she got from bad to worse, was held down in her room, and having no authorised protector, no person with whom she was on intimate terms, she was sent to a neighbouring lunatic asylum. All this while she was not mad, but in a highly excited state of delirium, with impressions made upon her mind possibly real and possibly unreal. If, as he submitted, she really was not insane, could anything be more horrible, more distasteful to an old lady in her state? She was labouring under excitement—delirium, if they pleased—but not insanity. Why it was enough to overset the mind of a man, much more that of an old lady. At all events, she rapidly recovered, and when Mr. Ellacombe arrived she was nearly well; Mr. Ellacombe's motive in visiting her was no doubt that of a man of the world with £12,000 or £13,000 in view. The learned counsel then reviewed the whole of the evidence in a very able manner. He contended that it did not prove any unsoundness of mind; he defended Dr. Shapter from the attack which had been made upon him by the counsel for the petitioner. With respect to the will it was only material to enquire so far as it threw light upon Miss Ewings's mind.

The Commissioner: Exactly.

Mr. Coleridge continued: If they were of opinion that Miss Ewings had acted with her own free will in dealing with her property, they might entertain what opinion they liked of Dr. Shapter's conduct, but she was entitled to their verdict. If, on the other hand, Dr. Shapter was the best man in creation, and deserved to be crowned with a laurel crown, and yet they thought Miss Ewings was not a free agent, that her mind was not free, then she was not entitled to their verdict; she felt indignant towards Mr. Ellacombe, and he (Mr. Coleridge) thought she acted rightly in excluding him from her presence. The other person, Dr. Greenup, was not a blood relation; she had only unkind remembrances of him in respect to the Chaucery suit; she knew that he came to look after her money, and she was determined that neither he nor Mr. Ellacombe should be the objects of her bounty. These were the only persons kept away at her expressed desire by Dr. Shapter. Miss Ewings regretted that which she might well have reason to regret—that she had not made her will, and put it out of the power of any person to interfere with her; she asked Dr. Shapter to make the will for her, and Dr. Shapter took down her instructions with his own hand. Now were those instructions really her own? What could Dr. Shapter know about the persons at Warrington to whom she wished to leave legacies? How could he have got at the different persons' names? It was perfectly clear that he did—as he alleged—take down these names. It would have undoubtedly been much better if Dr. Shapter had then done that which he afterwards did—put the instructions in the hand of an attorney, and say, "Now you go and satisfy yourself that that is really her will, and that I am not interfering in the matter." But she said, after making the various bequests, "I wish to give these thousands to Dr. Shapter." Dr. Shapter had vindicated his position to the several medical gentlemen who had been called. If Dr. Shapter had acted in the first instance as he did afterwards, no doubt a great deal of this investigation would have been saved, but he did not distinctly understand the matter in his own mind. Dr. Shapter's honesty, however, could not be disputed. It was clear that if Miss Ewings desired anything, it was that Dr. Shapter should have her money. Despite all that had been said, there was not the shadow of an imputation upon the honour of Dr. Shapter. The medical evidence deserved notice, and he begged the jury not to attach to that of Dr. Bucknill any more weight than to that of an ordinary witness. He denied that Dr. Bucknill had given it as a "judge or arbitrator." The imputations about Miss Ewings being "watched" were totally unfounded. In conclusion, he would again remind them that this was Miss Ewings's case and not Dr. Shapter's. She resisted this petition because the happiness of the rest of her life depended upon it. He would not say one syllable to them upon the duty they had to perform. He knew that they understood it; and would properly discharge it. But he would say the peace, the comfort, and the happiness of the rest of the life of Miss Ewings were in their hands. He trusted that they would not allow her to be interfered with for any mercenary or sordid motive. If they thought she could not protect herself and property they must say so, but if that was left in doubt, and they considered she was a person of ordinary intellect for a lady at her age, he hoped they would continue her in the position she now occupied.

It being now after eleven o'clock, the court adjourned.

### WEDNESDAY.—FIFTH DAY.

The court sat at ten o'clock.

Mr. Karlake, in replying on the part of the petitioner, congratulated the jury upon the approaching termination of the case. He could not understand why his learned friends for the respondent had indulged in their insinuations and covert charges against one of his principal witnesses. He begged to disabuse their minds upon that point. Mr. Coleridge had prayed them not to consent that this old lady should be the subject of a lunatic asylum. The sole object in this enquiry was to know whether she was in a state of mind to take care of her own affairs. Their verdict would not affect her future destiny, as regarded her residence or the mode in which she was to be taken care of. The place of residence would doubtless be left to her own choice. He, therefore, begged them to dismiss that thought from their mind. The only question was whether she was of sound mind and understanding, capable of taking care of her own affairs. The enquiry chiefly embraced the period since the death of her sister in 1853, but he asked their attention to her conduct before and subsequently to that date, for there had been a most marked change in the manner in which she was treated, and also in the way in which she conducted herself. Did they expect to find persons of sound mind walking in the streets, moaning and sighing in the way Miss Ewings had done? However, after that date they found her managing her own affairs, writing letters, &c., in a manner which a lady of her mind might do. At that time it was proved that she had written a very affectionate and proper letter. Had she done anything of the kind since 1853 when she had this paralytic attack? With the exception of signing two or three cheques and two wills, there was not a scrap of paper to show that she had done so. Was that not a remarkable circumstance? In December, 1858, he said unhesitatingly that she had an attack of acute mania. On the 30th of that month had she or had she not an attack of madness, mania, or delirium? He cared not what they called it. Did she believe in things which did not exist? She did beyond all doubt. There was the delusion as to the one-arm woman attempting to strangle her, and other things, when by the advice of eight of her best friends it was decided to place her in an asylum. When Ann Werrall was before them they did not venture to ask her about any man being in her room. Then, did Miss Ewings contract any delusion about the Roman Catholics while in the Haycock Lunatic Asylum? Was there any delusion about the man being in her servant's room? and did that delusion not exist now? Was there not any delusion about the Rev. Mr. Ellacombe, who delivered her from the asylum? It was suggested that great cruelty had been used towards her at the railway station, and that upon seeing Mrs. Bardsley she became violent, cried "Murder, police, and they are going to make me a Roman Catholic." Instead of that, gentle persuasion was used. Did they suppose the lady's friends near would have seen her ill-used? Then they had Dr. Shapter's extraordinary conduct, which he thought they must say with his counsel, Mr. Coleridge, was imprudent. Did they think there was sufficient evidence of the feelings entertained by Miss Ewings towards Mr. Ellacombe? Why she left him upon good terms the evening she was brought to Exeter. She was to go to a place to be prepared for her, which she understood beforehand. Now, it was said she called Mr. Ellacombe "that wicked

