McFarland (A.)

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TREATMENT OF THE INSANE.

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The early history of the insane asylum is involved in much obscurity. While a ray of light on the subject comes down to us even from times somewhat remote, the great fact of the gathering of the insane into receptacles specially provided for them is one of modern date. Yet, that the phenomena of mental disease were well understood, and its manifestations attributed to their true causes with a good degree of pathological exactness, even in the earliest days of medical science, there is no reason to doubt. Hippocrates (B.C. 456) clearly recognized the real nature of insanity, placing its seat in the brain with as much diagnostic certainty as is done to-day. Still more explicit were the views

of Galen (A. C. 131), who made many admirable observations on the disease, still instructive and to be had in remembrance.

But medical science, unfortunately, unlike all other, has its flood and ebb; and a long and dark night shut down on the progress of scientific truth, not materially to be lifted for the space of at least ten centuries. During all this gloomy period the phenomena of diseased mind seem to have wholly passed under priestly interpretation. It was a rich field whereon to point out the workings of the supernatural. That evil spirits, demons, witches, and other ghostly agents had liberty given them over the bodies and souls of certain mortal beings, was a belief not easily to be relinquished by those who drew both power and profit from its existence. Christianity had not then begun to assert itself in those humanizing sentiments that are now its blessed fruit. Learning was the possession of the few; and that few were isolated and shut out from the warm touch of common human sympathies.

It is not essential to our purpose to trace the relations sustained by the insane to society at large in those remote times. The more uncontrollable were, doubtless, held in chains, or by other means equally harsh; while the more harmless were allowed the natural tendency of the insane mind—a life of vagabondage. The privileged fool, so common an appendage to courts and the houses of the great, was, no doubt, one of these latter, whose vagaries served as a certain substitute for wit. The only instance in which any thing like the real *status* of the insane in the middle ages stands transmitted to us is in the well-known village of Gheel, in Belgium. Attracted to this spot by the fame of a local saint, said to have wrought cures among those mentally diseased, such persons, and those caring for them, became numerous enough to constitute a hamlet by themselves. Modern science has supplied to this unique colony the essentials wanting in its rude state, till the system, thus accidentally established, challenges approval as

a triumphant demonstration of better things than is shown elsewhere. We shall hereafter have occasion to advert to its merits.

For all useful purposes, we may date the system of the treatment of the insane now in vogue to the establishment of the Royal Hospital of Bethlehem, A.D., 1547. Founded by a sheriff of London, some three hundred years previously, as a pious monastic brotherhood, dedicated to St. Mary of Bethlehem, it was handed over by Henry VIII, at the date above mentioned, to the city of London, which converted it into a receptacle for lunatics. Its original funds seem, for a wonder, not to have been wholly confiscated, as its revenues have always been large—so large, indeed, as to have been at the bottom of many of the abuses of which it has been a most fruitful field. "It stood," says Stowe in his Chronicles, "in an obscure and close place, near unto many common sewers, and also was too little to receive and entertain the great number of distracted persons, both men and women." It was rebuilt, about a century later, in another locality; and some slight approach was made towards modern ideas, in a small provision of adjacent grounds, where patients, sufficiently well to be so far trusted, might have the privilege of walking for exercise. It is probable, however, that nearly the same internal arrangement was preserved in this as in the older institution—a range of cells on each side of a common corridor. Fortunately, a picture has been preserved to us, showing its interior. Hogarth, always true in the surroundings of his pictures, has given us, in the eighth scene of his "Rake's Progress," a good view of a ward in "Bedlam," as the institution was always termed. Pepys, in his gossipy diary, speaks of a visit there, where he saw "several poor, miserable creatures in chains," and Steele, in his "Tatler," mentions a similar visit with friends, "to show them the sights there"—a morbid taste not yet, we fear, wholly extinct.

Such a gloomy and repulsive state of architectural ar-

rangements as existed in this "Bedlam," from its erection in 1675 to its abandonment in 1815, could not fail to have its natural effect in perpetuating a system of treatment in full accord with it. If "the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty," the truth always has its counterpart in a receptacle for the insane where gloom and obscurity prevail. Long after Pinel had shown in France that chains and dark cells were no fitting instrumentalities in restoring the lost reason, this place abounded in atrocities from which the sense recoils. It is difficult to conceive that more than a quarter of a century after the French philanthropist had proclaimed the success of his grand experiment, a committee of the House of Commons should have found such a state of things as the following:

"In the women's galleries, one of the side rooms contained about ten patients, each chained by one arm or leg to the wall, the chain allowing them merely to stand up by the bench or form fixed to the wall, or to sit down on it. The nakedness of each patient was covered by a blanket, made into something like a dressing gown, but with nothing to fasten it in front. This was the whole covering, the feet being naked. In another part were found many of the unfortunate women locked up in their cells, naked and chained on straw, with only one blanket for a covering. In the men's wing, in the side room, six patients were chained close to the wall, five hand-cuffed, and one locked to the wall by the right arm as well as by the right leg; he was very noisy; all were naked except as to the blanket gown or small rug on the shoulders, and without shoes;—their nakedness and their confinement gave this room the complete appearance of a dog-kennel."

But the crowning horror of Bethlehem Hospital remains to be told:

"In one of the cells on the lower gallery we found Wm. Norris. He stated himself to be 55 years of age, and that he had been confined about 14 years; that in consequence of attempting to defend himself from what he conceived the improper treatment of his keeper, he was fastened by a long chain, which, passing through a partition, enabled the keeper, by going into the next

cell, to draw him close to the wall at pleasure; that to prevent this, Norris muffled the chain with straw so as to hinder it passing through the wall; that he afterwards was confined in the manner we saw him, namely, a stout ring was riveted round his neck, from which a short chain passed to a ring, made to slide upwards and downwards, on an upright massive iron bar, more than six feet high, inserted into the wall; round his body a strong iron bar, about two inches wide, was riveted; on each side of the bar was a circular projection, which, being fastened to and enclosing each of his arms, pinioned them close to his sides. This waist-bar was secured by two similar bars, which, passing over his shoulders, were riveted to the waist-bar, both before and behind. The iron ring round his neck was connected to the bars on his shoulders by a double link; from each of these bars another short chain passed to the ring on the upright bar. We were informed he was enabled to raise himself so as to stand against the wall on the pillow of his bed in the trough-bed in which he lay; but it is impossible for him to advance from the wall in which the iron bar is soldered, on account of the shortness of the chains, which were only twelve inches long. It was equally out of his power to repose in any other position than on his back, the projections on each side of the waist-bar enclosed his arms, making it impossible for him to lie on his side, even if the length of his chain from his neck to his shoulders would permit it. His right leg was chained to the trough, in which he had thus remained encaged and chained for more than twelve years!"

We are elsewhere informed that this poor wretch, thus held as strongly as iron bar and chain could confine him, was not released till about three weeks or a month before death came to his rescue. The result of these, and similar disclosures, was, to induce the abandonment of the institution where they occurred, and cause its re-erection in 1815, on a site then eligible, but now swallowed up by the tide of ever-increasing London. Yet the old fatality did not leave it, notwithstanding change of site, and all the advantage of new light on the best form of hospital construction. In 1851 the attention of Parliament was again called to its condition. "In reading the evidence taken by the commissioners," says a late writer, "it is striking how

much the story of 1851 is a repetition of the story disclosed in 1815, allowance being made for the difference of time. There is, happily, a limit to the distance at which the most inveterate obstructive institution or individual can lag behind the spirit of the age. There was no patient now found chained as poor Norris was chained till death released him,—that was impossible even at Bethlehem in 1851; but the same heartless neglect, the same spirit of obstructiveness, the same inefficient superintendence, the same strong feeling evinced, that the magnificent revenues of the wealthy charity existed for the sake of administrators and officials, and not administrators and officials for the purposes of the charity; and the same incapacity to perceive that the condition and management of the hospital was of any just interest or concern to any one but those who derived interest or profit from it,—all these were as plainly exhibited as when they were more completely realized in a more iniquitous practice."

