Notes

Introduction

3. The term ‘friends’ often included family relatives; Bexley Female Case Book 15, Oxleas, 28.
4. Bexley Male Case Book 4, Oxleas, 12, 16 and 26; and Bexley Male Case Book 13 at the London Metropolitan Archives (hereafter referred to as LMA), H65/B/10/009, 187.
5. Bexley Male Case Book 4, Oxleas, 16.
8. Jones changed his name to ‘Armstrong-Jones’ in 1913, see Chapter 2.


15. In 1967, an abridged version was translated into English by Richard Howard and published as *Madness and Civilisation: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (London: Random House, 1967). More recently, a new and far more comprehensive English translation has been produced and titled *History*


19. Scull, Most Solitary of Afflictions, 351.


22. That said, many do devote significant space to, for example, ‘the patient experience’. See Melling and Forsythe, The Politics of Madness, chapter 9.


24. Goffman defined a total institution as a place ‘of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life’, Asylums, 11.


28. The term ‘hospital’ and ‘asylum’ will be used interchangeably when referring to institutions during this period.


47. Many new working practices were first tried in Scotland, see Emma Catherine Halliday, ‘Themes in Scottish Asylum Culture: The Hospitalisation of the Scottish Asylum 1880–1914’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Stirling, 2003). Of course, there was much cross-fertilisation of ideas with alienists in America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, continental Europe and the former British ‘colonies’.


1 The Making of the Patient Population


4. The government offered unions a grant-in-aid of four shillings for each lunatic who was sent to the asylum.


8. See Wright, ‘Getting out of the Asylum’.


12. The shift from one system to the next would almost certainly have varied by institution and region.


22. Ibid.
32. Shock waves were produced by the high number of recruits deemed unfit to fight in the Boer War (1899–1902): Harris, Private Lives, Public Spirit, 206.
33. Gareth Stedman Jones, Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship Between Classes in Victorian Society (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984), 128. An even more egregious by-product of degeneracy was ‘eugenics’, a term coined in 1883 by Francis Galton to describe a so-called ‘science’ that aimed to improve the race through selective ‘breeding’. This ideology began to gain traction in the early twentieth century.
41. In 1891, a total of 6,846 were discharged from asylums ‘recovered’ and 4,473 as ‘not recovered’. Forty-sixth Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy (1892), 20–1.
43. These were controlled by the Metropolitan Asylums Board, which was established in 1867 to provide relief for non-able-bodied paupers and to

46. County of London, The Twelfth Annual Report of the Asylums Committee and the Sub-Committees of Banstead, Cane Hill, Claybury, Colney Hatch, Hanwell, The Heath (Bexley), The Manor and Horton Asylums for the Year Ending 31st March, 1901, (1901), LMA 26.21, Table 1, n.p. From hereon, all reports in this series will be referred to as ‘LCC’ (London County Council), report number, and the year in which they were published or presented. All can be found at the LMA under the same call number of 26.21 or, from 1910, under the call number 18.7, with the date of publication.
50. Usually charitable donations made by wealthy benefactors.
53. Poor Law unions were reluctant to use private asylums, which charged more than the pauper institutions.
54. This comprised a number of villas mainly for male epileptic patients and was not strictly considered an asylum.
55. This was West Park Hospital.
56. The maintenance cost for each patient was charged to the Union in which they had been settled.
57. Hine was also the architect for Horton and Long Grove.
66. Originally called the Heath Asylum, the institution changed its name to Bexley Asylum in 1905 and will be referred to as ‘Bexley’.
68. LCC Thirteenth Annual Report (1902), LMA 26.21, Table IV, 20; Table I, 140.
70. LCC Tenth Annual Report (1899), LMA 26.21, 10.
71. The vast majority of doctors were male, although Claybury briefly employed female medical officers. See Chapter 2.
72. See Chapter 5 for more about the Chaplain’s duties.
73. LCC Eleventh Annual Report (1900), LMA 26.21, 60–2.
74. A ‘lunatic’ was defined by Section 341 of the 1890 Lunacy Act as ‘an idiot or person of unsound mind’, see ‘The Disuse of Inquisitions under the New Lunacy Acts’, JMS, 40 (1894), 55–60, p. 59. A ‘pauper lunatic’ was defined as such if his maintenance came ‘in whole or in part from public funds’; Scull, Most Solitary of Afflictions, 354.
76. Scull, Most Solitary of Afflictions, 361.
82. Claybury Private Patients Case Book. Males No. 3. Redbridge Museum and Local Studies and Archives, hereafter referred to as ‘Redbridge’.
84. An even higher proportion of the population was not of a marriageable age. Fifty-first Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy (1897), 105.
Notes

95. LCC *Thirteenth Annual Report* (1902), LMA 26.21, 179; *Fifty-seventh Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy* (1903), 150–1. Discrepancies in percentages can be accounted for by widowed and ‘unknown’ cases.

96. Tertiary syphilis did not always develop into GPI. Other forms of neurosyphilis included locomotor ataxia and tabes dorsalis, which were treated in general hospitals or specialist hospitals for neurological diseases.


102. LCC *Thirteenth Annual Report* (1902), LMA 26.21, Table X, 182.


109. Other conditions such as dementia praecox and hebephrenia were becoming a more common diagnosis, which Jones described as attacking ‘prematurely our most promising and educated youth, the brain worker rather than the manual worker...now in young men rather than women, and it is a disease so incurable that it tends to fill our asylums with hopelessly insane patients’. See ‘The Evolution of Insanity’, 651.


