

Taché (J. C.)

THE  
LUNATIC ASYLUMS

OF THE  
PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

AND  
THEIR DEFAMERS

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(Translated by J. P. TARDIVEL)



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## OUR LUNATIC ASYLUMS

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During the past few months, attacks, as unjust as they are violent, have been launched against our excellent Lunatic Asylums of Beauport and Longue Pointe. There is however but little to be wondered at in that, for almost everywhere public institutions are periodically the object of this kind of criticism which generally springs from ill-will. To the ordinary causes which subject establishments of this character to such vexations must be added, in the Province of Quebec, a particular feeling produced by the antipathies of race and by the fanaticism of a certain class of sectarians.

In order to show that our asylums are not the only ones that are exposed to the shafts of slander, I shall content myself with the reproduction of a few passages from the writings of American authors on the subject of lunacy; after which, in order to set forth the odious plottings that are possibly being hatched against the management of the asylums in the Province of Quebec, I shall relate a case that happened when I was one of the inspectors of the public Institutions of the united Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada.

Dr. Gale, superintendent of the *Central Kentucky Lunatic Asylum*, who came victoriously out of a struggle of this kind after having been accused of cruelty and incompetency, wrote as follows in his annual report for 1882 :

“The troubles here are but a repetition of those had by almost every institution in this country and Europe. Such asylums as have had none are exceedingly fortunate, and are the exceptions to the rule.”

Dr. Everts, treating the same question before the United States Lunatic Asylum Superintendents Association (see the October 1881 issue of the *American Journal of Insanity*) says, among other things :

"To accuse managing boards of dishonesty, and  
 "medical superintendents and subordinates of incom-  
 "petency, or criminal neglect of duty and abuse of  
 "authority, towards helpless prisoners is a common  
 "feature of public scandal.....Born agitators  
 "and professional reformers, who live and move upon  
 "turning this world upside down, and having things  
 "done some other way no matter what the present way  
 "be—have appropriated all such suspicion, imputation,  
 "accusation and scandal as valuable contribution to  
 "their magazine of munitions, to be used in a general  
 "crusade against whatever appears to be established.  
 "Professed neurologists and flippant neurospasts of the  
 "medical profession, arrogating to themselves all  
 "knowledge of psychology and psychiatry, have by  
 "sneers, innuendo and direct assaults upon the  
 "character and qualification of medical officers serving  
 "in american hospitals for the insane, done what they  
 "could do toward the disparagement of hospital  
 "reputation. Hungry politicians of a low order have,  
 "in notable instances, unscrupulously manufactured  
 "and promulgated accusations and reports as testimony  
 "against incumbents of hospital places, calculated to  
 "disquiet and abuse the public mind respecting the  
 "management of those great charities. Foreign hospitals  
 "and their methods have been extolled and contrasted  
 "as in every respect superior to our own."

Dr. Workman, who for a long time occupied the  
 position of Superintendent of the Toronto Asylum, in  
 an article on the subject (*American Journal of Insanity*,  
 issue of July, 1881) says :

"The pernicious accusations here complained of,  
 "rarely, if ever, have their origin among the  
 "uneducated portion of the population. They are  
 "trumped up by persons professing more intelligence  
 "than moral honesty, and they are cherished into  
 "pestilant vigor by those who have had but too much  
 "education."

In one of his reports, Dr. Rogers of the State of Indiana  
 Asylum says :—"Institutions have been assailed in this  
 "manner often before, and the results always have  
 "been, and always will be, direful, as far at least as  
 "regards the general effect on those most interested—  
 "the immediate friends of the insane."

I will now mention the case of the Reform Prison of *Ile aux Noix* (1861) in order to convey an idea of what national and religious prejudices can do, and of what the hatred arising therefrom often produces here, with regard to the management of public establishments in the Province of Quebec.

The Reform Prison of Lower Canada, located in the first place at *Ile aux Noix*, was established in October 1858. The first warden of this institution, an English protestant, met with no opposition when entering upon his duties, although he was not friendly towards the majority of our section of the Province and did not belong to Lower Canada; on the contrary, he was allowed to have his own way, and so completely did he ruin the establishment that after a judicial inquest, brought about by patent facts and not by a popular outcry, he was discharged in May 1860. Dr. Nelson was appointed warden *pro tem.*, and at the end of the year 1860, Mr. F. X. Prieur was called upon to undertake the management of the institution. As soon as the news of this appointment got abroad, even before the new warden entered upon his duties, he was publicly assailed and plots were laid against him, not only outside, but in the very prison itself. Mr. Prieur had not been a week at *Ile aux Noix* before a rebellion broke out among the protestant and english speaking prisoners, a rebellion which the new warden stamped out at the peril of his life. A month later, a second rising occurred, after which Mr. Prieur punished severely four of the principal conspirators among the prisoners, and discharged one of the employees of the institution, the steward, for participating in these plots.

These two rebellions, followed by this punishment and this dismissal so well deserved which naturally fell upon protestants and english speaking individuals, were the signal for a general outcry against Mr. Prieur on the part of a considerable portion of the english press of the country.

Under such circumstances it has always been our misfortune to see some of our own people among the insultors and the persecutors. On this occasion it was judge Mondelet who played this odious part. At the sitting of the criminal court in March 1861, this zealot

in a bad cause attacked violently, in his charge to the Grand Jurors, the management of Mr. Prieur, and concluded his remarks on the Reform Prison of *l'Île-aux-Noix* by saying: "A state of things such as that which we see there should not be allowed to continue for a single moment." It is to be observed that this magistrate had only seen the falsehoods and slanders of certain newspapers and their correspondents, and nothing else.

Mr. Prieur was accused of incompetency, of tyranny, of injustice and specially of revolting partiality against protestants, against the officers and prisoners of British origin and in favor of catholics and French-Canadians. The chief author of these slanders wrote in the *Commercial Advertiser*, of Montreal, and with that pharisaical hypocrisy which characterizes such people he signed: "Justice."

The Board of Inspectors of public establishments, at the time composed of five members, three of whom were protestants and only one a French-Canadian, were instructed to hold an inquiry. Notice was given to the friends of the *Commercial Advertiser*, the accusers were invited to state their complaints and to bring forward their witnesses; to this summons no answer came. The inquiry was held and was not brought to a close until every thing was made clear. The decision of the Board of Inspectors was unanimous and not the least doubt or hesitation arose among the members. Here are the main points of the report, the allegations whereof are proof against criticism.

"The Board is moreover of opinion that this spirit of discontent and revolt, arising from the above mentioned causes, has been fomented and encouraged by certain officers of the Institution, who had become personally hostile to Mr. Prieur before his arrival at *l'Île-aux-Noix*, on account of his nationality and his religion. These officers, thus prejudiced against the warden, have endeavored, by word and example, to stir up against the warden the national and religious prejudices of a portion of the prisoners. The evidence shows that they have unfortunately only been too successful and that many of the prisoners of British origin and belonging to the protestant creed looked upon the warden with



hatred and contempt on account of his being a French-Canadian and a Catholic.

..... "The Board is moreover of opinion that the warden's timely severity was absolutely necessary and that it has had an admirable result upon the discipline of the institution which is now in a better state and in better conditions than those which have been observed at any period of its existence.

"The Board, in conclusion, unanimously declare that there is no truth whatever in the charges of undue severity and injustice brought against the present warden of the Reform Prison of Lower Canada; that, on the contrary, Mr. Prieur has conscientiously, diligently, impartially and humanely fulfilled his duties, and that his intelligence, his kindness and his firmness admirably fit him for the arduous and important duties with which he is entrusted."

I desired to relate these facts for they characterize the manner in which establishments managed by French-Canadians are often treated whenever it pleases an intriguer to hatch the least plot against them: such things have happened a hundred times and happen still.

The lucubrations recently published, against the Lunatic asylums of the Province of Quebec, can be divided into four chapters: 1<sup>o</sup> Abuse, 2<sup>o</sup> Interior discipline, 3<sup>o</sup> Mode of maintaining our asylums, 4<sup>o</sup> Confinement of Lunatics.

#### ABUSE

In the autumn of 1884, several newspapers began the war now being waged against our asylums by publishing a sort of bill of particulars having a large lettered title, very much like a hand-bill, composed of the following exclamations:

"The insane asylums—An English Medical Expert's visit to Longue Pointe and Beauport—A terrible indictment—The system pursued a Relic of the Middle Ages—The contract system denounced."

The author of this document is an English physician who, being a passing guest of the country as a member of the Association for the advancement of science, so far forgot his own dignity as to become the tool of a ring and lower himself to the *role* of a vulgar

newspaper insulter. This physician is one of the editors of the *Journal of Mental Science*; he is the author of several works, especially of a book entitled: *Chapters of the History of the insane in the British Isles*, 1882. Dr. Daniel Hack Tuke is not the first comer, and his writings are not, as a rule, without merit. He is known in England and his name is inscribed on the roll; but the fact that his name is not mentioned in a book which is supposed to contain an abridged biography of British celebrities—men of the time—though not being proof positive of insignificance, would lead us however to suppose that this gentleman is not famous enough to contradict the saying that “no one is a prophet in his own country.” However that may be, he evidently wished, whilst he was in Canada, to give himself the airs of a *prophet abroad*. Seeing that the persons whose hatred Dr. Tuke has seen fit to foster represent him as an oracle, neither he nor they will be surprised to see those whom he has hurt endeavoring to find out what manner of man he is.

Dr Tuke is an ordinary mortal; his talent is that of the compiler; now and again he says sensible things on his own account; but as a rule, the very moment he lets go the tow-rope he sails at random and gets stranded on common place and trivial topics. As an author on lunacy he has got into a rut and he follows it. He succeeds sometimes in analysis, but as a synthetical writer he is highly amusing. Thus, in his *Chapters*, his chief work, wishing to display in a brilliant manner the consequences of the principles laid down by him, he says, on page 457:

“The treatment of the insane ought to be such that we should be able to regard the asylums of the land as one Temple of Health, in which the priests of Esculapius, rivalling the Egyptians and Greeks of old, are constantly ministering, and are sacrificing their time and talents on the altar of Psyche.”

All that is wanting is a description of the sacerdotal vestments of the sacrificers of Psyche; for it is evident that white chokers, black swallow tailed coats, tight pantaloons, and patent leather pumps would not constitute a garb sufficiently classical for a priesthood imitated from the worship of Isis and Aphrodite, ministering

before elegant congregations of crazy people emancipated by *non-restraint*.