man, the cause of all her trouble." Did Dr. Shapter explain this cause to her? Did he try to disabuse her mind or dispel this delusion, and not an exaggerated impression? He left Mr. Ellacombe's character in their hands, and they would say how fairly it had been assailed. Dr. Greenup was the other person who saw her; Dr. Shapter had orders that none of her relations were to see her, yet did not Mr. Charles Ellicombe and Mrs. Ratcliffesse her? Then did Dr. Shapter treat her as a sane person? Why, if they looked at his acts they were those that would be used towards an insane person; she was treated just as a child treated the moon. From the constant visiting, her whole mind was filled with Dr. Shapter, and Mr. Ellacombe on the other hand was quite ignored. On the 10th of March Dr. Shapter gave Mr. Ellacombe his pledge that no will should be made without his knowledge. How on earth could break his faith or justify that breach he could not understand. As a point of law, Mr. Ellacombe had a better right to the property than Dr. Shapter. He would say this—a promise given to a gentleman who placed an insane patient under his charge was a promise which ought strictly to be performed. His learned friends having no facts to go upon, had villified every one called before them, and had said "If it had not been for the will these proceedings would not have been taken." Dr. Greenup and Mr. Ellacombe were there to ask the Court of Chancery to prevent designing people getting round her and having her money. As regarded Dr. Shapter's relation to Miss Ewings, he would say—"It was the soul speaking for the body." Dr. Greenup, from his interview, formed the opinion that she was of unsound mind, and hence the petition. He (the learned counsel) was sorry to have to endorse what Mr. Coleridge had said,—that Dr. Shapter had acted impudently. They must assume that Dr. Shapter was incapable of a dishonest action. Could they then come to any other conclusion than that he treated her as of unsound mind? He might have been blind to the fact, but let them look. Then her conduct towards Mr. Beaumont was remarkable. He did not think it was the proper office of a professional man to say—"As people come hunting after your money, you had better make your will." Was ever such a speech made to a sane lady? The way in which the instructions about the will were acted upon was strange. If he were to give a motive in opposition to that of Mr. Coleridge, he should say that instructions were given for the will in consequence of the petition, and it was not the petitioner which brought them there, but Miss Ewings herself. Dr. Shapter, sitting by her side at the dinner-table, did not afford the medical men a proper opportunity of seeing the state of her mind. The Act of Parliament was imperative that such examination should not be in the presence of another medical man. Then with respect to the will. Why did not Dr. Shapter himself attest the will? He would then have got rid of the £14,000 or £15,000 by a stroke of his pen. But no. It occurred to Dr. Shapter that if Miss Cousens signed the will—having a legacy—it would be invalid, and, therefore, the 19 guineas were to be given to her. He asked them to look at it as reasonable men of the world. If Dr. Shapter had made up his mind that he would not take one shilling he could have so acted. He did not say it offensively, but let them look at facts and draw their conclusions about this matter. Dr. Shapter was asked "What do you intend to do with this money thrust upon you?" He understood that he was to have sufficient power to pay the legacies, and yet to reject the other. Would the relatives have it? Yes, certainly. Then the men she disliked were to have it. Was this not a deception? The thing she most disliked was to be done the moment the breath is out of her body. Then they had Mr. Gray's evidence about the will, and the disposal of the property. He (the learned counsel) was thunder-struck when he gave it. Dr. Shapter never breathed a word about his children having the money when in the witness-box, and when he left he (the learned counsel) appealed to them whether the belief on everybody's mind was not that he was the sole residuary legatee? And yet the fact was that if Dr. Shapter died Master Tom was to have it, and if he died the other children in equal portions. Was Dr. Shapter dealing fairly with the court? Was he dealing fairly with his own character? They had the medical testimony, and he contended that the balance was in the petitioner's favour. They had men of the highest position and intelligence, and men who had all their lifetime dealt with lunatics. Dr. Shapter was so blind, that he would not allow the scales to fall from his eyes and see that Miss Ewings laboured under delusions. The learned counsel then proceeded at great length, to review the whole of the evidence of the various witnesses, whose testimony, he contended, established the fact that Miss Ewings was of unsound mind, that she did suffer under exaggerated impressions, delusions, or what the jury liked to call them, and that she was not capable of taking care of herself and property. In concluding a speech which occupied three hours and a half, Mr. Karslake criticised the evidence of the witnesses called on behalf of the respondent. He thought Miss Anthony had acted like the Chorus in the Greek drama. (Laughter).