It would seem as if these repeated animadversions of Parliament, and these repeated changes of site, would have had the effect to bring this prominent institution into such a state of perfection that it might become something like a touchstone of English civilization, standing, as it did, at the very center of the nation's intelligence, and closely in sight of its august parliament, which had its interests in keeping. Yet, so late as 1864, the same old story had to be repeated. The Commissioners of Lunacy, at this date, utter the following language:

"We take exception to the present construction of the building. We maintain that it is most unfit for the purpose. . . Though not intended as a prison, it was constructed on the same principles as a prison. . . . The general aspect of the hospital, externally and internally, notwithstanding the efforts made within the last few years to enliven the corridors and day-rooms, cannot but exercise a depressing influence upon the inmates, whose means of out-door exercise are so limited and inadequate."

It must be remembered that these censures were upon an

institution that had been twice rebuilt, the last time after the great flood of light marking the close of the eighteenth century had been thrown on the whole subject in all its relations. And it must also be remembered that Bethlehem hospital, for three centuries, represented nearly all of England's interest in this department of humanity; so much so that the words "bedlamite," and "Tom o' bedlam," were generic terms, applied to the lunatic as one of a particular class.

So much of length would not have been bestowed upon this institution if it had not, most unfortunately, stood as the type and copy of so many that were to follow, and if its evil influence had not extended into our own time. Originally the habitation of ascetic men, who made the monastic gloom of their surroundings a part of their habitual penance, it passed, with little or no alteration, to the use of those who need cheerfulness, and the largest permissible liberty, as absolutely essential conditions. The form thus inherited was pertinaciously adhered to in the twice repeated change,—showing a conviction that it was the best, and perhaps the only, way in which the insane could be safely associated for treatment. Those who chained up William Norris were doubtless as well convinced that rows of cells on each side of a dark corridor were absolutely the only way to lodge the insane, as Philip II was that torture and the stake were the only remedy for heresy in the Netherlands. In each case, a thorough conviction dictated the arrangement and the remedy. But, unfortunately for humanity, while the mistake of the Spanish bigot cures itself under the light of human progress, it is the very nature of mental disease to be violent in its manifestations just in proportion to the harshness of the means used to repress them, and thus their necessity always seems to grow in proportion as they are used. William Norris doubtless reached the position in which we have seen him through a series of graduated restrictions on the part of his keepers, and increasing demonstrations of violence on

his own, till those who could not realize the facts of the case reasoned themselves into the belief that their triple array of chains, iron bars and bands were really necessary. It is one of the instincts of human nature to make use of the most extreme means of power put into its possession. If, in the control of the insane, strong cells, chains and iron bars, are among the recognized instrumentalities, they will be used; and the necessity for their use will all the time seem to increase, till the state of things above portrayed becomes to exist. As we come to consider the two modes of providing for the insane, now contesting for public favor, we shall see how one system, in its natural tendency, inclines to the abuses we have seen,—requiring incessant vigilance in their avoidance; while the other almost as naturally tends to emancipate this branch of philanthropic science more and more from all that has made the insane asylum the theme for the sensational novelist, a target for the newspaper itemist, and the opprobrium of the social reformer.

Whether or not Bethlehem Hospital stood as the type and model on which the great majority of modern institutions have been formed is not material to the present purpose; suffice it only to say the type has been accepted, and all changes since made are in minor points, and not materially varying from the model. It is true that every variety of external form has been given that architecture can suggest; the Gothic, the castellated, the Tudor, and the Romanesque—each has had its turn as fancy may have dictated. But the old form of interior—a range of small rooms (which the uninitiated will persist in calling "cells"), on each side of a central passage way or corridor, remains the same virtually to-day as it did when Henry VIII gave the monastery of St. Mary of Bethlehem to be converted into a retreat for the insane. This will not seem so strange to those who reflect how much easier it is to accept a model already established than to strike out a new course. It unfortunately happens that those who are called

on to make the preliminary arrangements for the custody and treatment of the insane are, almost invariably, persons who have given the subject no previous attention. The responsibility they are saddled with precludes the exercise of any originality of thought upon the subject. They leave what they are accustomed to style untried experiments to those who may come after, and content themselves with what has been tried a hundred times before. They employ the best architect they can procure, and bid him go to work and show the best thing that can be had for the money. It is not to be expected that this functionary will be an original thinker on a subject beyond his province, or that he will fail to present a picture that appeals to the eye, or gratifies the taste for the fanciful, and, perhaps, the grand. The externals of his picture harmonize with the site chosen, and gratify the all potent local pride that dictates the choice. The externals are the architect's chief concern, for in these lies his monument. Building committees are not averse to seeing their names blazoned on the lintels of a stately edifice, and so a hundred Bethlehems have grown out of the one original.

It will be claimed that the old, repulsive picture, presented by Hogarth, has been so much softened by the humane sentiment of later times that, save in form, it no longer exists,—that pictures, libraries, musical instruments, and garnished walls have hidden all the bald features shown in the satirist's representation. This is a statement particularly calculated to satisfy the easy going and thoughtless. If these additions could be made to absorb the attention of the mentally diseased, to the exclusion of all other thoughts, they might measurably satisfy. But those conversant with the cravings of the insane mind well know that, save in the rare instance, all these have but little real effect on the dulled sense of those supposed to profit by them. Hamlet has truly expressed the exercise of the insane mind:

"I have of late (but wherefore I know not) lost all my mirth, foregone all custom of exercises; and, indeed, it goes so heavily

with my disposition, that this goodly frame, the earth, seems to me a sterile promontory; this most excellent canopy, the air, look you, this brave o'erhanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire, why it appears no other thing to me than a foul and pestilent congregation of vapors."

If the goodly frame of the earth, and the majestical roof of the heavens awaken no emotion whatever, can their painted imitations do more? Without wishing to disparage those who profess to rely largely on these substitutes, their ostentatious display must be pronounced little else than blinds—tubs thrown to amuse the larger whale outside—or, as one who has used them largely has neatly phrased it, "conductors laid to carry off public sentiment." As a matter of fact, such objects produce an effect on those deprived of greater boons, almost infinitesimal. Those who, in successive attacks of insanity, have had experience of several institutions, are found expressing no preference of those where such agencies extensively abound over others where they are greatly wanting. They are by no means to be despised as accessories, but as material reliances, held up as substitutes for better things, they are to be rated at their worth. If a whole system is radically wrong, a few pictures more or less, or libraries unopened by the vast majority, make but small impression. It is only a gilding of the wires,—the cage remains a cage still.

That a vicious system has been allowed to perpetuate itself, is explained by the excessively conservative qualities of the Saxon mind. How long has it taken to emancipate, even in democratic America, woman from her unjust position in social equality and property rights, as established by English common law? How long must it be before the true relation of the State to the criminal classes shall get any satisfactory recognition? For how long a time were capital punishment for petty offenses, imprisonment for debt, and the harsh laws of distraint, allowed to remain a blot upon humanity? If reforms of evils that come home to men's business and bosoms were suffered to lag so slowly, how natural

to "let well enough alone" in a matter that seemed to touch only upon the interests of the few. It is the pride and boast of our own time not merely to remove evils that are glaring and wide-spread, but to hunt up those that lie hidden by reason of the obscurity and powerlessness of those who suffer under them. Every year sees some new class of the unfortunate or erring brought under the eye and protection of the State.