Further on I shall speak of *non-restraint* stripped of all flowers of rhetoric and divested of mythological reminiscences ; but I cannot refrain from remarking just here that the theory of *non-restraint* has its dangers, even in writing. In a word, Dr. Tuke is an ordinary human being ; his best works show more labor than genius and he has certainly more hollowness than depth.

The newspaper in which I find this so-called report of Dr. Tuke was printed in the month of October last. I see by this document that the flying visits he paid, one to the Beauport, the other to the Longue Point asylum, were made in August ; I am not aware of the dates of the visits he seems to have made to some of the Ontario asylums. The conclusion drawn by Dr. Tuke from this evidently incomplete and insufficient inspection is that the asylums of the Province of Quebec are *relics of Barbarism* and that the asylums of the Province of Ontario are *excellent institutions*.

As I must flatly contradict this assertion, it is well for me to say that for several years I was Inspector of Beauport, Toronto, Kingston, (Rockwood) and Orillia asylums ; that more recently, on different occasions, I have visited in detail the Beauport and Kingston asylums, and have also visited the Toronto, St-John, Halifax and Longue Pointe asylums. I have read the reports of the physicians, managers and inspectors of all our Canadian asylums ; I have therefore necessarily been able to acquire quite an intimate knowledge of the state of things, and I sincerely and confidently state that the Beauport and Longue Pointe asylums, taking every thing into consideration, are second to none ; all our asylums are a credit to Canada ; none are perfect ; certain arrangements, certain customs in any of these institutions may be looked upon favorably or unfavorably according to the notions one may have. The wholesale contrast that Dr. Tuke would fain establish and the language he makes use of do not constitute the report of an inquiry ; it is not even the appreciation of a reasonable man and of a man who respects himself ; it is abuse and senseless perversity.

Our two asylums of the Province of Quebec, I

repeat it, can sustain enquiry and comparison. As for situation, Beauport is without a rival, and Saint-Jean-de-Dieu has few equals ; the buildings, as regards appearance and size, rank among first class institutions ; the grounds and gardens of Beauport are magnificent, and those of Longue Point, though more recently laid out, are already very fine ; the interior divisions, the heating, lighting and ventilation are either excellent or a good average ; the food is wholesome and plentiful ; the clothing and bedding of the inmates, the great majority of whom, as elsewhere, belong to the poorer classes, are quite suitable, taking into account the distinctions everywhere made between clean and quiet lunatics, dirty and wasteful lunatics and those who are temporarily violent and destructive ; the domestic care and discipline are mild and bear the stamp of charity and respect for suffering and misfortune without degenerating into whims and idle dreams and vagaries ; the moral and physical treatment is about the same as elsewhere. These two asylums have resident physicians and visiting physicians, they are regularly inspected by officers appointed by the government ; efforts towards improvement are made as time and the means furnished permit :--Changes are moreover sometimes made in order to satisfy current fancies, in Ontario as well as in Quebec, but these changes are not always improvements. No sacrifices are offered in these asylums to Psyche or to any other fantastic divinity ; the managers limit themselves to christianity and therefore they look after the souls as well as the bodies of the unfortunate inmates ; priests and ministers take care of those belonging to them, each according to his religious belief. The comparative calmness of the lunatics in these asylums is remarkable ; there, as elsewhere, accidents will occur, but they are unfrequent ; the health of the inmates is relatively good, and the number of cures is as large as in Ontario. If we take into account the fact that these two institutions admit indiscriminately, and rightly I think, cases of idiocy, of imbecility, of insanity and acute mania, incurable patients as well as those who are supposed to be curable, we will find by the statistics a favorable state of things. In saying this, I desire however, as a

practical man, to make certain reservations ; because I am well aware of the fallacies of statistics everywhere, for through them no account can be held of a thousand and one circumstances with which it would be essential to be acquainted in order to form a well grounded opinion. On this point Dr. Tuke seems to think like every body else for in a foot-note on page 91 of his *Chapters*, speaking of *St-Luke's*, in England, he says :

“ Statistics of recovery are given for different periods, but the fallacies attending such comparisons are so great that I have not cited the figures.”

All that satisfies Dr. Tuke in Ontario but seems to him to be altogether insufficient in Quebec : the reason of these two weights and two measures is evident.

I have just spoken of the system which consists of admitting all kinds of insane into establishments common to all. This is a matter of controversy, like many other questions, upon which every one is free to form his own opinion. After years of study and reflexion upon the subject I have come to the same conclusion I had arrived at when I was inspector and which I advanced in my private report of 1862 ; I quote from the English version :

“ I do not deny that some advantages, as well as inconveniences, might result from a classification of the asylums of the country, provided always that the poor should be suitably lodged and clothed, and treated in other respects like the rich.”

“ The only system practicable in Canada, in my opinion, is that which makes a lunatic asylum both a hospital for the cure of such as are curable, and a retreat for the incurable,—in which the unfortunates of all classes, poor as well as rich, may find a suitable refuge in which luxury and pomps may have no place, but in which, if need be, a compartment may be devoted to the accomodation of the insane members of wealthy families who ought, in each case, to be required to pay a fee sufficient to cover all expenses on a liberal scale.”

All our Canadian asylums occupy a rank midway between the two classes of foreign asylums, one of which is remarkable for luxury of furniture and maintenance the advantages whereof are questionable, and the other is composed of poor and too small asylums

approaching the character of *alms houses* and *work houses*. The matter of luxury in furniture, of delicacies in food and raiment, of extra attendance on the inmates, is merely a question of money. If opulent families do what they deem to be reasonable for their insane, or if they even incur extravagant expenses without profit for their sick and often to their detriment, it is their own business, but it would be an act of bad administration for the State to uselessly increase expenditure in order to make an idle and pharisaical show or for the mere pleasure of fostering the whims of dreamers.

¶ I once saw, in a foreign asylum, a very wealthy lunatic whose family lavished on him all that luxury could imagine. This unfortunate man occupied apartments the walls of which were hung with pictures; a private table and a private attendance were set apart for him: He gazed upon all that with a look of senseless satisfaction, of idiotic vanity and calm complacency most painful to behold. My impression was that all this show had had a most baneful effect upon his disease which at the time had become almost incurable, and I was given to understand that such was the opinion of the managers of the institution. By dint of satisfying the fancies of the sick man his friends had reduced him to a state of calmness which, in its turn, had degenerated into torpor; so true it is that in such matters appearances are deceptive.

I will not follow the defamer of our two great institutions through his lengthy denunciation evidently drawn up at the instigation of certain enemies of these two asylums and of passionate adversaires of their managers; a cursory glance over a portion of this document will be sufficient to set forth its worthlessness and futility and to show the motives which actuated him in writing it.

Dr. Tuke begins by the Saint-Jean-de-Dieu asylum at Longue Pointe. He states that the buildings are imposing, forming "a prominent object from the St Lawrence on approaching, Montreal," he found the Sisters of Providence polite and he thanks the visiting physician for his kindness; he says that the dispensary, (*pharmacie*) which he calls *apothecaire* (sic) is a model of cleanliness; he has but little fault to find with the parts of the building

relating to the general management of the institution as well as the accommodation afforded private patients and the clean and quiet insane among the poorer class ; but he takes this backward step only to be able to jump further, and slander soon takes the place of well merited praise, and even extends to subjects foreign to the question of the intrinsic worth of these asylums which was the pretext of his writing. Dr. Tuke even goes so far as to criticise a book which the Sisters of Providence make use of as nurses. We read the following in the second paragraph of his memoir :

“ The nuns have themselves published a pharmaceutical and medical work, a large volume, entitled *Traité élémentaire de Matière Médicale et Guide Pratique*, a copy of which the worthy Mother superior was good enough to present to me. I was somewhat disappointed to find, on examining its pages, that only one was devoted to mental alienation, of which nine lines suffice for the treatment of the disorder. Among the moral remedies, I regret to see that “punitions” are enumerated ; their nature is not specified.”

Dr. Tuke has erroneously imagined, or, which would be worse, he wishes to gratuitously insinuate that the book of the Sisters of Providence was published for the special attendance upon lunatics ; and he does so in order to afford himself the opportunity of being astonished to find only one page devoted to lunacy. Now the fact is that this volume was published several years before there was any question of establishing the Saint-Jean-de-Dieu asylum ; this book was published in 1870, whilst the asylum only dates as far back as 1876. This most useful work is a pharmacopeia with accompanying elementary information on all kinds of diseases ; each complaint of course occupies but little space, but every thing is in its place and goes right to the object of the work which is clearly and modestly defined in the introduction where we read the following :

“ Our purpose in publishing this book is to enable the Sister of Charity to fulfil in a more perfect manner the object she had in view when she consecrated herself to God ”—And further on—“ to enable her to become acquainted with that which she is required to know in order to be in a position to intelligently second

the physician, or in his absence and in urgent cases, to administer the first remedies to the sick."

Surely, the noble and holy women consecrated as it were by the spirit of sacrifice carried to the immolation of all human selfishness, the well educated women who wrote these beautiful lines, the modest women who take upon themselves, before God and man, the *role* of servants of the sick under the direction of physicians, such women can look down upon their defamers and easily forgive this impertinent sarcasm which is unable to reach them. The *Guide Pratique* contains only one page especially devoted to mental alienation, which is as much as can be found in many celebrated manuals and abridged dictionaries ; and if any one were so placed as to be unable to consult upon this disease any other work than this book of the Sisters of Providence or the *Chapters* of Dr. Daniel Hack Tuke M. D. F. R. C. P., he would do well to make choice of the Sisters' book. Dr. Tuke could say, no doubt, that his work is not a treatise on mental alienation, but a history of the English lunatic asylums ; to this we could answer that the Sisters' volume is a pharmaceutical guide, and not a work upon lunacy.

The Sisters' book says, with regard to the treatment of lunacy, on page 947 which is now being spoken of :— "The moral treatment consists in applying the educational art to lunacy by the means of obedience, work, punctuality, amusements, punishment and reward, confidence, change of scene, strengthening of moral and religious principles having due regard to the particular character of the patient and the nature of the disease."