At the conclusion of the learned counsel's address the court adjourned until half-past two o'clock. Upon its resuming, the learned Commissioner, in accordance with an arrangement which he had previously made with the jury, appeared for a moment in court without his robes; and on withdrawing, was shortly afterwards followed by the jury to the Grand Jury-room, where Miss Ewings, accompanied by Dr. Shapter and Miss Cousens, awaited their arrival. We understand that the learned Commissioner requested Dr. Shapter to withdraw, but permitted Miss Cousens to stay. He also allowed the two London agents of the solicitors for and against the petition, to remain and witness the proceedings. The interview lasted one hour, during which, as we are informed, the learned Commissioner and Miss Ewings were the only parties to a long and animated, and apparently easy and agreeable, conversation—two or three of the jury from time to time sending written questions to the learned Commissioner, which they wished put to Miss Ewings. She appeared at once to enter into the most friendly relations with the Commissioner, and did not seem to notice the absence of Dr. Shapter, nor the presence of so many strangers. Her manner, we learn, was easy and well-bred, and she was more ready to talk than the Commissioner, who succeeded, we are informed, in making her imbecility apparent to all present, and more and more distinctly till the interview was closed—he (the Commis-

sioner looking round significantly, and asking if the jury were satisfied; Miss Ewings observing, "I have more to say, but I fear I have fatigued you."

The Learned Commissioner said—Gentlemen of the jury, at length this protracted, painful, and important enquiry draws to a close. I have endeavoured to discharge my duties hitherto conscientiously for the purpose of having laid before you evidence of a legitimate character, and excluding that which was illegitimate, in order that when that evidence of facts, of conduct, of motive, was before you, you might be in a condition to draw your own inferences. That is the function of a person presiding over an enquiry of this description, and I have endeavoured to discharge it honestly, as I am sure you have the still more important duty devolving on you. I am greatly gratified at being assisted in this enquiry by the presence of 23 gentlemen collected from different parts of this great county—gentlemen of education, of position, of experience of life, knowledge of character, and acquaintance with business, and who under my personal observation during these five days, through which this trial has necessarily, in my opinion, lasted, have listened with signal patience and attention to the evidence. The public is greatly indebted to you. The case has passed now into a new phase. You see no learned counsel at that table; they are called away by professional duties elsewhere; but I beg, as a gentleman who never was on this circuit before, to express publicly, what I dare say you agree in, my real admiration of the temper, the courtesy, the discretion, the eloquence, and the ability with which counsel have assisted us in our enquiry. I am very glad to see on the jury a gentleman with whom I was acquainted in former years, and who is of my own walk in the profession and experienced in the conduct of legal proceedings. The question now is one to be determined by you and me. When I say "and me," I mean only as the presiding officer of the court in which you are assembled, and of which you form part. But the verdict which you are to pronounce, is no verdict of mine—I am no party to it—I have nothing whatever to do in sharing your responsibility, or exercising your rights. All that I can do is to suggest to you some observations of a general character to enable you to distinguish between the present and the former phase of this enquiry, in this respect. Whereas throughout we have had eloquent and able counsel, whose interest it was to present the case of their respective clients most advantageously before you, keeping back, as far as they could fairly and honourably, all those parts of their respective cases which they wished to conceal from you, and to bring forward into prominence those parts which they wished to present to you in a favourable aspect. That has passed; and now he who addresses you, has nothing to do, but, having the same object as yourself, to give you a few suggestions, from the experience I am presumed to have, which may contribute towards enabling you to discharge your duties satisfactorily to yourselves and the country. Since we met an hour ago in this court the matter has passed into still another phase, of which the public knows nothing up to this moment. You and I have been for the last hour closeted with the lady whose melancholy case is before us. I ask you what impression that interview—which I conducted on your behalf—has produced upon your minds? Has it dislocated the evidence which has been laid before you during the last five days? Or has it signally consolidated and confirmed it? Does it lead you to believe that false facts have been told you, or erroneous inferences drawn from true facts? You have had evidence from those who have been surrounding this unfortunate lady during the last six months, some of them desirous apparently of presenting her before you as a lady in the full possession of her faculties. They say "We never saw a person of greater strength of intellect; quite capable and fit to discharge all the ordinary duties of life, with uncommon acuteness to deal in little business matters; to mingle with society, and in all other respects exhibiting herself as a rational, accountable, responsible, and intelligent being, able to vindicate her own rights, to protect herself, and her property, and to prevent the one or the other from becoming the victim of over-reaching of any kind." I ask, after the interview which you have just had—and into which I shall not publicly enter here,—the verdict being yours and not mine—nobody else's but yours—upon your solemn oaths—what is the verdict to be? Do you believe at this moment—after what you have seen and heard—that this lady now is, or is not of sound mind, and sufficient for the government of herself and management of her affairs? I have

formed an opinion of my own, but I shall not trouble you with it. I shall not presume to disturb the exercise of your duties or your functions; but I shall if you think fit bring before you in detail all the evidence that you have heard. If you think it unnecessary, you can prevent my doing it, but if you think it consistent with your sense of duty—and the public behests of justice—that I should go through the case in detail, here am I prepared to do it, and, indeed, most anxious to do it if you require it.

The Foreman: Shall I enquire of my brother jurymen?

The Commissioner: I wish to go through it if you think it necessary, but don't lightly give an answer one way or the other.

The Foreman: Shall we retire for a minute or two?

The Commissioner: By all means.

Several jurymen intimated that they did not require to retire, and after a brief consultation the

The Foreman said: We need not trouble you to read the evidence.