Not only is it the spirit of our time to widen the area of public beneficence, and bring within its protecting influence new classes, but to reconsider former provisions, and inquire if they have kept pace in the grand march of human progress. Such a process is a healthy one, and always justifiable, if for no other purpose than to make way-marks to show the rate of our advance. That a style of institution that has held its place unchanged for some centuries is a fit subject for this species of reconsideration, no one will call in question.

As a preliminary to our inquiry, it must be stated that notwithstanding institutions for the custody and treatment of the insane have had so long an existence, they have been singularly objects of popular distrust. While general enlightenment has established the *status* of all other consociations of equal age, these alone stand subjects of mystery and doubt, of which the most intelligent partake. While granting that the ideas concerning them are too often got from perverted representations by those who have been in no condition to form a correct judgment, and therefore should be cast aside as unworthy of notice, it is allowing too little to human discernment not to believe that, had there been no general obstacle inherent to the system itself, correct and abiding impressions would have become established. It is the want of these that gives impunity to the dealer in fiction, in laying his most sensational scenes in the wards of the lunatic asylum, where perversion, exaggeration, and sheer invention may revel to their full bent. In a dispassionate and unprejudiced state of the public

mind, these caricatures would long ago have died out, as stale and unprofitable. What book, professing to describe such scenes from experience, however abounding in the most insane vagaries, does not find its thousands of greedy purchasers? Why is it that the best men that society can produce—giving their time and pains as a labor of love entirely—chosen as their managers, have no success in lifting this load of popular opprobium? Why is it that the "mad doctor," whenever his acts or opinions bring him into notice, must get off with the reputation of being a cross of the fool and the knave? The explanation of many of these anomalies must be found in the fact that a branch of medical science, the most dignified and important of all, has heretofore been mainly pursued in a theater whose very construction does an injustice to the best endeavor, while also peopled by the imagination of those outside with every kind of distorted shape. It is not alone the subjects treated, but those who treat them, who are the victims.

We shall now proceed to show, as briefly as possible, what are the main defects of our present system of hospital arrangement, and suggest the proper remedy.

And, first, we must consider their radically faulty plan of construction; as this error lies at the bottom of all the evils of which they are the subject. The idea that all the subjects of mental disease are "madmen," and need certain special surroundings as such, was the original foundation of this grave mistake. This error seems to have been so deeply planted that all experience to the contrary of that misconception has not served to eradicate it. As the features of insanity get their character very much from surroundings, it is easy to see how such an error can be perpetuated. Is it a wonder that those who successively rebuilt Bethlehem hospital should hold to the belief that all bereft of reason needed all the controlling forces required by savage and dangerous beasts? When Pinel made his memorable visit to the Bicetre, and released its inmates from their long accustomed chains, the affrighted keepers—

no doubt, honestly—protested against the act as full of peril to his life; and none were more astonished at the tranquility that followed than themselves. And it is a noteworthy fact that the general features of insanity have softened with every step to ameliorate the system of its treatment.

The idea of *security*, then, as the first and foremost consideration, has always been one of the chief obstacles to the adoption of a more rational system than the present. As this idea is best promoted by compactness of construction, it is plain to see how the effort is persevered in to get just as much as possible under a single roof. Nothing is so fatal to this idea as simple extension or segregation. Hence the passion to pile story above story, and perpetuate a penitentiary in all things but the name. As partition walls are solidly built from the bottom, it necessarily follows that each story is a counterpart of all the others. If there is any difference in any of our institutions, in the uniform solidity of finish, and the uniform style of doors, locks and gratings, in each of these superimposed stories, the instance has not been cited. The eye then rests upon an endless monotony of surroundings, everywhere suggestive of repression and strength. The only note of those within, that has no variation, is that of Sterne's imprisoned starling—"I can't get out!"

Now, if all those thus held had the quality of jail breakers, this might be well. But all experience has abundantly proved that the great majority of the inmates of our insane asylums are willing, if not contented residents. If there is anything all pervading in the feeling of such, it is a sensitiveness as to their condition, as a separate, and perhaps outcast class. Not high excitement—as the theory seems to suppose, but depression, is the great preponderating condition. If there is one delusion more common than all others, it is that of personal unworthiness—of having forfeited the love and confidence of others—of merited banishment, unfitness to live, etc. Throwing out epileptics

and paralytics, it is safe to say that fully two-thirds of the insane committed to asylums, suffer from the insanity of depression. To such, the unvarying monotony of their surroundings is a corroding weariness, and the universality of locks and gratings a perpetual reminder that they are unfit to be trusted. The most unreflecting need not be told how ill-fitted are these to cheer and re-assure. Where a pleasing variety of surroundings is an indispensable stimulant, nothing meets the eye but a sameness that can undergo no change whatever. Even his companions in suffering remain in many instances the same. The writer was informed by a gentleman who revisited, after a year's absence, an institution with which he had been connected, that in one ward of twenty-four patients, one death and one new comer were the only change of occupants. Who can believe, that knows anything of the effect of change upon such subjects, that had all these been turned loose, or transferred even to the homely aspects of an almshouse, some one at least might not have recovered?

The bane of such a state of existence is found in the search after stimulants, the most unnatural and hurtful. Among men, the craving for tobacco is almost insatiable; and, when withheld, the substitutes are revolting, and worse than beastly. And all concerned in the care of such institutions deplore, and vainly strive to remedy, the enormous prevalence of those secret vices that need not be named. But the most universal, and perhaps the least hurtful, of all stimulants indulged in by the insane, when subjected to this monotonous life, is the gorging the stomach with quantities of food, often many fold greater than the necessary ration for the hardest worked laborer. The amount disposed of at a meal, by many long-time residents of our public institutions, would excite wonder in those professing to know the capacity of the human stomach. Other aims and objects being wanting, all thought and anticipation is for the return of the hour when these feats of gastric distention can be repeated.

It is often said, in defense of this compacted system of providing for the insane, that it secures a closer and more direct supervision on the part of responsible officers, and therefore is the best guarantee against the abuses of those less responsibly interested. The facts do not sustain this assumption. At Gheel, where the separation between those held publicly responsible and the objects of their charge is as wide as the confines of an entire village, whatever objections may have been alleged, that of inhumanity has never been raised. Surely, if any man ever lived whose personal character was a guarantee against any thing of the nature of an abuse, it was the late lamented Dr. Conolly, whose inauguration of a system of non-restraint, at Hanwell, marks an era of itself. Yet an examination of the reports of the English Commissioners in Lunacy will show how severely Hanwell has been censured for the very abuses most complained of. In modern times, since not only have the chains and riveted bars of iron, found in the olden time at Bethlehem, been utterly done away with, but also nearly every form of personal restraint; what are generally now termed "abuses" are quite of another nature. They almost universally consist of acts purely personal between the patient and his attendant. A book of rules in the hands of the latter, breathing the highest sentiments of humanity, and dictating every part of his relation to his patient, is found not sufficient to prevent collisions, and sometimes aggressive acts, in which the patient is doubtless, more or less frequently, the sufferer. So long as attendants on the insane are merely men and women, with the ordinary power to remain unmoved by vile and insulting language, keen provocation and sometimes dangerous attack, while at the time, perhaps, outworn with sleeplessness and overwork no insane asylum will ever be wholly exempt from the charge of this species of abuse. Its remedy will be found, not by gathering the patients as closely together as a brood of hovered chickens, but in adopting a system which preserves, and not quickly destroys, the self-pos-