It would be difficult to say, in a few words, more and wiser things relating to the moral treatment of mental alienation. A violent desire to criticise the Sisters and the requirements of a bad cause have blinded Dr. Tuke to such an extent that he has placed himself, with regard to this passage, in a position to be convicted either of ignorance or of remarkable dishonesty. Indeed, when he says :— "Among the moral remedies, I regret to see that "punitions" are enumerated,"— Dr. Tuke exhibits most deplorable ignorance if his regret be sincere ; if this regret be not sincere, then he exhibits odious dishonesty ; for punishments as well as



rewards do certainly form part of the treatment of insanity and of the discipline to which the insane are subject. I do not believe that a single writer on lunacy, of any worth, would deny this truth which is elementary and flows from the very nature of things. The opposite idea of reward is necessarily punishment. The idea of merit carries with it the possibility of demerit, and the same may be said of good or bad conduct, whether we have to deal with beings morally responsible and governed by law or only with sensitive beings governed by instinct. It is a primordial truth that a difference of disposition towards the exterior world, in the government of men and even of animals, carries with it a difference in treatment which is called, accordingly as the case may be, praise, encouragement, reward, or restraint, repulsion, chastisement: The bad results of acts detrimental to persons and things must be prevented, the repetition of such acts must be guarded against when it has been impossible to entirely prevent them, and their authors must be punished for their own education and for the example of others: Lunatics do not escape from this law which applies to all sensitive beings.

This kind of reasoning will be sufficient for all those whose practice it is to study things according to their nature; but as there are persons with whom names have more weight than philosophy—which is more or less wanting—I shall quote the remarks upon this subject of two well-known writers on lunacy. Dr. Gale, of Kentucky, in his interesting report for 1882, has a chapter intitled:—*Restraint and Punishments*, in the third paragraph of which we read:—“Punishments are sometimes as essentially necessary as remedial agents for the purpose of control in individual cases, and for the maintenance of discipline.”

Dr. T. S. Bell, reviewing the proceedings of the enquiry into the conduct of the officers of the Anchorage asylum, quotes, with reference to this question of the punishment of the insane, the case of the lunatic Theodore Clay, eldest son of the famous Henry Clay: Dr. Bell, speaking approvingly of the treatment of this patient of illustrious descent, says:—“I may say here, that while Theodore Clay was generally quiet and harmless, he

“ would have occasional outbreaks, for which he was  
 “ punished when the institution was under the manage-  
 “ ment of some of the most devoted friends that his  
 “ father ever possessed. ”

In a word, both logic and the experience of competent men proclaim that punishment is necessary in certain cases, and upon this point the Sisters win a scientific victory over Dr. Tuke. The latter, wishing no doubt to make light of these modest Sisters of Charity, goes on with his jesting and his sorry criticism of this excellent book ; he says :

“ Two skeletons in the *apothecaire* (sic) were shown  
 “ to us by Ste Thérèse, as being much valued subjects  
 “ of anatomical study for the nuns, who would, it is not  
 “ unlikely, consider their knowledge of the medical art  
 “ sufficient for the needs of the patients. ”

Sister Thérèse and her companions are perfectly right in considering skeletons as objects of much value in the study of anatomy, and it is entirely wrong for Dr. Tuke to give vent to slurs, which nothing justifies, for the pleasure of satisfying wretched prejudices and with the evident intention of gaining undesirable popularity.

Here is the conclusion of the first part of Dr. Tuke's denunciation :

“ That such establishments should be conducted by  
 “ nuns must seem remarkable to those who are unacquainted with the large part taken by Sisters of Charity  
 “ in the management of hospitals in countries where  
 “ the influence of the Roman Catholic Church extends.  
 “ Theoretically, it would seem to be an admirable  
 “ system, and to afford, in this way, a wide field for the  
 “ employment of women in occupations congenial to  
 “ their nature, and calculated to confer great advantages  
 “ upon the sick, whether in mind or body. That women  
 “ have an important *role* in this field will not be denied ;  
 “ but experience proves only too surely that to entrust  
 “ those of a religious order with administrative power  
 “ is a practical mistake, and leads to abuses which  
 “ ultimately necessitate the intervention of the civil  
 “ power. ”

There is the cat half-way out of the bag whilst thinking itself still hidden. If Dr. Tuke had come forward and said : I hate the Catholic Church, I am hostile to

every thing pertaining to it, I cannot abide sisters what ever good they may do, we could at least admit his sincerity if not his sense of justice ; but for him to endeavor to contradict experience and to give us ridiculous advice on matters with which we are a hundred times better acquainted than he is, that is rather too much.

We have in Canada, in all the Provinces, but especially in the Province of Quebec, experienced for ages the admirable aptitude of religious orders for the management of all kinds of public institutions and particularly of benevolent and charitable institutions ; it is a fact acknowledged by all who possess their souls in peace and are blessed with healthy minds. The same can be said of all other countries ; thus in France, at the present moment, the most eminent physicians, even those who are unbelievers and hostile to religious ideas, oppose with all their might the secularisation of hospitals and asylums undertaken by a senseless and tyrannical government. We saw recently in France the physicians of a famous free-thinking writer enjoining upon him to go and board in a religious institution for the simple reason that nowhere else could these physicians find equal security for the success of their treatment.

One of the most celebrated lunatic asylums in the United States, the Mount Hope Retreat, of Baltimore, is owned and naturally managed exclusively by nuns, the Sisters of Saint Joseph. The insane population of this asylum number at least five hundred ; out of this number above two hundred are private patients several of whom belong to most distinguished families both protestant and catholic. Although there are other asylums, the city and county of Baltimore send to the Sisters more than two hundred insane maintained by the municipalities ; the other patients belonging to poor families or withdrawn from the alms houses are maintained in part or wholly by the Sisters with the profits realized on private patients or on the maintenance of those paid for out of the public treasury. And it is in the face of such facts, to be found at all times and in all countries, that Dr. Tuke dares to assert that experience comes in conflict with the reasoning which he admits

*a priori* to be in favor of the conducting of asylums by nuns.

After having spoken of the fine appearance of the interior of the Saint-Jean-de-Dieu Asylum on the first flat, he proceeds so say :

“ It is as we ascend the building that the character of the accomodation changes for the worse, the higher the ward, the more unmanageable is the patient supposed to be, the galleries and rooms become more and more crowded and the look bare and comfortless. The patients were for the most part sitting listlessly on forms by the wall or the corridor, while others were pacing the open gallery, which must afford an acceptable escape from the dull monotony of the corridor. The outlook is upon similar galleries in the quadrangle at the back of the building, and to a visitor, the sight of four tiers of palissaded verandahs, with a number of patients walking up and down the enclosed space, has a strange effect. These outside galleries are, indeed, the airing courts of the asylum. There are no others. If the patients are allowed to descend, and to go out on the estate, they do so in regular order for a stated time, in charge of their attendants, like a procession of charity school children. Those who work on the farms must be the happiest in the establishment.”

I make this long quotation as a specimen of the kind of criticism Dr. Tuke deals in upon the asylums of the Province of Quebec. Here artlessness vies with ill-will; the *English expert* must have enormous faith in the gullibility of the public he addresses to thus abandon all precaution, oratorical or of any other kind.

The perspicacious Dr Tuke has discovered, at Longue Pointe, that as one passes from the class of insane who are clean, quiet, and amenable to a curative treatment, to the classes of lunatics who are incurable, dirty, noisy, wasteful, furious and dangerous, things become less and less amiable; he has discovered that in the asylums of the Province of Quebec, but he seems not to have noticed that precisely the same thing exists in the asylums of Ontario and everywhere else. If he had only jogged his memory a little, open his eyes, reflected an instant or else consulted the reports of different asylums, this truth,

worthy of Monsieur de la Pallisse, would have dawned upon him and he would have spared himself this incredible piece of ingenuousness. In the Ontario reports, for instance, he would have seen that the Inspector in his report for 1881, speaking of the Toronto asylum says: "The females were all well and neatly clad, except in the Refractory Ward where such a state of things cannot be carried out." Dr. Tuke ought to have understood, and understanding, ought to have had the honesty to admit that *what cannot be carried out* in the *excellent institutions* of Ontario is equally impossible in what he elegantly describes in another part of his diatribe as the *human menagerie* of the Province of Quebec.

Dr. Tuke found the patients either standing, walking or sitting; it was in the day time. If he had gone there during the night he would have found them lying down; again he might have seen them on their knees in the chapel during prayers, or dancing to the sound of music during certain recreation hours; and I really fail to see what other positions Dr. Tuke would have the patients take in order to declare himself satisfied with them. He himself must either be standing or walking when he is not sitting or lying down; I am not aware whether he goes on his knees and dances. Truly it is difficult to conceive that a man so full of pretensions should let himself down to publishing in the newspapers and signing such artless and foolish criticism; for his own reputation it would have been better for him to sign "*Justice*" as did the correspondent of the *Commercial Advertiser* in 1861.

Dr. Tuke found the latticed verandahs of the Longue Pointe asylum strange:—"The sight of four tiers of palissaded verandahs with a number patients walking up and down the enclosed space, has a strange effect," he says. His astonishment at a sight so new and so ridiculous in his eyes would probably have been somewhat allayed if his manner of inspecting Canadian asylums had not blinded him to the fact that a precisely similar state of things exists at the Toronto asylum. For the benefit and information of Dr. Daniel Hack Tuke, and for the edification of all those who take him for a prophet or an oracle, I shall take the liberty of quoting

the opinion of Dr. Clark, medical superintendent of the Toronto asylum, anent these *palissaded verandahs*; this opinion is put forth in the report for the year 1878. (*Sessional Papers of Ontario, 1879, No 8, page 257*):

“The verandahs, says Dr. Clark, will need to be removed. The joisting has become rotten and in many of them, as a consequence, the floors have sunk. In the main building they are becoming dangerous to use. It is needless to expatiate on their superiority over airing pens into which patients are promiscuously turned in *fine weather* to broil in the sun and roll around on the earth. In rain and sunshine, in winter and summer the verandahs are used more or less. The drawback to them is that on account of their elevation, noisy patients air their eloquence too freely to the discomfort of the sane neighbours. We have a pre-emption right, however, and if the public will locate in our vicinity, they must be content to hear the vigorous language of our inmates. The verandahs cannot be dispensed with under any consideration.”

This paragraph, placed in juxtaposition to Dr. Tuke's tirade, suggests a world of ideas. We find that wood is liable to rot in Ontario as well as in Quebec; that buildings suffer from the ravages of time whatever may be the religion and the nationality of those who take care of them; that the superintendent of the Toronto asylum is not enthusiastic over the grounds into which his patients are admitted, grounds which he compares to pens where the insane broil in the sun and roll on the earth; that lunatics in Ontario sometimes make noise enough to annoy the neighbours; that these drawbacks, which are complained of in the first of the *excellent institutions*, do not seem to exist in the second of the *Relics of Barbarism*; in fine, that *palissaded verandahs*, which Dr. Tuke finds so strange in the Province of Quebec, are looked upon as indispensable by the Ontario authorities. Prejudice, such is thy work!