The Commissioner: Are you prepared to pronounce your verdict upon the question I have given you, or do you wish to retire?

The Foreman: We wish to retire.

The Commissioner: Perhaps, before you go, you will allow me to say a few words to you. You are charged with a question of very great importance, of deep interest to the individual concerned, and to the public; I shall make after your intimation only a few general observations. Do not leap rashly to a conclusion. If your minds are really made up after what you and I have seen during the last hour, combined with the evidence before you, then it becomes your duty, upon your solemn oaths to say—is Miss Phœbe Ewings, or is she not, at this moment, in your judgment—as men of the world—gentlemen of experience of human affairs, and knowledge of character—of a sound mind, so as to be capable of governing and protecting herself and property? That is the question. Before you retire I beg to say that having already complimentarily alluded to the exertions of counsel, I particularly specify for honourable mention, if not presumptuous in doing so, the two addresses which you have last heard—from Mr. Coleridge for the opponents of the petition—and this morning that of Mr. Karlake for the petitioner. I beg to say that I think their addresses, founded as they both are on the entire evidence on both sides, after the whole has been laid before you, are far more entitled to your attention than the addresses which were delivered before that was the case. I really think there has not been a mis-statement of a single fact by Mr. Coleridge last night, or by Mr. Karlake to-day—or I should have interposed at once and corrected it—for you cannot but have observed what extensive notes I have taken. I have watched with particular vigilance every word, and each has abstained from any mis-statement. Assuming, therefore, that each has presented to you the facts exactly—more than that—that everything that could be urged on both sides has been most acutely and ably presented to you, and that the most has been made of each case—then you stand in the favourable position of being able to apply to it your last hour's experience, and say to which side of the line, dividing sanity from insanity, you incline in the solemn verdict you have to pronounce; and I must disabuse you of any erroneous impression—though I think it is almost an insult to gentlemen of your knowledge of life and of the law to do so—as to what the result of your verdict will be. If you say this lady is of unsound mind, don't suppose that you will consign her ignominiously and cruelly to a dungeon; nothing of the sort. Let me tell you the course which will be taken by the law, and which I now authoritatively explain to you. This step is a step of mercy and of protection. If you think the lady to be at this moment incompetent to resist the attempts of those who would deceive and overreach her for their own purposes, surely it is an act of mercy to place her out of the reach of such persons. If, on the contrary, you believe she is in no such danger—but has all her faculties fairly about her—having regard to her advanced years—and that she can really take care of herself as a lady 80 years of age—and you recollect what she said to me—then if you think she is able to take care of herself and her property, it will be an act of mercy and of justice, as, in the other case, to say that she is competent. Suppose you say she is not competent, what will take place? The lady will be under my charge—a most anxious, a most responsible, and vigilant charge. And as to her being incarcerated in a Lunatic Asylum, leave that to the Lord Chancellor, the Lords Justices, and the humble individual

who is now addressing you. Gentlemen, I would not hurt a hair of her head, nor would one of you. I would not bring down her grey hairs with sorrow to the grave, or humble her, by incarcerating a lady (who has spent, as she herself feelingly remarked, a life of fifty years in unimpeachable respectability,) in a mad-house. God forbid. The evidence on both sides which has been given by highly qualified men—and persons of honour who are not medical men—is, that she ought not to be confined in an asylum. If you think she ought to be pronounced of unsound mind, and that she ought to be protected, all personal comforts of every description will most anxiously be secured to her, and secured by the intervention of those who have the deepest interest in her welfare, and who will have to give a very good guarantee before being allowed to assume the office of committees of her person and estate. Their management of their sacred trust is under constant surveillance, so that if they go wrong there are those in existence whose interest it is to point out that they are going wrong. The lady herself suffers no indignity whatever. She has full liberty, consistent with her mere personal safety; and as to her property it is henceforth in the custody of the law. But the first object of the law, as I tell you—responsibly administering that law—is to let her have every imaginable personal comfort, and even luxury, that her income and her means will allow. Gentlemen, before you withdraw I will make one observation on a painful and delicate topic, connected essentially and inevitably with this enquiry. I am not come here to try the validity of this lady's supposed will. It may be waste paper for aught I know, or it may be an operative document. But the reason why I have alluded to it—as responsible for the conduct of this enquiry and anxious not to exclude, but to let in light upon it from all quarters—is this—that the transaction respecting that alleged will is one of a most remarkable character—undoubtedly to some extent involving—at all events the discretion—of Dr. Shapter. I say not one syllable of a personal nature. Coming here in the administration of lunacy law, I do not desire to leave behind me a single ranking wound or utter an expression which may be offensive or prejudicial to the interests of any one whatever. I, therefore, make no remarks on the motives which have been alleged rather freely, on one side and on the other, against persons interested in this will. I do not say whether in my judgment that will is worth the paper on which it is written, or whether it is an operative instrument. I do not say whether it was extracted from this lady by Dr. Shapter when she was completely under his control, and when he was—as was somewhat sarcastically and humorously said by Mr. Karslake—in the relation of soul to the body of Miss Ewings. I adopt not that expression. I offer no opinion upon the subject. It may be that Dr. Shapter was acting from the purest motives, and yet has acted hastily, precipitately, and indiscreetly. I offer no opinion. I invite you to avoid the pain of pronouncing any opinion; you are not called upon to do so. It is simply one element in the enquiry into the state of her mental faculties. There may be among you, gentlemen acquainted with business in all its branches. It is for you to say whether having heard the evidence as to that alleged will, and the manner in which it was obtained, and having seen and heard that lady for yourselves, whether that alleged will could have been obtained consistently with the complete sanity of the lady. But I am anxious to make myself understood. It is only one element—one view of the subject. I repeat that I express no opinion one way or the other. If you should pronounce this lady of unsound mind, it will not affect the validity of that instrument, which if ever it be attempted to be enforced must be subjected to the keen scrutiny of a competent tribunal. If you pronounce her to be of sound mind, neither will that affect the validity of that supposed will; for in that case also will it be submitted to a competent tribunal. Therefore, I beg to dismiss you to your responsible duties in your private chamber, bearing in mind that the matter of the will is only one element to enable you to look into this lady's mind, and say whether you think it is, or is not, sound. You have to say whether in your judgment that lady is a lady of sound mind and sufficient for the government of herself and her property. That is the commission entrusted to me under the great seal.