session and moral vigor of the attendant. A strength and evenness of temper, only found once in a thousand, is alone proof against the strain imposed on the attendant, under our prevailing system. With little society save the objects of his charge; inhaling for the twenty-four hours of the day an oft-times polluted atmosphere, with no relief except the brief forenoon walk; tasked to the extreme by never-ceasing duties, often of the most revolting kind, the most elastic spirit and temper soon succumbs. Before he can have obtained any of that insight into the nature of the disease of the subjects of his charge, on which his usefulness much depends, he will have become impatient, soured, and unfit for further service. Of course, exception is made of those rare instances where a very high principle, and much of that moral accomplishment termed grace, serve to sustain one against almost any physical odds. Thus a current of fresh life has to be continually poured into the service of our hospitals, to run off at the end of two or three years at the utmost, exhausted of its indispensable element. Of those tales of abuse carried from our hospitals by discharged patients, that have the color of foundation, nine-tenths would be found to proceed either from the worn-out attendant, whose ill-humor proceeds from the thread-bare state of his kindly elements, or from the novice in duty, whom timidity renders hasty and severe.

Again, while human nature remains as it is, the continual presence of the means of restraint or repression will be provocative of their use. Where everything about breathes the spirit of force, can it be otherwise than that the one trusted with its use, under no very heavy responsibilities personally, will not abuse it?

Fancy one or two young men or women, having the novel sense of the possession of *power*—power over twenty or thirty others—a majority their superiors in age, natural social standing, and, perhaps, intelligence; with the means always in hand to curb, annoy, and even covertly punish; will not indiscretion, vanity, and arrogance, under such a relation of the parties, give rise to petty oppression on one side, and physical resistance on the other? It is vain to say that vigilance, on the part of those primarily responsible to the public, can prevent this. Nothing short of omnipresence would be equal to the task. It is only by reducing means and opportunity to the very lowest possible minimum—leaving in sight just as little as possible whatever is even suggestive of force, restraint, or repression, and thereby taking from the attendant the ever-present *sense* of power, which is so dangerous, that we are to create that new atmosphere in which the moral force supplants the physical. In a word, then, the arrangements, appliances, even many of what are called the conveniences, of the insane asylum ward, are demoralizing in their effect, as promoting the sense of power, and too easily suggesting its exercise. What, for instance, is more convenient than the bath-tub, accessible on the instant, with its bountiful supply of hot and cold water always laid on? And yet, for how much of abuse is this convenience not responsible? How many scores is it made to pay off; how many sly grudges to satisfy; how it always stands an engine of petty tyranny—a Damocles' sword, always suspended? And yet it always does its mischievous work under the sober mask of a necessity of cleanliness. And so, almost every other convenience and facility, *designed and fashioned for the use of the insane specifically*, seems to have elements in it capable of perversion and abuse. To this point of the subject we shall again allude.

Another grave evil pertaining to our present asylum system, is, the great size and usual style of exterior of the

building that generally constitutes the institution proper. Three, four, and even five stories, is no unusual height for the portion allotted patients, while other parts rise higher still, and all made additionally imposing by towers, domes, or pinnacles, as taste or means dictate. That buildings to serve certain uses, and also, we may add, to express certain ideas, should be ornate, and even grand and imposing, is not to be questioned. The purity of taste that made St, Peter's the grandest creation of mortal hands, and dedicated it forever to the worship of the Most High, as the offering of a universal church, is beyond a cavil. So, also, the capitol of a nation or State—the center of its power and the fountain-head of its edicts—may express dignity and command. The sentiments of awe these inspire, in the devout Christian or the patriotic citizen, are every way salutary. But the insane asylum should awaken no such sentiment, but its direct opposite. Everything calculated to repel, as indicative of the abode of state, or the repository of power, should be discarded. A home-like and unpretentious tastefulness—the quality that invites and assures—should mark every feature. The face of a generous host, who welcomes his guest to "a rump and dozen," should, if possible, be no more cheery than its every out-look.

We have said that depressing emotions are largely predominant among the insane. The insane subject suspects, dreads, apprehends. His spirit tends to put itself constantly on the defensive. He sees — or construes — in everything with which he comes in relation, some agency that is to work evil to his interest. In this state he approaches the insane asylum, where, it is fondly hoped, his grievous malady is to be cured. Its great size and far-seen elevation, so much exceeding, in many instances, every thing before witnessed, inspire an awe both deep and lasting. A chilling sense of the nature of that untried life which the building looming up before him suggests, takes possession of him. These fears and forebodings are not lessened by the strange faces that peer out of the grated windows, story above story, all

unmistakably reminding him that the pile whose portal he is approaching is for one use and no other. All these influences serve to impair, if not altogether destroy, the hopefulness and mental elasticity that promote restoration. They all increase the idea that he is an outcast, doomed henceforth to separation from the life of the past. We need not follow him within, for we have already seen how much there meets him calculated further to depress. To the furious madman who needs the strong arm of restraint, these first impressions are innoxious, and may even be salutary. But how opposed they are to the winning of confidence, the removal of insane misapprehensions, and to the promotion of the peace of mind of the timid and depressed, we need not stop to consider.

We have before alluded to the ideas, more or less prevalent even among the intelligent, that the modern insane asylum still contains the cells, dungeons, and dark places, whose conception is an inheritance from an olden time. Although printed reports by the million, issuing from such institutions, have been scattered broadcast, the burden of which is to disabuse the public mind, there now and then comes up a revelation that these ideas are almost as fixed as ever. They are unquestionably fostered by the magnitude of the imposing piles in which the insane are treated. The passer-by shakes his head in doubt as to the use of so many up-piled stories if they are not to afford concealment of the bugbears his imagination supplies. And the casual visitor, who makes the usual call of curiosity, is still worse impressed. Unless he walks about with a plan of the edifice in his hands, and "spots" waymarks of his passage, it is ten to one that he goes away with the belief that the closets containing the skeletons have been skipped—that what he has seen is an ingenious blind, like the fictitious machinery in Kempelen's automaton, got up merely to hide the substance of the imposition that lies behind. Imaginings, in such cases, take their form from the apparent possibility of their existence;—the nunnery, with its high wall and com-

pact edifice, will always be the scene of dark fiction, while the Shaker village, domestic and scattered, affords it no room. The argument drawn from appearance merely is not indeed a very strong one, but where the effects of appearance are adverse to great interests of humanity, their correction is one of the first steps in the way of advance. And is it not true that any system really adapted to its end will vindicate itself, not in the fact alone, but in the appearance also? It will be time to complain of a too credulous and censorious public when the exterior of the insane asylum shall be of a style that of itself provokes no suspicion.