Dr. Tuke seems to regret that there are no other *airing courts* than these *verandahs*, at Longue Point:—“There are no others,” he says, which, moreover is not true. Further on, speaking of Beauport, he seems not to approve of these *airing courts*, albeit these *airing courts* are, as he admits, sodded and shady, “*grassy*”

*airing courts*”—*fortunately shaded from the blazing sun*; which does not prevent him from adding that the sight of women lying or sitting on the grass in the shade,—“*did not commend itself as one altogether desirable.*” Dr. Tuke was certainly blindfolded when he wrote this denunciation against our asylums of the Province of Quebec.

Another no less extraordinary discovery made by Dr. Tuke and related in the above quoted paragraph is that when the patients who dwell in the upper wards of the asylum of Saint-Jean-de-Dieu go out to walk in the courts which, he says in the same paragraph, do not exist, they are obliged to descend; but not only are they obliged to descend, but they are made to descend in regular order; nor is that all; they descend “*in charge of their attendants,*” and what is still more: they walk “*like a procession of charity school children.*” All that might be admired or at least be found worthy of praise by an honest visitor and a man of common sense; this regular order, this care of attendants, this sight which reminds one, not of a crowd of crazy people, but of a procession of school children. Oh! do not expect *that* of Dr. Tuke; on the contrary, this state of things, which he endeavors to ridicule, draws from him a sigh of compassion. Rolling up sanctimoniously to the empyrean his tearful eyes, this priest of Esculapius, this sacrificer to Psyche immediately exclaims:—“Those who work on the farms must be the happiest in the establishment.” What a good man, what a philanthropist, what a wise expert this charming Dr. Tuke is, to be sure!

Dr. Tuke never loses an opportunity of jeering: he makes use of the phrase: *farming out of human beings* in order to designate the system of boarding lunatics in private asylums, and this suggests to him a joke, seasoned with the most approved Attic wit, at the expense of noble women who are our sisters, our daughters, our relatives, our friends, of nuns worthy of the respect of all well educated persons, of women in whom at any rate we Catholics, who form nearly the half of the population of the whole Dominion and who are seven to one in the Province of Quebec, have confidence and whom we admire.

“ Their farming capacities, says Dr. Tuke of the Sisters, are, I have no doubt, very creditable to them. It is not this form of farming to which I have any objection or criticism to offer. In the vegetable kingdom I would allow them undisputable sway. It is the farming out of human beings by the province to these or any other proprietors against which I venture to protest.”

Later I will seriously discuss the question of the divers systems which prevail throughout the world with regard to the maintenance of lunatics, but in the mean time I shall be allowed to say that Dr. Tuke owed it to himself and to the people and government of this country to produce the right and the authority he has to serve protests upon us. We have already seen that the information or at least the clear-sightedness of this gentleman is at fault; it is now plain that his domestic education ought to be renewed.

All the lunatic asylums in the other provinces of the Dominion are managed by protestants and by persons of British origin who, with very few exceptions, speak nothing but english; The catholics, who form a notable portion of the population in each province, and the French who likewise form a notable portion of the population in every province except British Columbia, submit to this state of things and do not endeavor to disparage these institutions; far from it, they give them due credit even when everything is not to their taste. Our asylums in the Province of Quebec are not so exclusive in their organization; all the managers and nearly all the employees speak english; there are english speaking physicians in attendance, and at Beauport, where all the protestant insane must be sent, unless the family or the friends of the patients express the desire of having them placed in the Saint Jean-de-Dieu Asylum, there is a protestant visiting physician and a protestant chaplain. The vast majority of the population of the Province of Quebec have confidence in the management of both our asylums; we know that both these establishments are excellent; they cost us less than institutions of the same class cost elsewhere; it is therefore not astonishing that we should maintain a system which affords us these advantages. The public desire this system, and



for the sake of justice and in order to guard their rights, they must insist upon these asylums being managed as they are now.

What precedes was written when the newspapers brought me the report of a visit paid to the Longue Pointe asylum, on March 4th 1885, by the Grand Jury of the district of Montreal. I borrow from an english newspaper, the *Star* of March 5th, the two most remarkable paragraphs of the report of this visit :

“ The jurors appear to have paid particular attention to the condition of Longue-Pointe asylum, in view of the criticisms on the management of the institution which have been made during the past few months. Contrary to the usual practice the jurors were permitted to see every part of the institution from cellar to attic including the furious wards. The party were altogether unexpected, but immediately after entering they were escorted through the building by sister Thérèse, the Superioress.

“ .....Dinner was being served at the time of the visit and the meal is described as having been sumptuous. The jurors expressed themselves as perfectly satisfied as regards the cleanliness of the establishment and the care exercised in its management and the foreman was authorized to sign a document to that effect.”

But if the majority in the province of Quebec cherish their rights, their institutions and those with whom they sympathize and in whom they confide, they have never shown themselves to be exclusive or tyrannical or insulting, and I am certainly echoing the feeling of the catholics of this province when I say that they would see with pleasure the protestant minority in possession of an asylum of their own. Our separated brethren, owing to circumstances, are more wealthy than we are ; they can rely upon the capital and the influence of the mother country ; the great public undertakings are generally theirs ; it ought to be easier for them than it is for us to establish an asylum for their insane and to give them luxury if they see fit. They will experience no difficulty in obtaining from our provincial government, for every poor lunatic belonging to their creed, the same sum as that which is granted

for the maintenance of the unfortunate inmates of Beauport and Saint-Jean-de-Dieu. In their establishment our protestant fellow citizens could manage things according to their ideas, they might have the exclusive benefit of the inspector who is supposed to represent them : Then, we hope so at least, we should have peace.

Dr. Tuke speaks of Beauport as he has spoken of Longue Pointe. There are no nuns here to insult, but there are French-Canadian and catholic proprietors in the place thereof and for him it is about the samething. The likes, the dislikes and the whims of Dr. Tuke are given out as absolute truths, as laws which every one in Canada must accept without discussion. There are no two ways of looking at these things ; outside of *non restraint* and the management he has set his heart upon there is no happiness, no salvation, no cure for the insane. And yet, after all the changes which, Dr. Tuke says, have been wrought in England, within the last forty years, he is obliged to admit, in his *Chapters*, page 480 : " But, after all, the question faces us, are there or " are there not more insane persons cured in 1881 than " in 1841 ? "—The learned doctor does not dare to resolve this difficult problem, but with that fustian peculiar to him he mentions, on page 492 :—" the some- " what unfavorable conclusion as to permanent re- " covery which Dr. Thurman, in a work which will " always be a Pharos to guide those who sail on waters " where so many are shipwrecked, arrived at, after " laborious examination of the after history of cases " discharged recovered from York Retreat."

Imagine the purport of such a result in York Retreat, established and conducted in the first place by Mr. William Tuke, described by Mr. Samuel Tuke and visited, I know not how long, by Dr. Daniel Hack Tuke.

I have just stated that Beauport asylum received from Dr. Tuke the same unjust treatment that Saint-Jean-de-Dieu obtained at his hands. I will merely remark that Beauport is already an ancient institution which has sustained the test of time and has gone through all the phases of successive development and improvement which have been, from year to year, the object of praise uttered by government commissioners

and inspectors and by both Canadian and foreign experts. It would be tedious to accumulate here these testimonials. It seems to me moreover useless to do so after having shown that the attacks which I am now answering do not constitute criticism but vulgar slander. I shall content myself with quoting a paragraph of the inspectors' report for 1862, remarking at the same time that Beauport asylum was at that time far, very far from what it is to day, that it was over-crowded and that there was no resident physician other than the proprietors who were themselves physicians :

“The inspectors, who admire the asylum at Beauport as occupying the *juste milieu*, between the penury of municipal asylums, and the luxury of certain asylums, in the neighbouring republic for instance, cannot but regret the want in this institution of a resident physician, who should attend solely to the patients, and have the constant dispensing of the remedies of a moral, disciplinary and medical character which conduce so much to restore the lost faculty of reason. With this exception, the Inspectors have to congratulate the Country upon having an asylum in the Province so well conducted, and, taking it all in all, so very inexpensive as that of Beauport.”

It is to be observed that the only two important defects mentioned by the inspectors at that time no longer exist in either of our asylums. The over-crowding is not excessive as it was then and each asylum has a resident physician and one or more visiting physicians.

There is not an institution in the world that ignorance and ill-will cannot assail. Lunatic asylums are, by their very nature, especially exposed to such attacks: An accident, a mishap, such as will occur from time to time in spite of the utmost care, the tales told by lunatics often more keen-witted than the person who addresses them, the revengefulness of discharged employees or unsuccessful applicants, jealousy and hatred which we find everywhere, all that may contribute to give rise to suspicions, to distrust, to slanders to which credulousness falls a victim and which quackery and perversity take advantage of.

Whatever care may be taken in the choice of the

attendants, among the most respectable and well qualified attendants, an employee may per chance be wanting in watchfulness or unworthy of the confidence of his superiors. I find an account of such an event in the report of the inspector of the Ontario asylums for 1881. (*Sessional papers, No 8, page 31*):

“The night previous to my visit an irregularity of a very serious nature occurred in the asylum (London). One of the attendants, who had been engaged as nightwatch only for a short time, entered the upper Refractory Female Ward during the absence from that corridor of the female watch, and made his way to the room of one of the female patients, where he was subsequently discovered by the female watch, &c., &c.”

Just imagine for a moment such an accident happening at Longue Pointe or Beauport the day previous to Dr. Tuke's visit!... We can assert, without fear of error, that the learned doctor would have declared himself unable to find in the English language words strong enough to convey his indignation and horror at such a deplorable irregularity, and that he would have eagerly ascribed this crime to the system followed in the province of Quebec, and especially to the choice of the attendants. We are justifiable in making this supposition, the more so as Dr. Tuke, entirely at random and judging from a mere glance at some of the attendants, takes upon himself to speak in the following strain of these respectable people whom he does not know and of the chaplain with whom he is no less unacquainted:

“With a higher class, it might no longer be an irony to speak as the chaplain does in one of the reports of the good and virtuous keepers who are selected with great discernment.”

The chaplain of Beauport asylum knows these good people with whom he has constant intercourse, and without answering them for each and every one of them, he renders them justice. Dr. Tuke knows nothing about them and he casts slurs at them. No one can look down into the heart, but we judge men by their acts; in this case, it is most certainly Dr. Tuke alone who plays a villainous part. In the province of Quebec as in Ontario the best possible care is taken in

the choice of attendants for the insane; when the authorities are deceived the discovery of the mistake is immediately followed by dismissal.