One of the Jury: Would you kindly give us the very words of the order and commission?

The Commissioner: The question I put to you is as to her existing condition at the present moment.



The Foreman : That is the simple question ?

The Commissioner : Nothing else. The evidence as to the past is only to bring you to a conclusion as to what you think her present state is.

The jury then retired, and returned in about ten minutes, when the Under Sheriff called over their names. Having all answered,

The Commissioner said : Mr. Foreman, on the part of yourself and fellows, do you say that Phebe Ewings is now, or that she is not, a person of sound mind, so as to be sufficient for the government of herself and property ?

*The Foreman : The jury say that Phebe Ewings is not now a person of sound mind, so as to be sufficient for the government of herself and property. I am requested to inform you that this is an unanimous verdict.*

Upon the delivery of the verdict there was some slight applause in court which was instantly checked by the Commissioner.

The Commissioner then informed the jury that they would have to affix their signatures to the return of their finding. Before doing so, he hoped they would do him the justice to say that he had endeavoured scrupulously not to obtrude his own judgment upon them ; but, as they had now pronounced their verdict, he might state that he entirely concurred in it. They might safely trust Miss Ewings in his hands, and she should never know the difference between her present and her future mode of life, as far as related to her personal ease, comfort, and enjoyment.

The Foreman of the Jury : I am desired by the jury to express our strong sense of the kindness and courtesy with which we have been treated by you.

The Commissioner : Gentlemen, I am very happy to receive this tribute of your approbation. It has been a very agreeable duty to me to preside over so large and able a body of gentlemen of the county of Devon.—The enquiry is now closed.

### THE INTERVIEW WITH MISS EWINGS.

We are indebted for the following to the kindness of a gentleman who was present, and who took full notes, the correctness of which we have had an opportunity of ascertaining from another quarter :—

NOTES OF THE INTERVIEW BETWEEN MISS EWINGS, THE COMMISSIONER, AND THE JURY.

17th AUGUST, 1859.

The Commissioner (we are informed) introduced himself to Miss Ewings (who was elegantly dressed) in the Grand Jury Room at Exeter Castle, and conversed with her cheerfully for a few minutes, standing near the window, on the weather and other indifferent subjects. Miss Cousens was also present, sitting close to Miss Ewings, but never speaking to her. The jury and the two London agents of the respective solicitors on each side entered within a few minutes' time and seated themselves quietly round the table, immediately after which the Commissioner and Miss Ewings also took their seats at the table. Miss Ewings sat between the Commissioner and the Foreman of the Jury, who took copious notes.

The Commissioner spoke to Miss Ewings about Warrington.

Miss Ewings said she had resided there until recently.

The Commissioner told her he had been a great deal in Lancashire, and had relatives there, and in Cheshire, mentioning one of them. He also alluded to the Epigram on the marriage of Mr. Greenall, the member for Warrington.

Miss Ewings was much amused, and said she could not remember who wrote it.

The Commissioner said he had heard she was 80 years of age, but he really could hardly believe it from her appearance, that she looked more like 69.

Miss Ewings smiled, and said she should be 80 on the 18th of August—"to-morrow."

The Commissioner made allusion to her dark hair.

Miss Ewings : It is not my own hair. After some other casual remarks,

The Commissioner asked if she had not "had trouble."

Miss Ewings : Yes, I have had my troubles.

The Commissioner alluded to her sister's death.

Miss Ewings said it had distressed her very much, repeating "*I have had my troubles.*"

The Commissioner asked what other troubles she had had?

Miss Ewings: I was afraid they would do for me. I was sent to an asylum. The Commissioner questioned her about this, expressing great interest, and said it was important he should know all about it.

She began eagerly—I was sitting at home about Christmas. I think it must have been two days after Christmas day, and they told me I could not stay in my house, that I should be in danger of my life. They said I must go to stay two or three days with a friend.

The Commissioner asked earnestly what the danger was?

Miss Ewings: There were bad people about. I could not get out of my own house. A noise was made. I tried to get out, and they bolted the door. As soon as I got through one door they bolted it, and I went through another. The women came and held me by my hands and feet, and thrust me feet foremost in at the door; then my neighbours entered the house, and I was safe. It was not night time. I was afraid to go to bed, and sat up all that night. The women said "how strong she is!"—"Neighbours and that" got me home.

The Commissioner asked, who told her it was not safe to be in her house?

Miss Ewings: Oh! a great many said I must go; that I should not be safe another day in the house; they told me it would fall down; they asked me to go to a friend's for two or three days, near Mr. Greenalls; they did not go the right way; they went another way; the horses never intended to go the right way; they went towards Winwick; when I found them going the wrong way I told them; they said it was right.

The Commissioner: Who said it was right?

Miss Ewings: The post-boy said it was right; I tried to get out of the carriage.

The Commissioner asked who were with her.