It is often said that our insane asylums, usually numbering their three, four, and even five hundred subjects, are each too great a charge to be safely imposed upon a single responsible head; and this is, in a modified sense, quite the fact. But the charge weighs heavily, not from the physical labor involved, nor from the administrative care exercised, nor even from the amount and variety of thought needed in the treatment of such a multitude of cases. It exhausts rather from the never-ceasing sense of responsibility which the conscientious man feels in being the repository of the well-being of so many of his suffering and innocent fellow men. He can never forget, for an hour, how many hopes rest in him, and how many disappointments follow his want of success. This feeling attends him in every round he takes among the objects of his charge. To form some faint conception of the exhausting nature of this apparently easy task, let the reader take in his hand even ten photographic likenesses of as many of his best-known friends, and, as he passes them in succession before his eye, devote three minutes of undivided thought to each,—recalling a full ideal of the expression of countenance when last seen, the facts of the person's history, his traits of character, and all else pertaining to him, so abstractedly that the individual will, as if in person, have passed before him, and observe how the mind will have become wearied over even so short a list. And

yet this process must be gone through with daily, to many hundred times the extent, involving recollection, comparison, and judgment, by every one in such a trust, if he professes to bear on his mind his full responsibilities.—the individuals themselves being before him and not the pictured representations. Now, it is a well-known fact, that, as our institutions are peopled, fully three-fourths of all those his eye at any moment rests on, are, save almost by miracle, utterly beyond hope of restoration, and need little care except the supply of common wants. Yet his mind, in dealing with the mass, can make no relieving distinction. As the classifications of no insane asylum are based on the element of curability, all weigh heavily alike. It is a great body of suffering, which he can only see in the overpowering concrete. It is impossible, save by special effort, to distribute thought and attention according to the degrees in which it is really demanded; and hence attention is bestowed on those to whom it is nearly valueless, which should have been paid to those on whom it would have been profitable. Energies which should be husbanded have been frittered away because those to whom they are directed have been improperly brought under view. If the system through its own working, could establish these distinctions, and responsibility be made to press only where it ought, we should hear less that the heads of such institutions are so often overworked and short-lived men.

From the foregoing considerations we have seen that the fundamental error of asylums upon the Bethlehem model consists in holding to the idea that insanity is an absolute condition, and not recognizing the essential fact that it is as wide in degree as the shades of physical disease, each shade needing its own conditions of treatment. What would be thought of the practitioner of surgery who condemned every injury of a limb to the fixedness of the starched bandage; or of the physician who considered going to bed a *sine qua non* in his treatment. Such a Procrustean condemnation would be pronounced an absurdity

at once. The system would be regarded as wofully deficient in expedients that had no wider range. If the limb needs mechanical appliances of any kind, is there not an immense choice, for the patient's comfort, between the immovable and unyielding fixture supposed above, and the milder one that performs its office just as well and yet allows a harmless liberty of motion? The steadfast adherent of our present asylum system, we fear, has no other argument than the surgeon above supposed would urge in support of his practice,—"it holds things tight." If this were the be all and the end all, in both cases, the argument would hold unquestionably good. It is the experience of all institutions, and all customs that depend on the advance of scientific knowledge, to ameliorate their earlier harsh aspects, and better adapt themselves, in the lapse of time, to the wants of the human race. How much has surgery parted with its terrors since boiling oil and the actual cautery have gone out of use, and, under the blissful unconsciousness of anæsthetics, the most formidable operations are performed during the changes of a dream! How much is the sweat and toil of the agriculturalist lessened by labor-saving discoveries; how much are all the pleasures of life increased since fundamental principles are better understood and applied! With these changes in mind, it is the inevitable tendency of modern thought to run the plowshare through even many well accepted usages, to see if the upturning alone will not prove beneficial. God's truth—that which is eternal—is good *because* it is old; while the very reverse must apply to all things of human ordination.

We have seen that, for some centuries, the insane asylum has adhered to one fixed type; and have shown, in all fairness, in what manner its bolder features have been softened in more recent times. But it cannot have failed to appear that the entire system is much behind the common sense conceptions of thinking minds. In proceeding to consider the remedy for evils thus brought under review, the leading ideas that should govern the association of the

insane for treatment will first be stated, and each treated as briefly as an understanding of the subject will admit.

1. The largest practicable amount of direct and free contact between the insane and the sane mind; or, conversely, the least massing of the insane element, by which it acts and re-acts upon itself.

2. The banishing from the system of treatment of everything possible, deemed *distinctive* in the control of the insane, whether it be in the material form of an architectural arrangement or a mechanical appliance, or whether it be in the form of a custom or usage, where its abandonment is not plainly inconsistent with health or safety.

3. The limiting of confinement, repression, or restraint to the individual case alone where it is indicated; the regarding such a case as the exception to the rule which would remove the insane as little as practicable from the surroundings and customs of ordinary life.

No remark is more common among those of the insane who retain a sense of their own condition than—"Its enough to make a well man crazy to be shut up with such company"—an idea which must have often impressed the visitor, who, for the first time, pays an understanding visit to the wards of an asylum. Even in the mildest grade of cases, the uniformity of suffering reflected from each other's faces is an element of constant depression. Mute suffering is more eloquent, and its silent appeal more distressing, often, than the most demonstrative. A single object of woe is exhausting enough to contemplate, as most have realized; how much more then when the objects are multiplied by scores, and constitute the entire mass. To this uniformity, the relatively insignificant number of attendants, occupied, as they are, with duties that leave little time for cheer or converse, afford almost no break whatever. The infrequent visits of medical officers, or casual visitors, produce a brief brightening up, to be immediately followed by a relapse into the same melancholy

vacuity. Nor are the insane good consolers of each other, but generally the direct reverse. Every one's own experiences render him selfish, and his language to his associates is anything but that of cheer and comfort. It is often said that "insanity improves no man's morals;" and it is vain to look for mutual love and forbearance, or for the exercise of patience and sympathy among those who, under natural circumstances, have not learned to cultivate such graces.

As this evil is one of the most apparent, it has most engaged the thoughts of those seeking to promote the good of the insane. We have before seen how far short even the best devices for relieving the tedium of in-door life among the insane fail of making any real impression on it. The checker-board and the often-thumbed cards are but another name for idleness; pictures, after a glance from the more intelligent, are of little more account than blank surfaces; and the gaping listlessness of an audience of the insane, in attendance upon an intellectual performance, must show how feeble are all these as a substitute for what the average mind among this class substantially craves. None of the insane, whose minds and bodies are capable of being exercised at all, are satisfied with these make-believes. They are confessions of the importance of recreation, but very slight steps towards supplying it. The want of something to do which shall show *actual results*, is that which the insane feel as do others, though not, to be sure, in the same degree. All that remains in him, capable of being built upon, is best fostered and encouraged by letting him prove that he can do things much as other people do them. Hence the necessity that the insane shall be brought, in the highest practicable measure, into contact with people in ordinary relations and doing the world's ordinary work.

The success claimed for the Gheelor's system (that pursued at the hamlet of Gheel, before alluded to,) is all based upon the above-named principles. It is the close intermixture of the two elements, of mental health and

disease, that acts so favorably upon the latter. The low grade of general intelligence manifested by the ordinary villagers of Gheel has been subject of frequent remark; yet that seems no objection, and may even be an advantage so long as they well comprehend what it is their set aim to do, which is to make their erratic guests comfortable and happy. They are forced to win the love and confidence of those committed to them, from the general absence of other means of control. One common habit becomes established, of an overseeing forbearance on the one side, and deference and willing obedience on the other. An act of abuse, perpetrated by an individual, is a blow at the common good name and interest; and the qualities of mind and heart that would endanger its repetition would make their possessor an outcast from the community. The unfavorable criticisms sometimes expressed upon the Gheel community have invariably come from those educated in the Bethlehem system, who comment on a certain absence of the order, neatness, and regularity which the latter system can unquestionably enforce. Whether the "mint and anise and cummin" of well-blacked shoes, starched collars, and regular processional walks are first considerations, and there be no "weightier matters," is worth careful thought before a superficial criticism is fully accepted. And it may seriously be called in question whether the perfectly orderly arrangements insisted on among the insane, gathered promiscuously from our rural population, before unused to such strictness of life, are not an irksome restraint, doing more harm than good. Is the exchange of the sun-browned face, unkempt locks, and firm muscle of the insane man, accustomed to all vicissitudes of "skyey influence," for the pallor, flabbiness, and appearance of high grooming, distinguishing him under the rule of standard asylum life, one that bodes happiness or long life to the subject? Would greater length of days have been assured Madge Wildfire, Barnaby Rudge, Crazy Kate, or any other of the true types of insanity found in the page of fiction, if the wild robustness of the picture

was toned down and bleached out by the kind of life we have commented on?