114. LCC *Thirteenth Annual Report* (1902), LMA 26.21, 89.


116. ‘Intemperance in drink’ appears to have declined as a cause of admission after 1891 in private male patients, although this may have had more to do with their ability to evade the statistics.


125. Bexley, Female Case Book 4, LMA H65/B/10/029, 133.
126. Stansfield believed that ‘syphilis should be met by compulsory notification and by making it a penal offence to propagate the disease’. See Bexley Minute Book 15 (1 July 1909), LMA LCC/MIN/00821, 101.
132. Thirty-sixth Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy (1882), 54–5; First Annual Report of the Board of Control, Part II (1916), 69–72. Categories changed over this time making it impossible to calculate an exact figure.
133. LCC Thirteenth Annual Report (1902), LMA 26.21, 180–3; Fifty-seventh Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy (1903), 158–9. Note: percentages are approximate, these causes were sometimes used twice.
134. Bexley, Female Case Book 15, Oxleas, 28; Bexley Male Case Book 13, LMA H65/B/10/009, 187.

2 Medical Officers

3. The publication date falls slightly outside the dates of this study (1890–1914) and Lomax’s tenure at Prestwich took place during the war when resources were particularly short. However, he claimed that many practices had been taking place before 1914.
6. The association launched *The Asylum Journal* in 1853, which was renamed the *Journal of Mental Science (JMS)* in 1858: Richard Russell, ‘The Lunacy Profession and Its Staff in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century, with Special Reference to the West Riding Lunatic Asylum’, in Bynum, Porter and Shepherd (eds), vol iii, 297–315, pp. 299–300.


10. For example, John Charles Bucknill, Henry Maudsley, James Crichton-Browne and Thomas Clouston.


24. From *The Faerie Queene* by the English poet Edmund Spenser (c. 1552–99).

27. LCC Eighth Annual Report (1897), LMA 26.21, 49.
32. Lomax, Experiences, 151.
33. Mercier, Lunatic Asylums, 193.
36. LCC asylum superintendents were not permitted to practice outside their own asylums, see LCC General Rules 1894, LMA H11/HLL/A9/10, 4.
37. LCC Twelfth Annual Report (1901), LMA 26.21, 93.
38. There were 41 applicants for the post of superintendent at Claybury, see Claybury Minute Book 3, 8 December 1892, LMA LCC/MIN/00917, 196.
40. Drs Dodds, Strahan and Greenlees, ‘Assistant Medical Officers in Asylums: Their Status in the Speciality’, JMS, 36 (1890), 43–50, p. 44.
42. Dodds et al, ‘Assistant Medical Officers’, 50.
44. The Times, (13 October 1911), 12.
45. Many LCC doctors had university degrees from London or Edinburgh. The ‘manual’ element of postmortems was generally carried out by attendants, who received a supplement to their wages (see Chapter 3).
46. Dodds et al., ‘Assistant Medical Officers’, 49.
47. Melling and Forsythe, Politics of Madness, 60.


56. Burdett, *Hospitals and Asylums*, vol ii, 19; The steward was the most senior executive officer after the superintendent and lived in a detached house in the grounds near the stores.


69. Bexley Minute Book 17, 9 February 1911, LMA LCC/MIN/00823, 78.


71. Bexley Minute Book 14, 24 September 1908, LMA LCC/MIN/00820, 84.


73. Claybury Minute Book 4, 13 April 1893, LMA LCC/MIN/00918, 24.


77. LCC *General Rules* (1894), LMA H11/HLL/A9/10, 8–9.


84. J. B. Spence, ‘Assistant Medical Officers in Asylums’, *JMS*, 59 (1913), 263–73, pp. 267–8. The Asylums Committee granted both the first and second AMOs permission to marry.
87. In LCC-managed asylums with over 2,000 patients, the superintendent earned over £1,100 per annum, while his fifth AMO was paid just £150 per annum in 1901–2, see LCC *Thirteenth Annual Report* (1902), LMA 26.21, 64.
89. Ex-A.M.O., ‘The Appointment of Assistant Medical Officer at an Asylum’, *The Lancet*, 158 (26 October 1901), 1157.
92. Dodds et al., ‘Assistant Medical Officers’, 47.
102. McGovern, ‘Doctors or Ladies?’, 106.
106. This was ‘Some Points in the Early Treatment of Mental and Nervous Cases’.
110. Claybury Minute Book 13, 29 November 1900, 10 January and 24 January 1901, LMA LCC/MIN/00927, 38, 82–3 and 99. It is not clear, however, if this pension was actually paid.
113. ‘Asylum News’, JMS, 47 (1901), 858.
116. Dwyer, Homes for the Mad, 78–9.
117. McGovern, ‘Doctors or Ladies?’, 106.
120. Paoli challenged these arguments: Paoli and Kiernan, ‘Female Physicians’, 23.
121. McGovern, ‘Doctors or Ladies?’, 107.
122. ‘Asylum News’, JMS, 47 (1901), 858.
123. Armstrong-Jones’ grandson was Antony Armstrong-Jones who was made Earl Snowdon following his marriage to Princess Margaret, sister to Elizabeth II: Bishop, rev by Hervey, ‘Jones, Sir Robert Armstrong’.
125. Tomkins, ‘Mad Doctors?’, 440.
128. See Tosh, ‘What should Historians do with Masculinity?’ The prospect of visiting far-flung shores appealed not only to men, but also to women. Many female doctors, including those from Claybury, were attracted to countries such as India with the intention of doing ‘good works’ in local populations.
129. Jones did comment that the MPA contained ‘over 700 qualified medical men and women’ in 1906. See ‘The Evolution of Insanity’, 658, my emphasis.
131. Milliken, ‘Helen Boyle’.
133. Scull, Most Solitary of Afflictions, 263.