Miss Ewings: Oh! rough women; they got their clothes (or closed) round me; they kept me back; when I got to the asylum I said "Good God! what is to become of me?" another woman pretended to be very genteel and said "Oh! I'll take care of you;" I did not know where I was going; I thought it was some bad place; it was a handsome place, large, with a handsome stair-case; after waiting some time some person came; it was a large place with a grand staircase; we entered into a handsome drawing-room; after a little time they came and got the carriage stopped; they sent my clothes; a person came who always attended these people, Elizabeth; she came to protect me; she asked if I would have my tea; I took tea; she asked if I would go to bed alone? I said I should prefer having another to sleep with me; the door had a great bolt; they bolted me in, "we were fastened in;" they had a brass bolt to shut me in, and they left me by myself; Elizabeth slept with me; I lay late, I was so exhausted; a lady came in the morning, one of the heads; eight o'clock they said was the time for me to be up; I thought I might be there for my life.

The Commissioner asked what the place was?

Miss Ewings: It was an asylum; I found out afterwards it was Haydock Lodge; I have since heard of *Haydock* Lodge, that it was the same place (repeating the words several times). Here she was several times asked by the Commissioner what the asylum was, without his receiving any answer.

The Commissioner asked whether it was a nunnery, and whether there was a Lady Abbess, and whether there were any Roman Catholics there?

Miss Ewings: I don't know whether there were Catholics. I mind my own business, and am a Christian—one of the true faith!" I found it was Haydock Lodge.

The Commissioner asked whether she would become a Roman Catholic?

Miss Ewings (very earnestly) No; I would die before I would become a Catholic.

The Commissioner asked whether they had tried to make her a Roman Catholic?

Miss Ewings: I don't know that they ever tried to make me a Catholic at all. I said I am of the true Protestant Church—true Church of Christ.

The Commissioner questioned her about going to a Roman Catholic Chapel.

Miss Ewings: Sarah (meaning probably Elizabeth) said, would you like to go? there is no difference. They asked me to go. They read the prayers of

the Church—but some were left out. They had no surplice on. Here she spoke of seeing the drove of dismal people and other attendants telling her they were the lunatics (*paupers*), and her horror at finding she was in a Lunatic Asylum. (The conversation was very rapid at this part.)

The Commissioner asked whether she went to the Roman Catholic Church ?

Miss Ewings : I did not go that way.

The Commissioner said he had heard that she had very generously given £500 to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel ?

Miss Ewings : I ought to have given more than the £500.

The Commissioner asked about her sister ?

Miss Ewings : I lost my sister.

The Commissioner asked if she (Miss Ewings) was not a native of Devon ?

Miss Ewings : Yes.

The Commissioner questioned her about her sister's vault having been watched ?

Miss Ewings : After my mother's death, and my sister's death, I did not like to leave her remains.

The Commissioner asked why she had her sister's vault watched ?

Miss Ewings : I had her grave watched. I thought the grave was not very good, and that the boys might knock down the bricks.

The Commissioner questioned her as to the purchase of some spectacles, and whether she had not given two guineas for them ?

Miss Ewings : I gave £2 for them, not two guineas.

The Commissioner asked if she had not some friends in Devonshire named Ellacombe ?

Miss Ewings : Ellacombe ? Yes, I know a clergyman's lady and her son, Mr. Charles Ellacombe.

The Commissioner asked if she had not some *relation* of that name ?

Miss Ewings : I know another Ellacombe ; I dare say you do too.

The Commissioner asked if he took her from the Asylum, and about the circumstances ?

Miss Ewings : When I got to where I was kept at the Asylum, I was thankful to get out any way. I never heard of him before, but he said I was at liberty to leave with him. This Ellacombe and Mr. Nicholson came ; I never heard of him before. It was to get my money. He got me out to put me worse in. I stopped at Mrs. Lowe's two or three days as a friend, and the next day, Sunday morning, I said to Mrs. Lowe the first thing I have to do is to thank God for delivering me from the Asylum. Ellacombe came and wished to shake hands, and at the church the clergyman and this Ellacombe administered the sacrament.

The Commissioner asked whether she would give more money for the Church ?

Miss Ewings : I don't know that I can afford to give any more to the Church. About the Asylum I should like to finish it, if I am not fatiguing you. When I got out the next day Sunday, Ellacombe said, " Well, Miss Ewings, I should like you to go soon into *Lancashire*," (meaning Devonshire.) I said I have no intention of going ; I would rather go to the poor-house.

The Commissioner questioned her about Mrs. Lowe accompanying her to the railway.

Miss Ewings : Three days after, Mrs. Lowe was a cruel enemy ! She tried to send me away bag and baggage. She forced me away in one of those common sort of carriages. Dr. Shapter came to see me in the morning.

The Commissioner asked about Mr. Ellacombe visiting her at Miss Cousens' ?

Miss Ewings : I won't say but what Ellacombe was there. I don't think he was. I never heard of his being there. Dr. Shapter got rid of Ellacombe.

After some other conversation about the window blinds and other little matters,

The Commissioner asked her if she could get her money when she wanted any ?

Miss Ewings : If I wanted any money Dr. Shapter would provide it, to be sure. He is my protector. He always lets me have money.

Miss Ewings, (without being asked) took out her purse and counted ten sovereigns and a-half sovereign, twice, into the Commissioner's hands, with a pleased air.

The Commissioner asked her if that did not make ten guineas ?

Miss Ewings said : Oh ! no, not ten guineas, £10 10s. ; it has nothing to do with ten guineas—there are no guineas now.