Still another quotation and a few comments and I shall have done with the chapter of Dr. Tuke's abuse and impertinence :

"Should the contract system be abolished, says he, should capable medical men be placed at the head of the institutions of Quebec Province, and should inspection be made by competent men, be sufficiently frequent and searching, the asylums for the insane in this province will become institutions of which Canadians may be justly proud, instead of institutions of which they are, with good reason, now ashamed."

Here is a man who has only paid a flying visit to Canada, who during his short stay here has had but one kind of intercourse and received but one kind of impressions, who knows nothing about our institutions except that which he has seen at a mere glance, his judgment being warped before hand by prejudice and by the slanders of certain agitators, and who takes upon himself the task of enlightening the governing and the governed, of dispensing to some praise which he cannot vouch for as merited, to others abuse couched in language unworthy of a well educated and well bred man, abuse for the most part of such an inept character that it can only mislead those who wish to be misled, and this man thinks we are going to submit to him without taking his measure! He knows neither the physicians nor the inspectors of our asylums and he accuses them without distinction of incompetency and negligence; at the religious orders of which he knows nothing, at the attendants in our asylums about whom he can know nothing, he throws flat squibs and dishonest slurs; and he fancied that he would get nothing in return but the compliments of those who thus pushed him forward.

We might ask Dr. Tuke how and by whom he considers himself authorized to state that Canadians are ashamed of their asylums—"of which they are now ashamed." Who are these men who answer for the opinion of Canadians? There is no doubt that individuals, several probably, a clique, have deceived Dr.

Tuke and have induced him to commit the enormous blunder he has committed and to do the dirty work he has done; the words just quoted are the unconscious and artless avowal that such is the case. Who are these individuals who have thus urged the *English expert* on to attack our asylums?

The Beauport asylum has been in existence for over forty years; during this length of time, nearly thirty commissioners and inspectors have been entrusted with the supervision of this asylum. On the successive commissions and boards were several distinguished men of divers creeds and nationalities, physicians, lawyers, business men, public officials; all have had naught but praise to bestow upon the management and maintenance of this establishment; passing defects have been pointed out there as elsewhere from time to time; but as a rule we have only had to congratulate ourselves upon the standing of this institution as regards the interests of the insane, their families and the general public. The same may be said of the Saint-Jean-de-Dieu asylum since it exists. Would it not be a monstrosity to set aside so many and such honorable testimonials in order to allow the triumph of intrigue?

Dr. Tuke is a contributor to psychological literature, but he is far from being an authority. He is a man for whom words are every thing; with such persons it is generally sufficient to replace certain high-sounding words by the proper terms to deprive their writings of all the meaning they wished to convey. Thus by replacing in Dr. Tuke's *factum* the abusive or captious expressions by others his attacks become almost entirely shorn of their sting. In the place of the words *farming out of human beings, human menagerie, chamber of horrors, relics of barbarism* it would be only necessary to put *pensioning of the insane, inmates of asylums, refractory ward, mechanical protection* in order to convert the venom into harmless drivel. As Dr. Tuke has not a monopoly of argument carried on by sharp words, the method he makes use of has been employed in attacking the theories of which he is a blind partisan; the words *non-restraint, covered beds, attendants ministrations* have been parodied into *broken ribs, shut boxes, fisticuffs*, etc. The advocates of *non-restraint* have also

been richly paid back for their descriptions of asylums displeasing to them because they are not conducted upon the principles which they not only extol but would fain impose upon others. The asylum of Hanwell, in England, was the principal birth-place of *non-restraint*, it is there the system triumphed in England according to Dr. Tuke; he says in his *Chapters*, page 206:—"Had not the experiment been carried out on a much larger scale at Hanwell by Dr. Conolly, with far greater success, a reaction would have ensued, of infinite injury to the cause of the insane."

There are two sides to every question, and I find the *other* side of the Hanwell asylum question on page 59 of the Report of Dr. Yale for the year 1882, published in 1883:

"I have twice, at least, visited Hanwell, the scene of Conolly's operations—on the last occasion, spending several days there..... Notwithstanding all the operations and traditions of Conolly, although its affairs have been administered since his day by a series of disciples professing his views, Hanwell is one of the worst asylums I have seen in any part of the world, whether as regards its structural arrangements or its government."

Dr. Tuke could not be allowed to remain unanswered, and the best way to squash him is to weigh him as an authority, to sift his talents a little, to set forth the main points of his memoir in order to put into relief the substance, the form and the animus thereof. Several of our newspapers have already refuted a portion of his comments and laid bare his slanders; I thought I had the right to join these defenders of our institutions, the more so as circumstances have been the cause of my making a special study of the questions which form the subject of this discussion.

## DISCIPLINE OF ASYLUMS.

*Non-restraint*, as an absolute doctrine, is an idea essentially english and *obtains only in England*. This theory has become, in the mother country, a real mania the tyranny whereof must be submitted to by all who are not strong-minded enough to withstand such

currents of opinion. From that fact and from what we know of Dr. Tuke it is natural to suppose that this gentleman is one of those who carry the notion to its utmost limits. Thus it is sufficient, in order to obtain the praises of this writer, to hoist the colours of *non-restraint*, to appear to espouse this idea, even if were only on paper and in reports.

The *Medical Time and Gazette*, of London, whilst yielding to the current, speaking of this hobby, the intolerance and the verbosity it produces, wittily remarks :—

“ Without doubt, says this journal, *non-restraint* is the Keystone of the fabric constituted by our British system of treating the insane, the shibboleth by which a man is tested, and his views pronounced sound or unsound—the alpha and the omega of the doctrines taught by writers of the English school. To such a length is this carried, that a servant who looks after an insane individual must no longer be called a *keeper* ; he is an attendant, and it is almost a crime to call him by the former name in a modern asylum. In this dread of words, there would be something very ridiculous were there not something also that is of moment as concerning the welfare of the unfortunates detained in these institutions. We are thoroughly convinced of the soundness of the *non-restraint* doctrines, if they are not carried too far, which we are heterodox enough to think possible ; but there is something absurd in allowing an outrageous lunatic to smash all the windows in a ward rather than interfere with his personal liberty, and there are other cases which, if not equally telling, are at least equally important from a medical point of view.”

As no one has ever thought of prescribing strait-jackets, muffs, belts and other mechanical means of restraint for quiet and harmless insane, and as it is absurd not to make use of these means for furious, dangerous or otherwise refractory lunatics, it follows that *non-restraint* is either nonsense or mental aberration. This system, as a system, is rejected in France, in Germany, in the United States, is rejected every where except in England and even there it is not admitted by every body. The writings of Hill and Conolly,



the inventors of the system, are, in the eyes of Dr. Tuke, the law and the Prophets. Now here is what a Scotch writer on lunacy, Dr. Lawder Lindsay, says of this theory in the course of an article published in the *Edinburgh Mechanical Journal* for April and June 1878 :

“ This intolerant and intolerabled dogma—opposed as it is to all common sense, common feeling and common experience—I have designated Conollyism, because it was undoubtedly by means of Conolly’s publications that the dogma became popular, and mischievous in proportion to its popularity. ”

I find in Jaccoud’s Dictionary, at the word *camisole*, the following excellent summary of this subject of the means of restraint to be used in the treatment of insane :—“ Strait-jackets, belts with muffs are only instruments ; what is especially important to be understood are the rules which govern their use. Pinel was the first to indicate, with a master’s hand, the rules for applying coercive means and since then nothing has been done beyond the development of the principles laid down by him. *We must, he says, give the insane the greatest liberty of movement compatible with safety to themselves and to others, allow them to walk and run about in enclosed places limiting ourselves to the mere restraint of the strait-jacket.* In the opinion of the illustrious master, the strait-jacket prescribed and kept on temporarily may be considered as curative in as much as it subdues the violence of the patient while allowing him sufficient exercise for his health. Esquirol, Georget, Ferrus adopt no other principles, insisting in their writings and in their practice upon the prudence to be observed in applying means of restraint and at the same time on their unquestionable utility.

“ Casimir Pinel rightly says that *non-restraint* does not exist in England any more than in France, that the means of restraint only are different, and that it is therefore only a question of comparison as to their advantages and their drawbacks. Whatever be the form adopted, restraint of some kind is necessary in many cases ; in order to do away with it, we would have to abolish at the same time the delirious conceptions and hallucinations which give rise to the deplorable sights we have constantly before our eyes. By what

other means can inclinations to self-pollution and destruction be mastered? How can we otherwise combat those foul longings which induce patients to eat their excrements and to drink their urine?..... A temporary application of the strait-jacket is then the only remedy..... Coercive means have the advantage of allowing the patient exercise and air; and with a well adapted apparatus, we can obtain calmness during the day and rest at night, a result which could not be obtained otherwise; to our mind, the entire abolition of restraint is an idle dream."

The United States Lunatic asylum superintendents Association adopted, in the month of October 1844, the following resolution:

"Resolved that it is the unanimous sense of this convention that the attempt to abandon entirely the use of all means of personal restraint is not sanctioned by the true interests of the insane."

Dr. Walker, president of the United States Lunatic asylum superintendents Association expressed himself as follows on the subject in 1877:—

"My opinions in regard to the use of mechanical restraint have undergone no change during the discussion, or since the visit of our distinguished brother from across the water, but, on the contrary, having made more faithful and continued efforts during the past year than ever before to diminish the amount of mechanical restraint and do without it altogether, I am forced to say that I stand here to day with my opinions entirely unchanged. I believe it (mechanical restraint) is not only a humane thing, but absolutely essential for the best good and comfort of our patients. I believe this, that the practice of the best American institutions on that point to day will hereafter be the practice of Christendom."

At the same meeting of the above mentioned Association, in October 1877, after the president, Dr. Walker, a great many of the most distinguished authorities on lunacy in America gave utterance to the same sentiment. From amongst all these depositions given against the system of non-restraint and in favor of mechanical restraint applied with discernment, I choose that of Dr. Clarke, precisely because he comes from Ontario:

" If I had my choice, says the superintendent of the  
 " Toronto asylum, in respect to the mode of restraint, I  
 " would prefer a camisol, a muff, or a pair of mitts put  
 " upon me, than to have a supervisor and attendants  
 " holding me. There is a spirit of resistance among  
 " ourselves to human force, and this resistance is evi-  
 " dent also among the insane, that will not be exercised  
 " against inanimate objects..... I might tell you  
 " further, gentlemen, I have reason to believe that in  
 " many of these asylums, which show reports of non  
 " restraints (I have it from some of the officers of such)  
 " that restraint is winked at when indulged in by  
 " subordinates, and yet they publish reports of the  
 " success of non restraint. Whether you put on the  
 " camisole, or put a patient under the power of drugs,  
 " it does not matter ; both are restraints, and I prefer  
 " the mechanical restraint as more conducive to reco-  
 " very..... I prefer to be free, open, and candid, in  
 " these matters, rather, than to desire to ride on a  
 " popular name, and at the same time, behind the door,  
 " allow restraint to be used."