3 Attendants and Nurses

2. While the terms ‘attendant’ and ‘nurse’ were used interchangeably, usually depending on the period, in this chapter men will normally be referred to as attendants and women as nurses.
12. LCC Twelfth Annual Report (1901), LMA 26.21, 93.
17. LCC Fourteenth Annual Report (1903), LMA 26.21, 69.
19. Claybury Minute Book 13, 29 November 1900, LMA LCC/MIN/00927, 42.
21. Of the 282 men hired by Earlswood Asylum between 1868 and 1881, 43 per cent came directly from the armed services, see Wright, ‘The Dregs of Society?’, 9.
22. Sheehan, ‘Role and Rewards’, 27.
28. LCC Fifth Annual Report (1894), LMA 26.21, 49 and 53.
29. ‘Who is the Oldest Attendant?’, *Asylum News*, 6.6 (1902), 72.
31. LCC *Twelfth Annual Report* (1901), LMA 26.21, 12.
33. This started to change when female nurses were employed on male wards, where male attendants sometimes worked.
34. Claybury Minute Book 9, 4 November 1897, LMA LCC/MIN/00923, 76.
35. Bexley Minute Book 7, 18 September 1902, LMA LCC/MIN/00813, 43.
36. Bexley Minute Book 20, 8 and 22 January 1914, LMA LCC/MIN/00826, 266 and 283–4.
37. Claybury Minute Book 12, 22 March 1900, LMA LCC/MIN/00926, 66.
41. Bexley Minute Book 2, 15 December 1898, LMA LCC/MIN/00808, 176. Normally, staff handed their keys to the gate porter when they left the institution.
44. Claybury Minute Book 16, 1 October 1903, LMA LCC/MIN/00930, 271–2.
50. Lady and gentlemen companions were employed at the private Holloway Sanatorium to live with patients, see Anne Shepherd, ‘Public and Private Institutionalisation of the Insane in Late Nineteenth-Century Surrey. Brookwood Asylum and Holloway Sanatorium’ (unpublished PhD thesis, Oxford Brookes University, 2009), 110.
52. Bexley Minute Book 4, 26 July 1900, LMA LCC/MIN/00810, 158.
54. ‘The Male Nurses’ Temperance Co-operation’, *The Nursing Record & Hospital World*, 19 (2 October 1897), 268.
59. *Asylum News*, 16 (1912), 60.
60. *Asylum News*, 4 (15 April 1900), 31.
61. MacDonald, ‘Remarks on the Nursing Staff’, 532.
62. LCC Thirteenth Annual Report (1902), LMA 26.21, 65. By 1913, LCC attendants took 14 days annual leave while nurses received 21 days, see Bexley Minute Book 20, ‘Resolution passed by the Asylums Committee’, 8 January 1914, LMA LCC/MIN/00826, 255–6.


65. ‘Male Nurses’ Temperance Co-operation’, JMS, 43 (1897), 884.

66. This was abolished by the LCC Asylums Committee in 1907, see Claybury Minute Book 21, ‘Extract from the Minutes of the Asylums Committee of 19th February 1907’, LMA LCC/MIN/00935, 63–4.