She offered the Commissioner two sovereigns rather bashfully, and said I will give you a couple of guineas if you will not be offended.

The Commissioner asked what they were for ?

Miss Ewings : I will give you a couple of guineas, adding (after a pause and apparently embarrassed) for the poor.

The Commissioner returned suddenly to the subject of her leaving Warrington.

Miss Ewings : I did not know where I was going when I left Warrington.

The Commissioner asked whether she had made her will ?

Miss Ewings (quickly) : I *have* made my will.

The Commissioner asked how she had given her money ?

Miss Ewings : I have given all my property to Dr. Shapter. I have no kind friends ; he is very kind—he is my protector—it is my own act and deed (emphatically.) I thought it a very blessed thing to have a kind friend.

The Commissioner asked the amount of her property ?

Miss Ewings : £13,700 is the amount of property.

The Commissioner asked what her income was—whether £100 a-year ?

Miss Ewings : £100 a-year ! “ Lor ! ” what a way you talk ! (laughing.)

The Commissioner asked if she had money when she required it ?

Miss Ewings : When I want money I can always have it. (Showing her purse, which, we are told, contained a few shillings short of £12.)

The Commissioner questioned her about Dr. Shapter.

Miss Ewings : He is my friend and protector, and also my guardian.

The Commissioner asked if she had made any one besides Dr. Shapter “ residary ” legatee.

Miss Ewings : I don't think there could be two residary legatees.

The Commissioner : Will you not make me your residary legatee ? I am your friend also.

Miss Ewings (laughing) : Oh, yes—perhaps so ! I will make you residary legatee too, (or with Dr. Shapter.)

When the subject of the spectacles was mentioned, the Commissioner said he also wore glasses, but they were not gold like hers—only steel. She said she had had dark spectacles too. The Commissioner asked her to try to see with his. She put them on, but said they did not help her. She then put on her own glasses, and the Commissioner took out his small Pocket-book Almanack (Goldsmith's,) shewed her the title page, and asked if she could read it through her glasses ? After a slight mistake, reading “ Smith ” for “ Goldsmith, ” which she herself immediately corrected, she read it right—“ Goldsmith, ” and also one or two other words.

The Commissioner said more than once, “ I am afraid I am fatiguing you. ”

But Miss Ewings said “ Oh, no ! I want to tell you more, but I am afraid I am fatiguing *you*. I should like to tell you all about it—about my troubles.

She several times expressed great horror of being put into an asylum again ; and when the Commissioner assured her he would take care that she never saw the inside of one again as long as she lived, she expressed great gratitude. She several times grasped the Commissioner's hand and held it in hers. She often smiled, sometimes laughed outright, and once was nearly in tears when she alluded to her sister's death. She said she knew Winnick Church ; it was a large object, and could be seen very distinctly from the road. Oh ! very distinctly indeed.

Throughout the interview Miss Ewings conversed in the most affable and cheerful manner with the Commissioner without embarrassment, or apparent fatigue, and seemed not to be aware of the presence of the jury.

Miss Cousens sat close to, but a little behind her, and was never once turned round to, or appealed to, by Miss Ewings ; who also, we are told, took no notice of Dr. Shapter's withdrawing.

Two or three questions were proposed by jurymen, through written slips passed to the Commissioner.

When the Commissioner took his leave, shaking Miss Ewings cordially by the hand, she expressed a hope that she had not fatigued him, and said she should always be happy to see him, and tell him more.