A well deserved lesson that, and honor to him who  
 had the courage and the honesty to give it. Drs. Gray  
 of Utica and Gale of Kentucky have written against  
*non restraint* reports well known to alienists. This  
 opposition to an indefensible doctrine is the result of  
 universal experience and is moreover founded on  
 reason. If I wished to retaliate, by describing the  
 frequent accidents and acts of brutality which occur  
 in England by the practice of *non restraint*, nothing  
 would be easier ; but I will limit myself to a few quota-  
 tions. An American alienist, Dr. Browers, says, among  
 other things, in the issue for June 1881 of the *American  
 Journal of Insanity* :—

" I have now, in my mind's eye, the picture of a  
 " scene I witnessed in an English asylum. A restless  
 " and violent patient seated on a bench with a strong  
 " attendant on either side, holding him down by main  
 " force. I shall never forget the contortions, the squir-  
 " ming and the struggles of the man to free himself  
 " from their grasp. There is nothing so irritating to  
 " some restless and excitable patients as to be held by  
 " manual force ; but Englishmen are unwilling to admit

“ that this is a species of restraint, nor will they admit  
 “ that the padded room, without a particle of furniture,  
 “ and with small windows near the ceilings, which let  
 “ in only a dim light, is a restraining machine.”

Dr. Gale, in his report of 1882, page 21, says :

“ About 1840, one John Conolly came forward  
 “ with a theory, which finally merged into a hobby with  
 “ him and a few of his followers, that of non-restraint...  
 “ The name is clearly a misnomer, and is calculated to  
 “ mislead and deceive the public; for there is not an  
 “ asylum now in existence that does not use restraint in  
 “ some form, either strong clothing, manutention,  
 “ strong rooms, isolations therein &c, &c, &c..... Holding  
 “ a person by one's hands is no less a method of restraint  
 “ than holding him by a muff or a camisole, and the  
 “ question which of them we shall adopt should be  
 “ decided, not by the force of names, but by a careful  
 “ investigation of their effects, both upon the patient and  
 “ the attendants ..... England boasts of being (as  
 “ regards the treatment of its insane) the country of non  
 “ restraint; but it will repudiate, I do not doubt, the  
 “ addition that it is equally entitled to the designation  
 “ of the country of fractured ribs.”

In the same report, under the heading : “ Rib fractures and other casualties from non restraint.” Dr. Gale brings forward a formidable list of deaths and wounds caused by the struggles between keepers and lunatics in English Asylums, a list which contains no less than eight cases of patients whose death was the result, according to judicial testimony, of the fracturing of one or more ribs followed by inflammation of the pleura or of the lungs; another death was caused by the bursting of the bladder, as proved by inquiry, although classed as peritonitis on the registers of the asylum; without mentioning a considerable number of other accidents of divers kinds being the direct result of the application of the system of *non restraint*. It has been proved that keepers, tired of struggling, have often recourse to the expedient of kneeling or sitting down on the body of the unfortunate inmate whom they have been ordered to hold, being obliged, as they are, never to resort to mechanical means which are a hundred times more humane and less revolting.

Far from me the idea of citing all the accidents which may occur in *non restraint* asylums as proof against this theory: all asylums have, from time to time, to record accidents, even homicides and suicides; but the accidents here spoken of are the direct result of the application of *non restraint* and might have been prevented by mechanical means of restraint. *Non restraint* does not lessen the possibility of accidents of other kinds, on the contrary, it makes them of more frequent occurrence. It is not however the material fact that we must argue from, but the manner in which it takes place. In the discipline of an asylum there are risks that must be run and others that must be avoided. Thus from the fact that a lunatic may have committed manslaughter in a field, with a hay-fork, it would be wrong to conclude that the insane are to be deprived of instruments that may become dangerous or prevented from working on the farm; but if wounds and deaths are caused by disciplinary methods which may be replaced by others that do not give rise to accidents, common sense tells us that the latter ought to be employed. Uneducated and unscientific persons are apt to draw erroneous conclusions from what they see in asylums, and the malevolent often work upon this disposition of a portion of the public; but the alienists must seek causes and observe circumstances before adopting or rejecting, before praising or blaming practices which may be commendable in spite of accidents or dangerous even when no accidents have been recorded so far.

I will here cite an example of the versatility of what is called public opinion and which is invoked in season and out of season, an example which also demonstrates how important and how difficult are the thousand and one questions arising from the management of asylums and the treatment of the insane. Formerly there was established in Ontario a branch asylum where over sixty insane of the quieter class were placed. The building, erected for another purpose, was heated by means of stoves and open fire-places. It is well known that one of the arrangements boasted of in England and which forms part of the system extolled there comprises open fire places without any grating to protect them, the

famous *open fires* which, with the *open doors*, form part of the "benefits arising from the removal of restrictions." It was therefore thought proper to allow some of these *open fires* to remain on account of the quiet and harmless character of the patients that were to be placed in this asylum. At first things went very well, and the visiting public admired these *open fires* so dear to the English; "it looks so cheerful," they said. There came a day however when, without any thing having happened to portend the least drawback, one of the quietest among the patients, the daughter of a well known public man, threw herself into one of these open fires and burnt herself so horribly that she died shortly afterwards. It was evidently on her part an act to which she had been driven by some sudden hallucination brought about by gazing upon this cheerful fire. The news of this accident was the signal of a declaration of war against the physicians and employees of the asylum, and the so-called *public opinion* began to look upon as horrible in an asylum these same open fires considered so cheerful a few days previously. The managers of the institution were justly exonerated from blame by the inspectors and by the authorities who fortunately protected them against the persecution that certain persons would have fain made them suffer. But the question remains whether it is better to have open fires in asylums or not to have any, and whether, when it is decided to have them, it is preferable to put no protection before them or to surround them with a grating? Partisans of *non restraint* are opposed to a grating; they resolutely hold to their idea that mad-houses should be looked upon as institutions for people who are quiet and on the whole very nice, though sometimes inclined to be a little eccentric and peevish. Those who do not believe it to be their duty to endeavor to hide the true character of lunatic asylums prefer either to have no open fires at all or else to surround them with a grating, and I feel myself happy and easy in mind among the latter. All such questions should be left to the physicians entrusted with the treatment of the insane and to the managers of asylums. But, it may be said, doctors disagree and there are some among them who are not entirely without foolish notions;

it would here be timely to ask ourselves : *Quis custodem custodiat ?* That is a serious embarrassment which so far we have not experienced in Canada, that I am aware of, and which I trust Dr. Tuke will not succeed in bequeathing to us.

I find, in a report of the Commissioners of the Central Kentucky Asylum of October 3rd 1882 upon this subject of medical questions and upon the systems of restraint, the following wise remarks :

“ In regard to the kind or mode of restraint or  
 “ punishment to be used with such unfortunates, we do  
 “ not profess to be competent judges, and must content  
 “ ourselves with leaving this vexed question to the  
 “ discussion of medical men. But our experience con-  
 “ vinces us that both restraint and punishments are as  
 “ proper here as in schools of small children or in  
 “ families.”

We may sum up by saying that restraint is a necessity in the government of refractory or dangerous lunatics and that it is the duty of those entrusted with the care of these unfortunates to resort to it, a duty towards the insane themselves, a duty towards the keepers, a duty as regards the treatment of mental alienation as well as public and domestic economy.

A lunatic who makes use of his liberty to hurt himself, his unfortunate companions, his keepers, to destroy public or private property must be subdued ; disasters and accidents must be prevented as far as possible. The only means of doing so are the physical force of the keepers momentarily put forth, mechanical means, cells, the use of narcotics. All means that are neither immoral nor brutal are legitimate, provided they be made use of with discernment, that there be no abuse of them and that they be rendered as mild and inoffensive as possible. As to the choice to be made, that depends upon the cause, the nature, the duration of the paroxysms, of the character of the disease, the individual disposition of the patient, of his habitual or actual condition, of the expense to be incurred and many other circumstances which can only be decided upon by a careful study of each case which presents itself. As to saying what percentage of patients are to be put under mechanical restraint or subdued by other means, that

cannot be done ; simply because that depends upon the class of lunatics under treatment, the constitution and the disposition of the patients, the circumstances of time and place and the means that can be disposed of ; all of which is constantly varying in the same place, in the same year, in the same institution. Periods of almost general calm and periods of excitement occur among the insane often without any assignable cause. I do not think there is a single alienist or nurse of any considerable experience who has not sometimes noticed these epidemics of violence as it were during which a comparatively great number of lunatics must necessarily be put under restraint of some kind.

All these questions, and they are numerous, relating to the methods of establishing asylums, of building them, of dividing them, of lighting, heating, ventilating them, of making them healthy and of maintaining them ; all questions with regard to the material, the form of garments, bedding and appliances of restraint ; all questions relating to the food and the treatment of the insane are intricate questions upon which competent men disagree often as to principles, more often still as to details, and upon which no individual or no association has the right to pronounce an authoritative and unappealable judgment. Systems go for nothing generally, and methods for very little : all depends upon the management, that is to say upon the aptitude and the tact of those who have the keeping and the care of the patients and the general conduct of the asylums.

## MODE OF MAINTAINING ASYLUMS

### BOARDING

There are only two ways of providing for the maintenance of lunatics in asylums at the public expense : by means of asylums belonging to the State or to municipalities, conducted by public employees, or by means of asylums belonging to private individuals or to corporations wherein the insane are boarded. It is the latter method that Dr. Tuke designates by the rather rough expression of *farming of human beings* when speaking of the asylums in the Province of Quebec, but to



which, in his works, he applies the words *boarding out*, or some other suitable expression when he speaks of asylums situated anywhere else.

Outside of asylums, there is but one way of providing for poor lunatics thrown upon the care of the public, and that is boarding them in private families; this method, which in England is called *boarding out*, has given rise to the forming of villages for the insane, of which the village of Gheel in Belgium is the most perfect type and of which the village of Kennoway, in Scotland, is also an example.