67. Beer was part of the patients’ dietary in many asylums until the late 1880s or early 1890s.

68. Bexley Minute Book 3, 5 October 1899, LMA LCC/MIN/00809, 120.

69. LCC Second Annual Report (1891), LMA 26.21, 38.


73. LCC Fifth Annual Report (1894), LMA 26.21, 53.

74. Bexley Minute Book 2, 1 December 1898, LMA LCC/MIN/00808, 145.

75. LCC Twenty-first Annual Report (1910), LMA 26.21, 72.

76. LCC Second Annual Report (1891), LMA 26.21, 33.

77. Pryor, A Century of Caring, 41.


80. LCC Fifteenth Annual Report (1904), LMA 26.21, 120.


82. Claybury Minute Book 12, 22 February 1900, LMA LCC/MIN/00926, 21–2.


85. LCC Eighth Annual Report (1897), LMA 26.21, 10.

86. Bexley Minute Book 7, 22 January 1903, LMA LCC/MIN/00813, 196.


88. Claybury Minute Book 4, 11 May and 22 June 1893, LMA LCC/MIN/00918, 57 and 90.

89. LCC Fifteenth Annual Report (1904), LMA 26.21, 90.

90. LCC Twentieth Annual Report (1909), LMA 26.21, 68.


92. Tosh, Manliness and Masculinities, 106.

93. LCC Sixth Annual Report (1895), LMA 26.21, 54.

94. Monk, Attending Madness, 70 and 179.

97. Tosh, Manliness and Masculinities, 43.
100. In 1881 there were 1,055 women to every 1,000 men; by 1911 this number had risen to 1,068, see Lucy Bland, Banishing the Beast: English Feminism & Sexual Morality 1885–1914 (London: Penguin, 1995), 162.
104. ‘Report of the Committee Appointed at the Annual Meeting of the Association to Inquire into the Question of the Systematic Training of Attendants’, JMS, 36 (1890), 530–9, p. 532.
105. Nolan, History of Mental Health Nursing, 68.
108. The Nursing Record & Hospital World, 17 (12 December 1896), 478.
110. LCC Ninth Annual Report (1898), LMA 26.21, 57.
114. Nolan, History of Mental Health Nursing, 70.
117. Nolan, History of Mental Health Nursing, 71.
122. The Asylum Workers, Nursing Record & Hospital World, 20 (1898), 273.
123. By 1897, no London hospital training schools would admit male probationers. The Nursing Record & Hospital World, 19 (1897), 268.
125. Nolan, History of Mental Health Nursing, 76.
128. Bexley Minute Book 21, 10 December 1914, LMA LCC/MIN/00827, 305. Maud Eva Wiese joined Claybury’s nursing staff in 1912 at the age of 23 and became the first female member of the NAWU’s National Executive Council, see Pryor, *Century of Caring*, 44.
135. This came about as a result of one of Stansfield’s visits to Scotland.
136. LCC *Fifteenth Annual Report* (1904), LMA 26.21, 86.
143. ‘Correspondence: The Training of Nurses, from Dr T. Outterson Wood’, *JMS*, 51 (1905), 798.
146. Robertson, ‘Care of Insane Men’, 129.
149. Turnbull, ‘Female Nursing’, 638.
150. Robertson, ‘Female Nurses in Male Wards’, 358.
152. Robertson, ‘Female Nurses in Male Wards’, 354.

4 The Asylum Regime

2. LCC *Seventh Annual Report* (1896), LMA 26.21, 47.
3. The term ‘moral therapy’ is derived from a phrase coined by Pinel in 1801 ‘*le traitement moral*’, which the French interpreted to mean ‘mental’, see Shorter, *History of Psychiatry*, 19. The term ‘moral’ not only implied a sense of right or wrong, but today would mean ‘psychological’.
16. Michael, ‘Class, Gender and Insanity’.
21. LCC *Ninth Annual Report* (1898), LMA 26.21, 64.
22. LCC *Twelfth Annual Report* (1901), LMA 26.21, 97.
23. LCC *Sixth Annual Report* (1895), LMA 26.21, 54.
27. LCC *Fourteenth Annual Report* (1903), LMA 26.21, 68.
29. T. E. Knowles Stansfield, ‘The Villa or Colony System for the Care and Treatment of Cases of Mental Disease’, *JMS*, 60 (1914), 30–9, p. 30.
30. The Epileptic Colony was entirely a villa system, see Stansfield, ‘The Villa or Colony System’, 37.
33. This resonates with Digby’s description of a ‘code of honour’ that was linked to rewards and punishments at the York Retreat earlier in the century, see Digby, *Madness, Morality and Medicine*, 73.
37. LCC *Fifth Annual Report* (1894), LMA 26.21, 53.
38. LCC *Eighth Annual Report* (1897), LMA 26.21, 54.
40. LCC *Tenth Annual Report* (1899), LMA 26.21, 65.
42. Claybury Minute Book 14, 19 September 1901, LMA LCC/MIN/00928, 113.
45. Claybury Minute Book 10, 8 September 1898, LMA LCC/MIN/00924, 60.