The good effect in the Gheelor's system, resulting from this intermixture of the two elements, has been successfully obtained in some other European institutions, by placing the more mild of the chronic insane as out-boarders among the surrounding rural populations,—the institution responsible for them still maintaining its supervision. In Scotland, particularly, this plan is said to work well. But among the corresponding class in this country, the desire to "turn an honest penny' by assuming such a charge would not be so universal, and the real or fancied risks have prevented the adoption of any such measure. Yet ignorance and prejudice are the chief obstacles to such a plan, which has many strong arguments in its favor. If the superstitious fright aroused by the word "crazy" could be made to yield to a reasonable enlightenment, and the able-bodied but incurably insane could be allotted, under due restrictions, to the charge of neighboring agriculturists of known character, for brief experimental periods, the aggregate of bodily health and of happiness would unquestionably be increased. Every one of extensive experience in the management of asylums has had his pride of science not a little taken down by the sight of the recovery, or very great improvement of his patient, after exchanging his own long protracted treatment for the no-treatment of some homely almshouse.

We have before adverted to the fact that of the abuses that form the staple of complaint in patients lately resident in our asylums, nearly all the justly grounded ones will be found to proceed from the existence of features that are distinctive of such establishments. The strong room, whose door may close at any time on the refractory, at the caprice of his attendant—the handy bath-tub, admitting almost any amount of abuse with impunity—not to speak of the "camisol" and "waist-strap," where these are still retained—with many kindred appliances and conveniences,

are too easily turned from their legitimate use into instrumentalities of evil, to be viewed only with distrust. All of them are, at the best, evils—possibly necessary ones—to be dispensed with most rigidly, wherever the necessity for their continuance is not most apparent. Let us be understood: it is not the things themselves that are the subject of condemnation, but the temptation to and facility in their unwise use, given by a system of association and control inherently vicious.

To take, for illustration, a single one of these, the bath. This is, most unquestionably, a highly important hygienic appliance, whose well-considered use confers decided benefit, as a special measure in particular cases, and whose general use, especially at certain seasons of the year, may safely be enjoined. In every institution claiming to be complete, this instrumentality will be found in every ward, placed in close proximity with the water-closet, for the sake of direct sewerage and water supply. Its very "handiness" is a strong temptation to its indiscriminate use, which is synonymous with its abuse. Its aid is often invoked, through sheer indolence, for purposes to which a basin and sponge would be better adapted. Now, while granting, as above, all the value of the water-bath, let the general reader ask himself the question, how many of the average of men and women in his knowledge give themselves the benefit of this luxury—if so it be termed—so often as even once a week? And in the houses of the wealthy, supplied with "all the modern conveniences," how generally it will be found that the bath-tub is merely the repository of the mops, buckets, and scrubbing brushes of the housemaid. It is like the sacred spring of the jolly friar of Copmanhurst; or, rather, a fashion, which everybody extols and nobody uses. In cold, or even temperate climates, it has never established itself as an habitual usage, nor in any other, except where made a semi-religious rite. Man can not be made an aquatic animal, any more than any other not born web-footed. To more than nine in the ten

of those admitted to our asylums, recumbency in a bath-tub is a most novel and strange situation. A great proportion regard it, and treasure it up in memory, as a punishment. As such, it is often approached with a scream, a struggle, and a conflict, in which the weaker party has to yield. And what an opportunity to call to mind some past offense, and hold the subdued party under water, or apply the *douche* particularly cold, till better things in future are promised. No humane regulations, and no possible vigilance are proof against such perversions. The temptation to the abuse is ever at hand, and its discovery well-nigh an impossibility.

In the same category are many other things which irresponsible power may avail itself of, and always have plausible excuse or defense. From those who can have no idea whatever of the objective impressions of the insane (and it must include nearly all who accept subordinate service in our institutions), who abound in such remark as "he knows better"—"might do better if he would," etc., nothing else can be expected than if the means of compulsion are placed in hand they will be employed. The high blame rests on those who, knowing the inevitable consequences, countenance the evil in countenancing its opportunities.

It is a feature of most great social reforms that they progress by distinct steps, often taken at wide distances of time. Reform seems to require ample breathing time between each effort, and to view each advance with a long look of satisfaction before making another. This habit has particularly distinguished the reforms in the treatment of the insane. After Pinel had inaugurated a new era, proclaiming that the insane were no more to be chained up as wild beasts, the world had to look with fifty years of admiration upon the triumph before it could bethink itself that something more remained to be done. Then came another loudly heralded achievement, the disuse of all mechanical restraints whatever, of which Drs. Conolly, Charlesworth, and Hill each claimed to be discoverers. But one other

grand step, in our conception of the subject, remains to be taken; which is, to cease altogether regarding the insane as separated by a distinct gulf from their fellow men,—to cease regarding insanity as an absolute condition, operating as an utter disqualification, and *tabooing* its subject, as soon as the fact is known, from ordinary human relations, but coming to regard it as an idiosyncrasy merely, requiring a change of residence to be among those who understand the nature of this idiosyncrasy, and can regulate the impressions, favorable or unfavorable, that bear upon it from without. The insane person is often as one who has a local sore, which only spreads and involves the constitution after it has become irritated by unwise applications, when, by a simple covering from the atmosphere, it would have healed of itself. It is one of the more wretched fortunes of the insane that the world has so long been accustomed to regard his state as an absolute one; that, as soon as it has been whispered abroad, its subject finds himself often at arm's length with the rest of the world, viewed with distrust, gazed on as an anomaly, and given to understand, on all hands, that a mysterious something makes him a social exile. Cold looks and lapse of confidence kindle into a flame what otherwise would have died out, and, as we have seen, every curb and fetter added, drives onward into ungovernable frenzy.

Asylums upon the Bethlehem system have all been founded under the influence of these views. Their whole idea, from foundation stone upwards, is, that if all to be entertained are not absolute jail-breakers, they so certainly may be that a wholesome curb must be about every one without distinction, to be tightened at will. In no other instance has a set of old and fixed ideas so perpetuated a style of structures, or the structures themselves so reacted to fix and confirm obsolete ideas. Yet vast and costly masses of stone and brick are not proof against the upheaval of correct ideas. All the asylums on the Bethlehem model on the western continent are probably not of greater

cost than the American navy at the breaking out of the late civil war. Yet a single afternoon's experience in Hampton Roads converted it all into useless lumber.