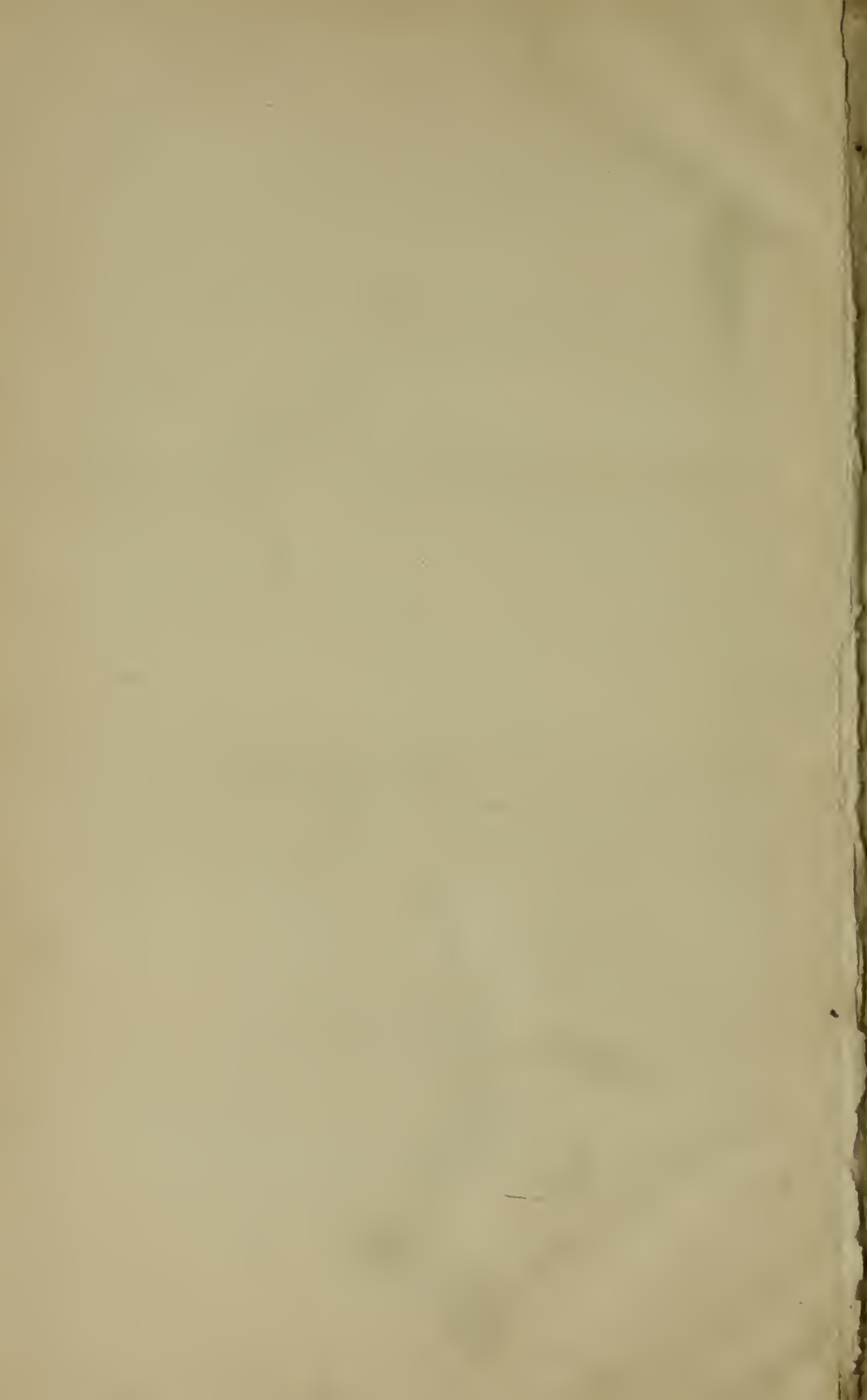
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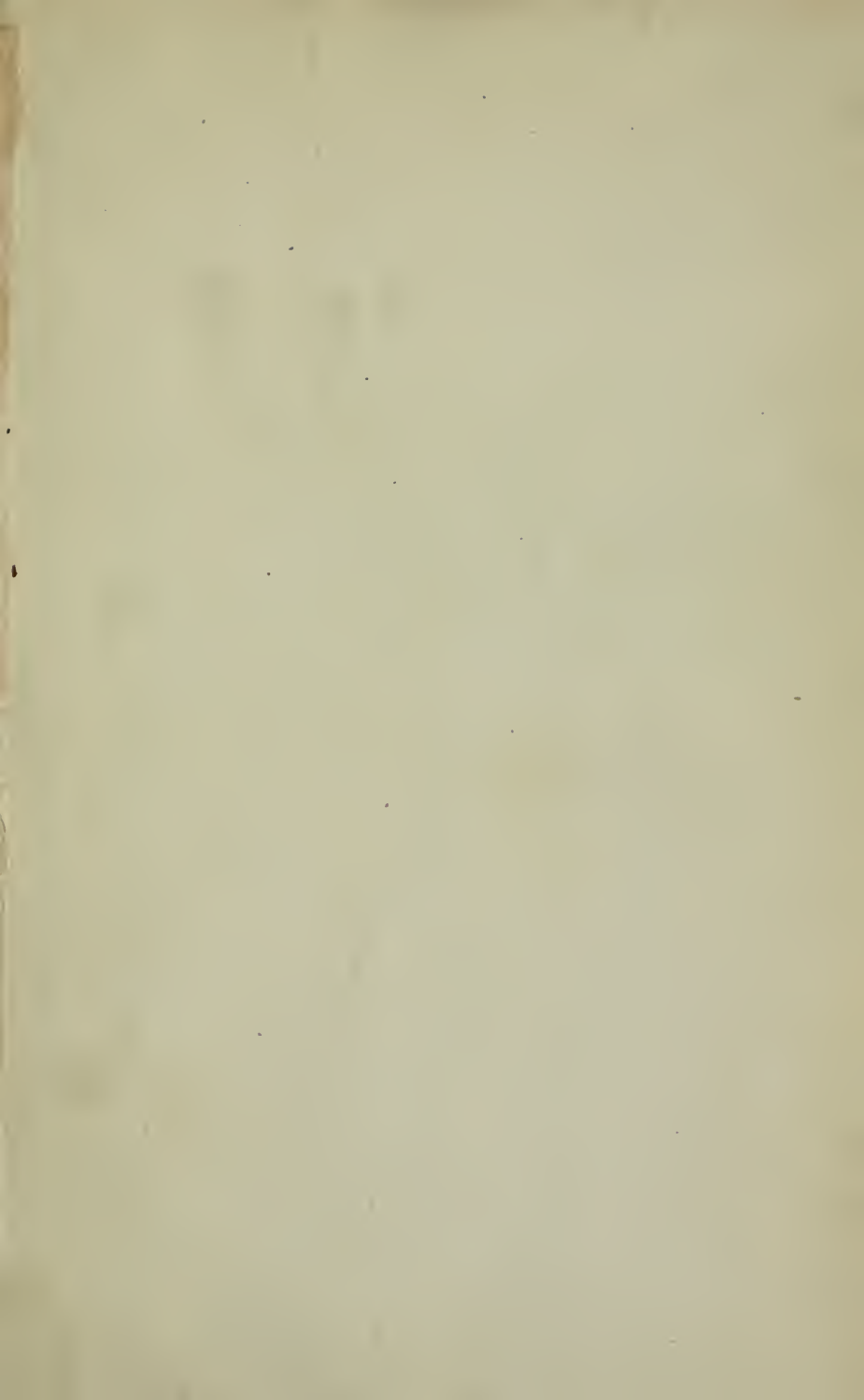
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