46. Claybury Minute Book 3, 16 February 1893, LMA LCC/MIN/00917, 236.
47. Lomax, Experiences, 59.
50. Bexley Female Case Book 4, LMA H65/B/10/029, 125.
51. Bexley Female Case Book 4, LMA H65/B/10/029, 139 and 165.
54. Bexley Case Book 3, LMA H65/B/10/002, 125 and 122.
56. LCC Tenth Annual Report (1899), LMA 26.21, 50.
58. Showalter, The Female Malady, 84.
60. Bexley Male Case Book 3, LMA H65/B/10/002, 124.
64. Goffman, Asylums, 76.
68. Bexley Female Case Book 4, LMA H65/B/10/029, 94.
69. Dwyer, Homes for the Mad, 133.
70. Bexley Female Case Book 4, LMA H65/B/10/029, 71.
72. Four patients were absent on trial.
75. Bexley Male Case Book 3, LMA H65/B/10/002, 151.
76. Bexley Male Case Book 16, LMA H65/B/10/012, 89.
78. LCC Sixth Annual Report (1895), LMA 26.21, 49.
80. LCC Fifth Annual Report (1894), LMA 26.21, 52.
82. LCC Fifteenth Annual Report (1904), LMA 26.21, 89.
83. LCC Nineteenth Annual Report (1908), LMA 26.21, 69.
84. Bexley Minute Book 17, 13 July 1911, LMA LCC/MIN/00823, 248.
87. Grant-Smith, Experiences of an Asylum Patient, 95–7.
91. Gittins, Madness in its Place, 21.
94. Grant-Smith, Experiences of an Asylum Patient, 96.
95. Walkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian Society, 221.
100. Claybury Minute Book 14, 11 July 1901, LMA LCC/MIN/00928, 28.
103. Gleadle, British Women, 100.
105. Bexley Male Case Book 3, LMA H65/B/10/002, 111.
108. Bexley Female Case Book 4, LMA H65/B/10/029, 85.
111. Lomax, Experiences, 104.
112. Mattresses and other upholstered items were made from horse hair. Bexley opted to try replacing it with coir fibre, made from coconut husks, in 1902, see Bexley Minute Book 6, 12 June 1902, LMA LCC/MIN/00812, 276.
113. LCC Second Annual Report (1891), LMA 26.21, 105.
114. LCC Eighteenth Annual Report (1907), LMA 26.21, 63.
118. LCC Third Annual Report (1892), LMA 26.21, 106.
119. Bexley Minute Book 1, 22 October 1895 and 5 April 1898, LMA LCC/MIN/00807, 35 and 307.
120. LCC Thirteenth Annual Report (1902), LMA 26.21, 91.
121. LCC Fourteenth Annual Report (1903), LMA 26.21, 99.
122. Bexley Minute Book 12, 9 May 1907, LMA LCC/MIN/00818, 274.
123. My thanks to Anne Murcott for this observation.
127. Showalter, Female Malady, 83.
129. Claybury Minute Book 15, 13 November 1902, LMA LCC/MIN/00929, 239.
130. Bexley Minute Book 7, 16 October 1902, LMA LCC/MIN/00813, 87.
133. LCC Fourteenth Annual Report (1903), LMA 26.21, 102.
134. Bexley Female Case Book 4, LMA H65/B/10/029, 165 and 109.
139. Rose, Limited Livelihoods, 130.
141. Lomax, Experiences, 112–3.
147. Bourke, Working-Class Cultures, 86.
150. He did have some concerns that too much exercise might ‘overstrain the circulatory system for which future generations may have to pay heavy penalties’, see Jones, ‘Insanity in Regard to Civilization’, 369.
153. Pugh, State and Society, 78.
154. Claybury Minute Book 23, 18 June 1908, LMA LCC/MIN/00937, 76.
155. Bexley Minute Book 4, 1 November 1900, LMA LCC/MIN/00810, 258.
156. Claybury Minute Book 19, 15 February 1905, LMA LCC/MIN/00933, 303.
157. Bexley Minute Book 17, LMA LCC/MIN/00823, 230. This claim is hard to believe considering the number of patients who were infirm or simply disengaged with asylum activities.
159. Hunter and Macalpine, Psychiatry for the Poor, 88.
161. For debates about the relationship between the asylum and the community at Epsom, see Ellis, ‘“A Constant Irritation to the Townspeople”?’.  
162. Claybury Minute Book 27, 1 June 1911, LMA LCC/MIN/00941, 183.
163. LCC Second Annual Report (1891), LMA 26.21, 90.
164. LCC Eighth Annual Report (1897), LMA 26.21, 49.
165. LCC Sixth Annual Report (1895), LMA 26.21, 53.
166. LCC Eighth Annual Report (1897), LMA 26.21, 54.
168. LCC Sixth Annual Report (1895), LMA 26.21, 51.
170. Bexley Male Case Book 3, LMA H65/B/10/002, 139 and 143.
171. Pugh, State and Society, 79.
172. LCC Sixth Annual Report (1895), LMA 26.21, 55.
173. Lomax, Experiences, 118.
177. LCC General Rules (1894), LMA H11/HLL/A9/10, 10.
178. LCC Sixth Annual Report (1895), LMA 26.21, 55.
182. LCC Second Annual Report (1891), LMA 26.21, 89.
183. LCC Thirteenth Annual Report (1902), LMA 26.21, 68–70.