With regard to lunatics maintained at the expense of their own families, they must either be kept at home or placed as boarders in private families or in asylums belonging to private individuals or to the State. It is generally conceded that even with unlimited means wealthy relations must necessarily prefer to place their insane in an asylum from the triple stand point of the interest of the sick, of the interest of their families and of the interest of society. The insane of the wealthier class, outside of their families, are therefore always boarders, whoever may be the owners and managers of the establishments where they are placed. It is difficult to understand why a system which suits the insane of wealthy families should be a system absolutely abominable for the insane of the poorer classes. To absolutely condemn one of the two above mentioned methods, neither of which can be condemned, is to yield to prejudice; every one is free to have his choice; but nobody has the right to impose his opinions.

An asylum is not good because it belongs to the public nor is another asylum bad because it belongs to private individuals. Any one has perfectly the right to prefer such or such a system for the insane maintained at the public expense, even the system of villages for lunatics which several extol; but it is an attempt to laugh at the intelligence of the public to endeavor to impose upon people and to imagine that the use of base expressions to designate respectable things will carry the day.

Dr. Tuke's pet asylum, the York Retreat, which acknowledges one of the doctor's ancestors, the late Mr. William Tuke, as its founder; an asylum which has felt successively the influence of Mr. Henry Tuke, grand

father of the author of the *Chapters*, of his father, Mr. Samuel Tuke ; an asylum which had as visiting physician Mr. Daniel Hack Tuke himself, was a private foundation managed by its proprietors and established for the use of a religious sect, that of the Quakers. A sojourn in this retreat which *did not* belong to the State, was, it would seem, highly pleasing to the insane. Dr. Tuke tells us, on page 120 of his *Chapters*, how an unfortunate lunatic, released from another asylum, which to all appearances must have been a State asylum, in a most pitiable condition on account of the ill treatment he had received, after having enjoyed for a time the sweets of York Retreat, became, from impotent that he was, "able to walk without assistance." Strictly speaking, this might be considered as an ordinary occurrence, but poetry has crept into it, and the narrator adds :—"When, "one of his friends visited him and asked him what he "called the place, he replied with great earnestness, "Eden, Eden, Eden !"

Without having the pretention of converting a lunatic asylum into an earthly Paradise, why could not Sisters of Charity and individuals belonging to the Catholic faith be allowed to keep a boarding house for the insane with as much right as a committee of the Society of friends ? I have already spoken of an asylum established and managed by Sisters, the Mount Hope asylum, where public and private, rich and poor patients are boarded, to the satisfaction of every body, absolutely on the same plan as that adopted for the asylums in the Province of Quebec. Such asylums are to be found in all civilized countries.

Thus asylums may be execrable although they are managed directly by the State, Dr. Tuke gives numerous examples of such ; on the other hand, private asylums, boarding houses for the insane, may be excellent institutions albeit they are conducted by individuals, Dr. Tuke also furnishes examples of such in his works. Therefore Dr. Tuke has no right to say, in his denunciation of the asylums in the Province of Quebec :

"It is a radical defect, a fundamental mistake--for  
 "the province to contract with private parties or Sisters  
 "of Charity for the maintenance of lunatics."

On the contrary the Province has found this system advantageous and the insane in nowise suffer by it. Our asylums are subject to the laws which govern the matter, they are subject to the visits and the enquiries of inspectors appointed by the State ; besides the treatment prescribed by resident physicians which they pay for themselves. They are moreover under the obligation of receiving the control of visiting physicians directed by the State. What more ample security against the dangers of human weakness could be required ? It would be necessary for the State to be able to secure agents and managers entirely infallible, impeccable and ubiquitous in order to confidently lay claim to the advantage of having a paramount administration, perfectly exempt from all mishap or mistake and capable of exercising a watchfulness and a foresight extending to all places and never failing for a moment.

A dinner is not necessarily good because it is given *à la carte*, nor essentially bad because it is taken at a *table d'hôte*. It is the same with asylums. It is not the cook that we ought to examine, but we must taste the dishes he prepares in order to form an adequate idea of the kitchen ; so it is not the title of the manager of an hospital or asylum that gives the measure of the worth of the establishment, but the results as shown by a sufficient and impartial enquiry. The favorable reports of the numerous physicians, commissioners and inspectors who for years have had the supervision and control of our asylums surely have more weight than the abuse of a few agitators and the *ipse dixit* of two strangers who undertake to pass judgment on two great institutions after a flying visit made only, it is evident, with the intention of giving the colouring of an inquiry to preconcerted attacks.

It would truly be an humiliating sight and one well calculated to make us a laughing-stock, to see the Province of Quebec changing a system which has so far given full and entire satisfaction, which has given birth to two asylums inferior in nothing to the asylums of the other provinces, to see our State authorities investing a large amount of capital and increasing the annual expenditure as the inauguration of a new system would require, merely because it has pleased a

few fanatical intriguers to attack institutions possessing the confidence of the vast majority of our population, because it has pleased a man with a hobby, a passing visitor, to undertake to impose his doctrines upon us by making use of language unworthy of a well-bred person.

Moreover, the mode of treating insanity, in so far as it relates to the application of divers palliative and curative methods, does not depend upon the manner of lodging the insane. Such or such a method can be adopted without regard to the ownership of the asylums. It is preposterous to endeavor to made the public imagine that a lunatic cannot be as well taken care of in a boarding asylum as in an establishment conducted by a public official.

I shall not do our public authorities the injustice to suppose that they will allow themselves to be influenced in any way by this outcry; but I am certain, I repeat it, that the catholic population would see with pleasure our protestant fellow citizens have an asylum of their own, subsidized as the others at so much per patient. There, all those who do not like Sisters and French-Canadians, those who believe in the dogmas of *non restraint, open fires and open doors* will be able to amuse themselves to their hearts' content. We will neither wage war upon them nor insult them; Dr. Tuke will be permitted to shower upon them his most magnificent praises and proclaim the new establishment "*Eden! Eden! Eden!*" He will be allowed to come there and offer sacrifice to Psyche; and we will not be jealous of him. More than that, if they succeed in imagining or introducing really advantageous means of treating patients, I am convinced that our nuns and our other managers of asylums will quickly adopt them.

Dr. Tuke seems to make light of the question of expenditure; his prompters have no tenderness for the Treasury of the Province they inhabit. He would have the number of keepers doubled and their wages raised, for the pleasure of replacing mechanical restraint by manual restraint. All that would necessitate an increase of the subsidy, since our asylums cost already much less than all other asylums of the same class. Increasing the expenditure for the

greater glory of *non restraint* would be paying too dear for a whim looked upon as pernicious by all scientific men outside of England. Dr. Tuke is so heedless of what he says in his denunciation, so determined is he to exaggerate every thing, even the embarrassments that he would fain saddle upon us, that he exacts more from us than is exacted in England where the very costly system he wishes to impose upon us is applied:—"I consider, he says in his denunciation, that the number of attendants in such an asylum should not be less than 1 in 7, instead of 1 in 15." In his *Chapters*, page 278, he adopts quite another view of the financial question and of the proportionate number of attendants required by the system of *non restraint*; here is what he says when inveighing against the extravagant cost of the asylum for criminal lunatics at Broadmoor:—

"Financial considerations must be a very important practical point in the existence of Broadmoor. The state pays for it; an annual grant from the House of Commons must be asked for, and the Government must be prepared to show that the amount is not unreasonable. Now the weekly cost of the inmates is eighteen shillings each..... That of the inmates of our county asylums averages about half a guinea. It may therefore not unreasonably be asked. Why is this? What have the criminal lunatics done to deserve so much more money being lavished upon them? The chief reason is, that a greater proportion of attendants must be provided for this class, and that is costly. At Broadmoor the proportion of attendants to patients is one in five; in asylums generally, much less liberal, say one in eleven; besides which, they are paid better (as they ought to be) at Broadmoor."

Would you believe it was the same man who wrote those two paragraphs? In English asylums generally, which Dr. Tuke extols, with a system which obliges the attendants to struggle hand to hand with the lunatics in their paroxysms, he states approvingly that the proportion is, 1 in 11; and for our asylums, the system whereof does not require these protracted hand to hand struggles, he *considers* that the proportion should not be less than 1 in 7. This is a new proof of the honesty of purpose which actuated Dr. Tuke in publishing in

Canada his diatribe against the asylums of the Province of Quebec in order to satisfy his whims, his prejudices, his antipathies and in order to aid and abet the intriguers who enlisted him for the occasion.

The system followed in the Province of Quebec is as good as another at least ; our asylums are as good as many others that cost more ; the war waged upon them arises from prejudice, for the managers of our asylums possess the confidence of the vast majority of our population : There is therefore no reason to change the system, and the government that would break up this organization in obedience to this outcry which is an insult offered to the main body of our population would be guilty of great weakness and moreover of an act of bad administration. Surely such a thing will not occur : Dr. Tuke and his prompters will gain nothing by their intriguing and there villainous and sorry writings.

They speak of contracts ! Do they suppose that by undertaking the direct administration of the asylums the government would escape from contracts ? On the contrary, that would be opening the door to all sorts of contracts. They who have had the experience of this kind of administration understand the embarrassment of officials and of the government when they are obliged to deal with contractors for every thing. To the difficulties in details are added the vexations and intrigues of politics. The whole forming a continual source of mishaps, trouble and losses for the State.

## CONFINEMENT OF LUNATICS.

(THE LYNAM AFFAIR.)

Whilst certain writers were doing their best against our asylums, others were working up, against the Longue Pointe asylum, the charge of unlawfully detaining a person declared to be in full possession of her mental faculties : That was a matter of course and there was nothing new in it. The least effort at reasoning would have made people see at once that the Sisters, proprietors and managers of the asylum, had absolutely nothing to do with this question of the confinement of a patient.

The Sisters do not decide upon the confinement or the discharge of their boarders; they are bound to receive all persons whom the authorities appointed by law send them, and they are obliged to keep them until an order, also regulated by law, allows them to discharge their patients. It is the same with regard to all asylums; the mode of maintenance and the character of the managers have nothing to do with the confinement and discharge of patients. That is what good common sense ought to have made every one understand; whereas the Sisters were assailed during the whole time that this affair was before the public and before the court which finally took cognizance of it. My work would not be complete were I not to relate the wonderful tale of Rose Church, wife of Peter Lynam.

I hasten to say that Dr. Tuke had nothing to do, that I am aware of, with the affair of Rose Church, so that nothing of what I am about to relate applies to that gentleman.

In the month of March 1882, one Peter Lynam, a mason, of Montreal, consulted a lawyer in order to know what he was to do to shield himself and his family from the dangers to which his wife, Rose Church, exposed them all, and also to ward off the ruin his modest home was threatened with. Mrs. Lynam no longer fulfilled her duties as a mother of a family; now she would yield to absolute indolence refusing even sometimes to prepare her husband's and children's meals; again she would be subject to fits of violence during which she threatened to kill her husband with an axe and to drown her children in the river.