We now come to consider what should be the true relation of the insane toward surrounding objects, whether they refer to his control, his recovery, or his due share of common human happiness. We have, all along, accepted the idea as correct, that the best good of the insane is, as a general rule, promoted by removal from the scenes of his ordinary life. There is no question that the objective impressions of the insane are far more perverted, and become more fixed, when among those with whom they have been accustomed to have close relations, and among scenes with which they have always been familiar, than where those persons and scenes are totally changed. Hence the insane asylum in some form, is an absolute necessity in all civilized society. The question now becomes, Shall the Bethlehem system, whose imperfections we have sufficiently considered, be perpetuated, or shall the other, which we shall term the Natural system, be adopted? The various names applied to the latter, such as the "segregate system," "cottage system," or "colony system," all imply the same thing; which means, a style of community association made so elastic, or upon a sliding scale of such easy working, that it presses nowhere save where individual repression is plainly required, leaving all else in the possession of a wholesome and enjoyable freedom. The only objection ever made to this great step is the time-honored argument of Noodledom—"It looks all very well in theory, but won't do in practice"—as if the experiment of hundreds of years at Gheel, despite all the crudities of that experiment, had not demonstrated its full practicability.

The American insane asylum system was taken bodily from systems in vogue in England at the time of its adoption, and has closely followed the development of English ideas. The thought has never seemed to occur that our social and political institutions, especially the latter, have

wrought a state of society that make a purely English model the very last we should have adopted. To this day it seems almost impossible to establish a class of institutions in England corresponding to our American state institutions, where the rich and poor meet on a common ground, and no distinctions are recognized. The public institution there is a receptacle for paupers, or those verging upon that state. It has gradually molded itself to the purely English idea of pauperism, with insanity as its attendant. The paralyzing maxim, always in the mouths of English poor-law officials, "once a pauper always a pauper," has been powerful to fix the type they have inherited from their fathers. To lift men out of pauperism, by seeking out a system that shall develop manliness, independence, and self-reliance, is an idea that seems not yet to have dawned upon their field of social science. This idea of pauperism, as a fixed state, is a sore upon the English body politic that it just begins to feel. It has invaded the whole system of union relief, till the complaint begins to reach us that their favorite term "Work-house" has become a misnomer,—labor being the last thing thought of in a place bearing the name. If any superintendent of an American asylum ever finds among his subjects, one stalwart and vigorous, eating his rations with rare promptitude but utterly impervious to the idea of work, it is ten to one that his pauper education was gained under English training. Given a lunatic, and at the same time a pauper, and the remainder of the problem is, how to hold him tight, and lodge and feed him cheap. For these ends an asylum upon the Bethlehem model is as good as any—perhaps the best. American pauperism should only be an exceptional and transition state; and every institution should be framed to render that state as brief as possible. Hence no eleemosynary institution should be countenanced that does not make a well-adapted system of profitable employment its very foundation element. The eating of the bread of idleness, that so surely saps the foundation of manly independence, should be for-

bidden where possible, as a two-fold evil. It will be objected to this, that the attempts hitherto made, and no doubt faithfully, to introduce systems of labor in our asylums for the insane have failed, as remunerative undertakings. But these experiments have never fairly tested the question. They have never been tried under circumstances at all favorable to their success. But let an institution be organized and built with the idea of systematized labor as the foundation element, and the imagined difficulties would vanish at once.

Two distinct types of asylums for the insane will thus present themselves to the American mind for adoption, when opinion shall have setted down to its proper basis. The one will be for the pauper and more indigent classes, of plain and domestic style, where well devised labor will present itself, with facilities and attractions making it profitable and easy. The institution at Clermont, in France, with its adjacent industrial community of Fitz James, is the best existing model for this form. Here labor is made an attraction and a habit, which may be promoted by awards or payments to individuals in cases of marked success. Very few of the physically able among the insane, as we have shown, but will be made infinitely more happy in seeing that they are no longer blanks in the world, but filling a sphere of usefulness, of which a tangible reward is the most pleasing evidence. Many a man who, under existing systems, rots away in hopeless idleness and vacuity, feeding on the sensual and base stimulants we have alluded to, would at once be lifted into new life, and gain a new lease of the priceless boon of reason, if the system under which he is placed fostered the germ of ambition in him, however feeble it might have become.

The other type will be that adapted to the requirements of those more favored of fortune; where the gratifications of a more æsthetic taste will demand a style of construction, still domestic but more ornate than the other, and where access is had to different forms of employment, or recrea-

tion. It is useless to say, in this connection, that no distinctions should be made—that what is good for one is good for all—that such discriminations are not in accordance with the spirit of democratic institutions. As well might it be said that all seminaries, hotels, and boarding-houses must be kept on the same scale of accommodation and price, or that no household in a city shall exceed another in architecture, furniture, or amount of expenditure. With increasing wealth and social advancement these distinctions become more defined, and the law of demand and supply will be as imperative as in all things else.

The state or public institution, which is to be a burden upon taxation, should be established with every possible requisite for self support. Its area of lands should always be ample for the production of all its dairy and vegetable supplies. There is no excuse that these lands may not be fertile, or easily capable of becoming so by the fertilizers gendered upon them. The supply of pure, soft water from abundant perennial springs, or from a running stream beyond possibility of failure in the greatest droughts, should be absolutely without doubt. There should be declivity enough for easy drainage. The want of any one of these essentials should promptly condemn any proposed location. After the many sad experiences arising from the ignoring of these prerequisites, any future mislocation of such an institution can only be explained on the ground of gross ignorance or absolute corruption. While a general scope of territory may be prescribed, for the sake of easy access for its populations, any "bidding" for location is liable to prove a most costly error, which no amount of money in the future can correct.

The site being determined on, the great general idea to be kept in view is, that upon it a community is to be founded of men and women of like wants and tastes with all others, having among them certain exceptions of condition, to meet which peculiar accommodations are neces-

sary. In the foreground, or as a central nucleus, as taste or convenience may dictate, the principal building, having two well-defined sets of apartments, for the excited and the sick, may be placed. The style of building which we have condemned, *as hitherto indiscriminately used*, may serve as the type of this. Instead, however, of having rooms on both sides of a central corridor, one side should be open to a full flood of light. Of course all regard should be had to ample warmth and thorough ventilation. With regard to the former, the idea should be discarded that steam heating is absolutely necessary in apartments for the insane. The application of steam in warming buildings, by a species of false logic, has been, of itself, a cause of evil, in the prolongation of our present system. "Steam heating is the most safe and convenient of any in apartments for the insane; steam heat is relatively cheapest when used on a large scale; *therefore*, all buildings for the insane should be large;" is a syllogism, however absurd on its face, which has had more general use than is suspected. This form of heating involves large original expense, constant outlay for repairs, and a costly set of unnecessary officials. Neither does experience prove that it is any more healthful, sufficient, or agreeable than the heat afforded by the late improved ventilating furnaces. This building should not be more than two stories high, not including basement, with an attic above. In the latter should be placed the water tanks, communicating at will with a water-heater below, through which hot water may be distributed. The water-closets, sinks, and bath-rooms should be separate apartments; the latter always locked, and the key kept by a responsible officer, who should always be present when it is used.

The general kitchen and store-rooms should be detached, though in near proximity to the building just named. Here the bread-making, and meat and vegetable cooking should be performed, and distributed as we shall mention. The laundry may be either connected with this, or made a

distinct department at convenience. The latter would be preferred, as removing to a distance everything offensive. The general bath-room, for the entire community, might well be in connection with this, with conveniences ample enough for the use of many at the same time.