5 From Asylum to Mental Hospital

7. Bexley Female Case Book 20, LMA H65/B/10/041, 186.
8. Prisoners are classified as ‘private patients’ and their maintenance was charged to the Prisons Commissioners. Most had been in prison for petty
offences such as stealing newspapers and milk, see Bexley Male Case Book 16, LMA H65/B/10/012, 50.


10. These were the Reception Order signed by a magistrate and a Medical Certificate signed by a physician. The certificate would include the physician’s observations as well as those ‘communicated by others’, such as family members.


15. Hunter and Macalpine, Psychiatry for the Poor, 122.


17. Bexley Male Case Book 16, LMA H65/B/10/012, 43.

18. Goffman, Asylums, 30.


21. Bexley Female Case Book 4, H65/B/10/029, 118.

22. When an individual’s facial features were believed to indicate the nature of his or her character.


24. Bexley Female Case Book 4, LMA H65/B/10/029 and Male Case Book 3, LMA H65/B/10/002.

25. Bexley Asylum Medical Register (Male) 1898 to 1906, LMA H65/B/11/001, 27.


27. Jones, ‘London County Council Asylum, Claybury’, 57. This procedure might take place following the initial observation period.


30. LCC Eighteenth Annual Report (1907), LMA 26.21, 47.


36. Bexley Female Case Book 4, LMA H/65/B/10/029, 80.

37. Bexley Male Case Book 9, LMA H65/B/10/005, 11.


40. Bexley Minute Book 8, 18 February 1904, LMA LCC/MIN/00814, 296.
43. Shepherd and Wright, ‘Madness, Suicide and the Victorian Asylum’, 186.
44. LCC Seventh Annual Report (1896), LMA 26.21, 49–50, italics in the original.
47. Chaney, ‘Self-Control, Selfishness and Mutilation’, 381.
49. Bexley Female Case Book 4, LMA H65/B/10/029, 100 and 84.
53. Asylum News, 7.12 (1903), 104.
58. Strong dresses were canvas garments that restricted movement and could not be taken off. They were used to stop patients from destroying their clothing or from getting cold, ‘interfering’ with a wound, or to prevent self-mutilation or attempts at suicide; R. Percy Smith, ‘Mechanical Means of Bodily Restraint’, JMS, 39 (1893), 469–70, p. 469.
63. LCC Ninth Annual Report (1898), LMA 26.21, 54.
64. LCC Third Annual Report (1892), LMA 26.21, 76.
67. By 1909, the hours had changed to 7am to 7pm: ‘International Congress of Nurses’, The British Journal of Nursing, 43 (14 August 1909), 136.
68. Bexley Male Case Book 15, LMA H65/B/10/011, 74.
69. Bexley Male Case Book 4, Oxleas, 10.
70. Claybury Minute Book 6, 31 January 1895, LMA LCC/MIN/00920, 80.
72. LCC Ninth Annual Report (1898), LMA 26.21, 55.
73. LCC Thirteenth Annual Report (1902), LMA 26.21, 87.
74. LCC Twelfth Annual Report (1901), LMA 26.21, 88.
76. Robertson, ‘Care of Insane Men’, 127.
80. J. Wiglesworth, ‘On the Treatment of Cases of Acute Insanity by Rest in Bed
in the Open Air’, JMS, 54 (1908), 105–7, p. 106.
82. Bexley Female Case Book 4, LMA H65/B/10/029, 73.
83. Bexley Male Case Book 16, LMA H65/B/10/012, 97.
84. Turnbull, ‘Female Nursing of Male Patients’, 635.
85. Bexley Male Case Book 9, 1902, LMA H65/B/10/005, 13.
89. Robertson, ‘Treatment of Mental Excitement’, 702.
92. Geo H. Savage, ‘Uses and Abuses of ChloraHydrate’, JMS, 25 (1879), 4–8,
pp. 5 and 6.
93. George H. Savage, ‘Hyoscyamine, and Its Uses’, JMS, 25 (1879), 177–84,
p. 183.
95. Fennell, *Treatment without Consent*, 47.
98. Bexley Female Case Book 4, LMA H65/B/10/029, 133 and 104.
100. Bexley Male Case Book 9, LMA H65/B/10/005, 2.
Case Book 4, LMA H65/B/10/029, 92.
102. Claybury Female Case Book 1907–15, Redbridge 50, 15.
103. LCC Eighth Annual Report (1897), LMA 26.21, 50.
105. LCC Sixth Annual Report (1895), LMA 26.21, 53.
106. The Medical Officer of Ilford had to be informed within 36 hours of the
birth. Claybury Register of Births, 17 October 1893 to 28 August 1955,
Redbridge 33.
110. It is possible asylums were criticised for this as Jones wrote a defensive let-
ter to *The Lancet* in 1913 enumerating the wide range of operations that
had been carried out by the medical staff at Claybury. Robert Jones, ‘The
Position of Assistant Medical Officer in Asylums, *The Lancet* (26 April 1913), 1195.

111. Claybury Minute Book 22, 13 February 1908, LMA LCC/MIN/00936, 217.
114. Bexley Male Case Book 16, LMA H65/B/10/012, 132.
116. Bexley Male Case Book 10, LMA H65/B/10/006, 166 and 91.
118. Bexley Male Case Book 20, LMA H65/B/10/016, 95.
119. Bexley Female Case Book 21, LMA H65/B/10/042, 2.
121. An earthenware or wooden bath with metal plates at each end connected to an electrical current. The patient lies in warm water for 10–15 minutes. See H. Lewis Jones, ‘The Use of General Electrification as a Means of Treatment in Certain forms of Mental Disease’, *JMS*, 47 (1901), 245–50, pp. 247, 250.
124. LCC *Eighth Annual Report* (1897), LMA 26.21, 53.
126. LCC *Fourteenth Annual Report* (1903), LMA 26.21, 69.
129. LCC *Twelfth Annual Report* (1901), LMA 26.21, 23, table VI.
135. LCC *Twenty-first Annual Report* (1910), LMA 26.21, 73.
137. Bexley Female Case Book 20, LMA H65/B/10/041, 88.
139. LCC *Second Annual Report* (1891), LMA 26.21, 88.
140. LCC *Eighth Annual Report* (1897), LMA 26.21, 53.
141. Bexley Minute Book 6, 23 January 1902, LMA LCC/MIN/00812, 140.
142. LCC *Fifth Annual Report* (1894), LMA 26.21, 52.
144. Claybury Minute Book 22, 27 February 1908, LMA LCC/MIN/00936, 233–4. Death and dying were, of course, a major part of asylum life that I do not have space to address here in any meaningful way, see Jonathan


146. Doctors tried to avoid sending men to asylums because the stigma of certification ruined their future prospects of work if they were discharged, see Jones, *Asylums and After*, 113.


6 Ward Life


2. This worked in a similar manner to that reported by Goffman, see ‘The Staff World’ in *Asylums*, 73–88.


6. Bexley Minute Book 18, ‘Report of Medical Superintendent Embodying His Proposals for Amending the Hours of Duty of the Nursing Staff at Bexley Asylum’, 19 October 1911, LMA LCC/MIN/00824, 29–30. Male attendants worked 65½ hours while nurses worked 70 hours each week, despite having extra breaks.