The lawyer consulted by Lynam went to the latter's house accompanied by Dr. Howard, an alienist, in order to ascertain the mental condition of Rose Church. They found Rose Church in a fit of crazy passion: her hair was dishevelled, her clothes in disorder, the food was strewed over the bed, and the children, trembling with fright, were cowering in a corner.

The necessary measures were immediately taken: Rose Church was arrested, and after an examination by medical experts, was confined in Longue Pointe asylum as a dangerous lunatic, which judgment her conduct at the asylum only served to confirm. This woman, who

as a rule seemed to be in possession of her reason, would often pass from a state of great calmness to fits of maniacal fury ; her look and her manners were such that her two little girls experienced in her presence an irresistible terror that their love for their mother and the caresses she sometimes bestowed upon them could not overcome. This case is a frequent one ; in the fact of the confinement there is absolutely nothing strange ; the same thing would have been done in any civilized country. In all that the managers of asylums play a passive part. Things would have gone on so, if instead of the Sisters of Providence there had been, at Longue Pointe asylum, a committee of some biblical society ; or again if the asylum had belonged to the State and been managed by an official, professional or unprofessional.

But lo and behold people take it into their heads to say that Rose Church is not crazy and that she is unjustly detained in the asylum. They arm themselves with the opinion of two physicians, *amici curiæ*, who declared that this unfortunate woman is of sound mind ; then they spread the rumor that she is ill-used in the asylum, according to her own statement ; ill-treatment which consists in having classed her among the dangerous insane in accordance with the reason of her confinement and the advice of the physicians. The Sisters are requested to discharge Rose Church ; the Mother superior answers that she believes Rose Church to be crazy, but that, crazy or not, she cannot be discharged without an order from a competent authority. That was as simple as it was reasonable and obvious ; but reason and obviousness exert no sway over prejudice and fanaticism, and people continued to hold the Sisters responsible for the detention of Rose Church and to spread about all kinds of falsehoods as to the manner in which she was being treated.

There was a difference of opinion between the medical experts on the one hand and the physicians consulted by the agitators on the other. The former have the legitimate and well grounded pretention of knowing at least as much about the matter as their opponents : at the very best the latter could only lay claim to a difference of opinion between doctors of equal authority : such things have always happened :



“ Le médecin Tant-pis allait voir un malade  
 “ Que visitait aussi son confrère Tant-mieux.”

At length recourse was had to the courts, which ought to have been done in the first place, without noise or slander, if the agitators had been acting sincerely and above board in the affair of Rose Church. Naturally enough the judge, understanding nothing about mental diseases, resorted to another medical examination. The individuals who were leading the campaign against the Sisters, under cover of Rose Church, wanted to have three experts appointed, with the evident intention that two of these experts should be men on whom they could reckon ; but this time the judge remained firm and appointed only one expert.

This expert, an alienist in the employ of the Government, found on examining Rose Church an affected calmness, impulsive movements which were at least strange, a perversion of feeling towards her husband and children, with an apparent absence of delirious ideas and hallucinations. This woman declared to him that she had such hatred for her husband that the idea of revenging herself had become a fixed idea in her mind. She would like to see her husband dead, but would as soon die before he did, in order to come back after death and revenge herself upon him more completely ; she entertains no doubt as to this *role of torturing ghost* which she could fulfill, if necessary, to her husband's detriment. Questioned as to whether she would not like to occupy another ward than that assigned to dangerous lunatics she says she would not : the violence and paroxysms of the insane of this class, she says, divert and amuse her. The expert studied the history of the patient and declared that she had been rightly retained in the asylum. In fine, he concluded by declaring that Rose Church was laboring under emotional insanity called also reasoning madness, and he finished his report by the following words :—“ I believe therefore that it would not be prudent to obliged her husband to receive her, but I see no reason why she could not be placed under the care of any one else who would take charge of her.”

With reference to such cases, I am happy to be able to cite the opinion of one whose testimony the

zealous protectors of Rose Church will not gainsay : Dr. D. H. Tuke, on pages 282 and 283 of his *Chapters*, says :

“ The number of instances in which life is sacrificed, and the still larger number of instances in which threats of injury or damage short of homicide, destroy family happiness, through the lunacy of one of its members, renders it highly desirable that greater facilities should exist for placing such persons under restraint (we do not refer now to imbeciles) before a dreadful act is committed, to say nothing of terminating the frightful domestic unhappiness. In most of these cases there is but slight apparent intellectual disorder, although careful investigation would frequently discover a concealed delusion, and the greatest difficulty exists in obtaining a certificate of lunacy from two medical men. They shrink from the responsibility. Nothing is done. Prolonged misery or terrible catastrophe is the result. To avoid this, there might be a power vested in the Commissioners in Lunacy to appoint, on application, two medical men, familiar with insanity, to examine a person under such circumstances. Their certificate that he or she ought to be placed under care should be a sufficient warrant for admission into an asylum, and they should not be liable to any legal consequences.”

Rose Church belongs precisely to the class of persons alluded to in the above lives as being fit subjects for confinement in lunatic asylums. However, the judge decided otherwise ; he convened a family council to appoint some one to be entrusted with the care of Rose Church. The council was composed of the husband, Peter Lynam, of two of the patient's consins and of four other persons. Five out of seven, the husband, the two consins and two others decided that Sister Thérèse de Jésus, Mother superior of the Longue Pointe Asylum, should be appointed to watch over and care for Rose Church, but Alfred Perry, one of those who had got up the whole affair, and another member of the family council, recommended as Rose Church's guardian, Mr. Alfred Perry... The judge ordered that Rose Church should be placed in Mr. Alfred Perry's hands he becoming her supporter, her guardian and her security.

Were it not for the principles at stake in this matter and the danger there would be to consider this decision as lawful, we should be tempted to rejoice at seeing our good Sisters delivered of Rose Church and Mr. Alfred Perry entrusted with her; but in the interest of our families and of society such is not the way these things are to be looked at. Speaking of the settlement of this Rose Church matter, a french newspaper made the following judicious remarks:—"It is none the less laid down as a principle by this judgment, that a woman, legally under *puissance de mari*, may, without the husband being a lunatic, without *séparation de corps*, and even without any evidence being adduced that could justify such a separation, be withdrawn from the authority of her husband and placed under the authority and in the possession of another man who is neither her father or her brother or even a relative. Surely that is a precedent which will be looked upon as something more than strange. Let us hope that it will not be considered as the law of the land."

One would think that after such a signal triumph the agitators ought to have been satisfied, for the time being at least. Undeceive yourself; the individuals enlisted in this crusade kept up the war against our asylums. A petition or deputation, I know not which, was sent to the Quebec government demanding the breaking up of our system of conducting these institutions. Rose Church was not dropped: A reporter paid her a visit at Mr. Alfred Perry's house. This expert of a new kind, speaking in the third person of his interview, said among other things: "He expected to find her an excitable and irritable person, whose nerves had been shattered by long confinement and whose dispositions had been soured by injustice and ill usage. But he was agreeably surprised to find her as calm in her manner and as moderate in her expressions, even when those who had injured her most were the subject of conversation, as any lady of the land..... When asked why she had been placed in the furious ward, she said that she would not tell. She was not conscious of having done anything or said anything to either the nuns or the attendants to deserve such treatment. When she entered the asylum she was,

“ she said, kept for four nights in the First Ward. On  
 “ the fifth night she was slapped, had hair torn out of  
 “ her head, was tied to a chair and was finally put in a  
 “ dirty bed. On being ask if punishment of that kind  
 “ was often inflicted at Longue-Pointe, she replied that  
 “ patients were beaten frequently by the nuns, by the  
 “ servants and by the man in attendance.”

Then fellows a dissertation by Rose Church or by the reporter, it is hard to say which, upon the hygienic conditions of the Longue Pointe asylum and the treatment of the insane, concluding as follows :

“ Mrs Lynam describes the whole management of  
 “ Longue Pointe Asylum as unmitigatedly bad. The  
 “ patients are badly lodged, badly fed and badly treated.  
 “ The frequency of punishment and the irresponsibility  
 “ of those who inflict it must strike every reflecting  
 “ person as most pernicious and tending to aggravate  
 “ the diseases of the mind and nerves, with which the  
 “ unfortunate are afflicted.”

The author of the above, whom it is useless to refute, seeing that such trash carries its refutation with it, winds up by stating that not only Rose Church is perfectly sane now, but that she always was so ; this expert does not hide his light under a bushel as you see :

“ Her enemies have tried their best, but they have  
 “ been unable to prove her insane in a Court of Justice,  
 “ and any one who sees how she conducts herself and  
 “ hears her talk will be surprised that even the  
 “ suspicion of lunacy ever attached to her.”

What may we not expect from writers capable of such audacity ? A quidnunc, advised by a poor monomaniac, passes judgment upon the mental state of the latter in the present and in the past ! Who are these *enemies* of Rose Church ? The lawyer who was consulted, the medical experts, the Sisters of Providence no doubt, for all of whom Rose Church, beyond the professional and charitable duties they had to fulfil with regard to her, is a complete stranger, of whose very existence they were probably unaware before they were brought into contact with her by circumstances entirely foreign to their wishes ! These enemies, phantoms of her brain, have been unable to prove Rose Church insane ! Why therefore was she legally taken

into custody? Why did experts, on several occasions, declare her crazy, dangerously insane? Why did the judge, so well disposed towards the friends of Rose Church, deem it his duty to give her a guardian obliged to answer for her conduct? The answer to all that is obvious to any one wishing to see.

The writings of certain newspapers against our institutions of the Province of Quebec are all of the same quality: Every thing is supposed to be allowed under the ægis of prejudice, fanaticism and party spirit. The use to which certain persons are putting the unfortunate Rose Church at the present moment should not greatly surprise us, for there is more analogy between their disease and hers than appears at first sight. The monomania, the reasoning insanity which has its cause and its object in hatred for every thing connected, closely or remotely, with the principles of catholicism and with French-Canadian nationality, takes the appearances characterizing the morbid entity which is its type. Always present in a latent state, it manifests itself, at more or less frequent intervals, by outbursts amounting sometimes to fury in certain cases. Such a disorder is to Canadian Society what emotional insanity is to the family circle, a *frightful domestic unhappiness*, according to Dr. Tuke's expression. Will we ever see the end of it? Not for a long time at all events, for it is an inveterate evil.