The chapel and assembly-room should form a center, of itself. Here, more than anywhere else, more ornamentation should be observed. This edifice should be of tasteful style, clearly showing its purpose in its exterior. Its site should be the most agreeable, and the avenues leading to it should be emphatically "ways of pleasantness." On the sabbath the same observances in dress—the wearing of bonnets by females, etc., should be cultivated, precisely as in ordinary communities. All the extraneous delights of church-going—and they are not few—should be sedulously maintained. The preservation of one suit for special occasions—so difficult to secure in ordinary hospitals—will be infinitely promoted by the universal desire to appear in public in the "Sunday's best" The important principle of self-respect thus gets a stimulus that lasts the entire week: and its cultivation, in many where it has been neglected, would be the first step in the way of recovery. The chaplain should be, first of all, a common-sense Christian, whose ministrations should shine with the pure and cheerful lights of Christian truth, with none of the side obscurations of the mere sectarian.

We have, thus provided, a body or center, from which a a community of the insane may expand, by a species of radiation, to any desired extent,—even to thousands, should such a reach of numbers be anywhere thought best. To those who can conceive of the millions of population to be gathered under one state organization, as must obviously be the case in many instances in our Union, such accumulations will not seem impossible.

With regard to the ordinary habitation for such of the insane as need nothing of restraint beyond a proper vigi-

lance on the part of their attendants, time and experience alone can decide that which is best adapted. Those considerations of locality, convenience, fancy, or means, which decide the style of ordinary dwellings, may be left to settle this as safely. The subject should not be hampered by prescribed forms.

As a single type, may be suggested a building, with a few distinct rooms at its extremity for a married attendant and his family, the major part of its space being laid off in a spacious saloon, well-lighted at its sides, with a row of adjustable iron bedsteads between the windows, made to turn up during the day in a case to resemble a common ward-robe; or, what would be equally unobjectionable, ranges of berths similar to those of a sleeping-car or steamboat cabin. In the basement may be the sink-room, furnace, coal-room, and kitchen conveniences for cooking for the sick, and making tea and coffee, with a drying room for airing wet clothing or bedding. A most important adjunct to the sink-room is an apartment where coats and slippers may be exchanged for over-frocks and thick shoes or boots, and where the latter may be brushed. The center of the saloon would be occupied by the dining-tables, made in extension form, capable of being reduced to center-table size, for social use at other times than at meal hours. This style, thus briefly outlined, would serve for the use of all male patients for whom out-door or shop-labor is adapted; and, indeed, for all classes who need no strong control. In no other way could such be so cheaply accommodated, or more removed from the objectionable features of present asylum life. Much the same style of lodgment would be adapted for females, but with work rooms above.

All of the purposes of classification, so much valued in the treatment of the insane, would be as fully served in this style as in any other; different buildings, with varying degrees of ornamentation or better furnishings, being pro-

vided for such as retain an appreciation of such surroundings, or to whom a transfer to ordinary or better styles of lodgment or the reverse, would be a stimulus to self-control.

In a suitable relation to the habitations of patients should be the grounds for tillage purposes and the workshops. In the latter may be pursued the kinds of in-door labor known to be well adapted for all classes of the insane not either too excited and erratic for application, or too demented. Two main conditions are required in selecting from the great range of manual employments those which the insane can pursue with advantage, viz., those involving least cost in raw material, and pursued with implements least capable of being dangerous in their use. The manufacture of husk mattresses and mats; broom and brush making; weaving and whip braiding,—are all labors requiring the use of no dangerous tools, and consuming material largely of culture on the premises. So, also, the canning of fruits and vegetables, and the putting up of flower and garden seeds, the curing and pressing of culinary and medicinal herbs. These alone, not naming many others, furnish ample and agreeable employment for any number of the insane. In the raising and putting up of garden seeds alone, employment for both sexes, for a large portion of the year, might be obtained with but a reasonable effort.

It will be seen that, by the adoption of styles of building devoid of extraneous ornamentation, by discarding as much as possible the cell arrangement, and ceasing to regard steam heating as necessary, the cost of providing for the insane will be reduced at least one half—which is no small consideration in view of the immense grants now habitually called for when an insane asylum is to be established. It is not possible that the public resources will long be content to erect buildings in the styles hitherto in vogue, which now cost at the rate of fifteen hundred dollars for each one accommodated, with an expense of annual support quite in proportion. The sentimentality of benevolence—which has

become almost a vice in our times—that which points with gratified pride to the turreted or domed palace for the insane, must apparently give way under the pressure of taxation at no very remote period. The people will not long pay for what is sooner or later discovered to be merely a false sentiment whose origin we have sufficiently dwelt upon.

The objection which will be first raised to an asylum on the plan outlined above, will be, its want of security. To those not conversant with the habits of the insane when associated for treatment, this objection will seem plausible. But the fact should be kept in mind that the insane escape from asylums not always to reach some one other particular place to which they are more attached, nor solely to get away from one they abhor, but more to indulge a spirit of vagabondage, which becomes a passion in some cases. These inveterate runaways are a well-marked and distinct class; and their never-ceasing centrifugal instincts are as strong when at their own homes as when in an institution. Ordinary locks and gratings, and ordinary vigilance, are not always proof against the strength and cunning of this peculiar class. The only way in which this habit of vagrancy can be broken up is by the inculcation of habits of fixed industry. Restraints, always visible, intensify the passion; while a certain air of freedom, and, above all, habitual and easy employment, cause it gradually to die away.

But at bottom the true objection to this system will be, its substitution of the somewhat more laborious plan of direct personal supervision for the easy and summary one of the secure lock. This latter hears no arguments, is deaf to all pleadings, is worried by no fretfulness, and is an easy ending of all unpleasant responsibilities. "You have your man *behind* a strong bolt, and there he is; but you have him *outside* the bolt, and where is he?" This *quæstio crucis* is the short one, that contains all the argument.

We have thus presented the requirements, in outline, of a state, or public, institution. The nucleus being prepared, its extension to any degree is left to circumstances as they may arise.

The same general principles should be adhered to in providing for those of the insane whose condition in life allows the use of accommodations adapted to a higher order of taste. It must be borne in mind that this treatise does not deny the necessity, in all institutions for the insane, for some apartments where strength and security are the leading features. Fortunately, in those cases demanding this form of accommodation, the sense of appreciation of those surroundings that appeal to the eye, is, for the most part, wanting. We suppose, in an institution provided for the classes more favored of fortune, a more limited scale as to extent, but a more careful regard for elegance of surroundings than is allowable in the other. And here again we would advert to the fault appertaining to most of those things relied on to furnish what is called "recreation" among the insane in our institutions. They become distasteful because they are in a manner forced on those who are intended to profit by them. It has been aptly said that "happiness" is something that happens." To none does this apply more surely than to those whose sense of enjoyment has become weakened. Sources of pleasure should appeal to such minds with the least possible show of intent. Those provided by nature are, of all others, by far the best. A rustic seat, into which the loitterer drops by an invitation he does not hear, placed to open pleasing view that needs no officious pointing out, affords a style of enjoyment that cannot help being salutary. If there can be a picture gallery into which he can saunter without being reminded that it is for him, because he especially needs it; or a conservatory, a museum, or aquarium, to which he is led by the same kind of invitation, the sources of his enjoyment are multiplied.

But we have carried these observations quite far enough to show the intent in view, which we believe the reader will

fully understand. It has been, to call back the philanpic mind from a false departure, taken centuries ago, and unfortunately followed up through a set of false ideas most pertinaciously adhered to. If the ideas here advanced are founded in reason, they will surely take root in a country like ours, where the question is now being most anxiously put—"What shall we do with the enormously increasing number of our helpless insane?"

OAK LAWN (near Jacksonville, Ills.), May 14, 1872.

CORRECTIONS—Page 15, 17th line from top, sentence closes with word "of." For "Gheelor's" read "Gheelois."