15. Except Saturdays, when they had stew. LCC *Second Annual Report* (1891), LMA 26.21, 32.


42. Claybury Minute Book 14, 11 July 1901, LMA LCC/MIN/00928, 30.
43. Bexley Female Case Book 4, LMA H65/B/10/029, 74.
44. Bexley Minute Book 9, 23 June 1904, LMA LCC/MIN/00815, 111–12.
47. Dwyer, *Homes for the Mad*, 182.
52. A ‘ha-ha’ was an incline that ran from the higher ground of the airing court to the base of a wall, allowing patients to see beyond the wall without being able to climb over it, see Burdett, *Hospitals and Asylums of the World*, vol ii, 13.
53. Bexley Minute Book 2, 1 December 1898, LMA LCC/MIN/00808, 151.
55. ‘Escaped Lunatics at Epsom’, *The Times*, (29 August 1908), 9.
60. Bexley Minute Book 17, 29 December 1910, LMA LCC/MIN/00823, 28.
67. Bexley Male Case Book 20, LMA H65/B/10/016, 95.
68. Bexley Male Case Book 7, LMA H65/B/10/003, 22.
70. Dwyer, *Homes for the Mad*, 181.
71. Bexley Minute Book 5, 22 August 1901, LMA LCC/MIN/00811, 265 and 267.
74. ‘The Male Nurses’ Temperance Co-operation’, 1897, 268.
77. Bexley Minute Book 3, 8 March 1900, LMA LCC/MIN/00809, 321.
78. Claybury Minute Book 4, 31 August 1893, LMA LCC/MIN/00918, 168.
80. Claybury Female Case Book 1907–15, Redbridge 50, 5.
83. Bexley Male Case Book 16, LMA H65/B/10/012, 134.
85. Bexley Male Case Book 3, LMA H65/B/10/002, 122.
87. Bexley Male Case Book 3, LMA H65/B/10/002, 125.
89. Bexley Minute Book 9, 7 July 1904, LMA LCC/MIN/00815, 128.
90. Letter from Patient D. to his mother, 10 June 1910. Bexley Male Case Book 18, LMA H65/B/10/014, 72.
91. Letter from Walter S. to Stansfield, Bexley Male Case Book 20, LMA H65/B/10/016, 138.
94. Bexley Female Case Book 4, LMA H65/B/10/029, 85, 133, 171 and 99.
95. Bexley Male Case Book 9, LMA H65/B/10/005, 6 and 13.
96. Claybury Minute Book 5, 16 August 1894, LMA LCC/MIN/00919, 249.
98. Bexley Female Case Book 4, LMA H65/B/10/029, 109.
99. For more about escapes at Epsom, see Ellis, ‘A Constant Irritation to the Townspeople’.
100. Skultans, English Madness, 72–3.
102. Scull, Insanity of Place, 157.
105. Bexley Male Case Book 18, LMA H65/B/10/014, 72.
106. An absorbent fabric often used to make towels; Deas, ‘Mechanical Restraint’, 112.
110. Bexley Female Case Book 4, LMA H65/B/10/029, 138.
111. Bexley Female Case Book 15, Oxleas, 3.
112. Bexley Female Case Book 4, LMA H65/B/10/029, 94.
113. Bexley Female Case Book 15, Oxleas, 3.
114. Claybury Female Case Book 1907–15, Redbridge 50, 5.
116. Bexley Female Case Book 4, LMA H65/B/10/029, 132 and 160.
117. Claybury Minute Book 27, 6 April 1911, LMA LCC/MIN/00941, 121.
118. LCC Seventh Annual Report (1896), LMA 26.21, 49.
120. LCC General Rules (1894), LMA H11/HLL/A9/10, 21.
121. Bexley Female Case Book 20, LMA H65/B/10/041, 186.
122. Bexley Female Case Book 4, LMA H65/B/10/029, 92 and 137.
125. LCC Eleventh Annual Report (1900), LMA 26.21, 57.
126. Claybury Minute Book 23, 5 November 1908, LMA LCC/MIN/00937, 278.
127. Bexley Female Case Book 21, LMA H65/B/10/042, 145.
128. Bexley Asylum Female Case Book 4, LMA H65/B/10/029, 115.
129. Graham Mooney and Jonathan Reinarz (eds), Permeable Walls: Historical Perspectives on Hospital and Asylum Visiting (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009), 8.
130. LCC Eleventh Annual Report (1900), LMA 26.21, 93.
133. Claybury Minute Book 23, 7 May 1908, LMA LCC/MIN/00937, 15.
Conclusion

2. Monk, *Attending Madness*, 15. The male general nurse was equally marginalised, lacking ‘class status and cultural cachet’, see Young, ‘Entirely a Woman’s Question?’, 36.
11. The Contagious Diseases Act had only just been repealed in 1886.
12. Tosh has asserted that commercial sex was seen to be a ‘masculine rite of passage’ for many Victorian men, see Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, 33.
17. Bexley Female Case Book 4, LMA H65/B/10/029, 73.
26. Mrs L Quintard, *The Nursing Record & Hospital World*, 17 (1896), 373.
Sources and Select Bibliography

Archival sources

The majority of records relating to the London County Council (LCC) Asylums Committee and the asylums that were under its authority are held by the London Metropolitan Archives (LMA).

Most of the Bexley records are held by the LMA, apart from two Bexley Case Books which are held by the Oxleas NHS Trust. All Claybury records, apart from sub-committee minutes, are held by the Redbridge Museum and Local Studies and Archives. Initial research included a visit to Surrey History Centre to view records from Horton and Long Grove.

House of Commons Parliamentary Papers

Initially the Annual Reports of the Commissioners in Lunacy to the Lord Chancellor and the Annual Reports of the Board of Control were viewed at Senate House, University of London. More recently, they were accessed through the excellent online resource: House of Commons Parliamentary Papers (parlipapers.chadwyck.com).

The reports consulted include:

London Metropolitan Archives

A full run of the LCC Asylums Committee reports exist, the following of which were consulted:

- **The First Annual Report of the Asylums Committee and the Sub-Committees for the Year 1889–1890** (1890) to The Twenty-first Annual Report of the Asylums Committee as to the London County Asylums, Year Ended 31 March 1910 (LCC 26.21 with year of publication).

**Bexley Medical Registers:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1898–1906</td>
<td>H65/B/11/001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1907–15</td>
<td>H65/B/11/002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males – transfers</td>
<td>1907–48</td>
<td>H65/B/11/007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1899–1906</td>
<td>H65/B/11/008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1907–16</td>
<td>H65/B/11/009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female – transfers</td>
<td>1907–48</td>
<td>H65/B/11/015</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Bexley Report Books:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Medical Superintendent</td>
<td>1907–9</td>
<td>H65/A/01/001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical Superintendent</td>
<td>1909–10</td>
<td>H65/A/01/002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical Superintendent</td>
<td>1913–14</td>
<td>H54/A/01/003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical Superintendent</td>
<td>1914–16</td>
<td>H65/A/01/004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bexley Civil Register. Male 2.</td>
<td>1910–13</td>
<td>H65/B/04/001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-mortem Book. Female No. 2.</td>
<td>1899–1903</td>
<td>H65/B/15/017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-mortem Book. Male No. 2.</td>
<td>1901–3</td>
<td>H65/B/15/002</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Bexley Asylum Male Case Books**

From Case Book 2, 1899–1915 (H65/B/10/001) to Case Book 20, 1911–25 (H65/B/10/016). Case books 1, 5 and 6 are missing.

**Bexley Asylum Female Case Books**

From Case Book 3, 1899–1912 (H65/B/10/028) to Case Book 22, 1912–35 (H65/B/10/043). Case books 1, 2, 6, 8, 9, 11 and 19 are missing.
Sources and Select Bibliography

Colney Hatch Asylum
Photographs of male patients H12/CH/B/19
Hospital buildings (1922 series) H12/CH/PH/02
London County Asylums, Manual of Duties, 1906 H12/CH/A/27/002

Hanwell Asylum

Oxleas NHS Foundation Trust
Female Case Book 15 1905–6
Male Case Book 4 1899–1912

Redbridge Museum and Local Studies and Archives
Not all items were catalogued at the time of viewing. Reference numbers that do exist have been inserted in the right-hand column.

Attendants’ Leave Book 1898–9
Case Notes Male 1893–5 52
Case Notes Male 1909 53
Case Notes Female 1903–4 43
Case Notes Female 1907–15 50
Claybury Asylum Sub-Committee Attendance Book 1889–97
Claybury Hall Private Patients Extra Account 1895–1901 46
Claybury Hospital Brochure February 1958
Claybury Staff Register 1893–1903
Committee Resolutions 1902–5, 1915–38
Guardians’ Visitors Book 1893–1924 21
Head Male Night Attendants’ Report 1905
Hymn and Other Music Scores 1895–1907
Inspectors Report on Hospital 1905
List of Patients, Male 1893–1907
Male Admissions Register 1893–9
Male Attendants’ Wages Book 1915–16
Medical Journal for Female Patients 1893–4 13
Medical Journal for Male Patients 1893–5 3
Parishes and Unions Accounts 1897–8
Private Patients Case Notes (Male) 1902–6
Private Patients Ledger 1907–16 44
Register of Births to Patients 1893–1955 33
Register of Officers and Servants 1892–3
Register of Receipts for Private Patients 1908–13
Sources and Select Bibliography

Staff Register 1897–1902
Visitors Book 1907–31
Visitors Book 1913–15

Published sources

Selected books and journals published before 1930

Journals and Newspapers
The Asylum News
British Medical Journal (BMJ)
Journal of Mental Science (JMS)
Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases
The Lancet
The Nursing Record & Hospital World
The Times

Publications without named authors (by date)
‘Private Patients in London County Asylums, JMS, 47 (1901), 101–3.
‘The Strife with Alcohol’, JMS, 46 (1900), 526–8.
‘The Asylum Workers’, Nursing Record & Hospital World, 20 (1898), 273.
‘The Male Nurses’ Temperance Co-operation’, The Nursing Record & Hospital World, 19 (2 October 1897), 268.
‘London School of Medicine for Women: On Women as Medical Practitioners’, BMJ, 2 (1890), 782–3.

Journal articles and books
Boyle, H., ‘Some Points in the Early Treatment of Mental and Nervous Cases (with Special Reference to the Poor)’, JMS, 51 (1905), 676–81.


Dodds, Strahan and Greenlees, ‘Assistant Medical Officers in Asylums: Their Status in the Speciality’, JMS, 36 (1890), 43–50.


‘Ex-AMO’, ‘The Appointment of Assistant Medical Officer at an Asylum’, The Lancet, 158 (26 October 1901), 1157.


Murphy, S., ‘The Housing of the Poor in London’, *The Lancet*, 156 (1900), 1514.


Paget, J., *Clinical Lectures and Essays* (London: Longmans, Green, 1875).


Quintard, Mrs L., *The Nursing Record & Hospital World*, 17 (1896), 373.


Stansfield, T. E. K., ‘The Villa or Colony System for the Care and Treatment of Cases of Mental Disease’, *JMS*, 60 (1914), 30–9.


Tukey, S., *Description of the Retreat, an Institution near York, for Insane Persons of the Society of Friends* (York: W. Alexander, 1813).

Selected books and journals published after 1930


Hall, L., *Sex, Gender and Social Change in Britain since 1880* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000).


Sources and Select Bibliography


Tomkins, A., ‘Mad Doctors? The Significance of Medical Practitioners admitted as Patients to the first English County Asylums up to 1890’, *History of Psychiatry*, 23 (2012), 437–53.


Young, A., ‘“Entirely a Woman’s Question”?: Class, Gender, and the Victorian Nurse’, *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 13 (2008), 18–41.

**Unpublished work**


Sources and Select Bibliography


Web sources

*The British Journal of Psychiatry* [http://bjp.rcpsych.org]
The British Newspaper Archive [http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk]
EThOS [http://ethos.bl.uk]
House of Commons Parliamentary Papers [www.parlipapers.chadwyck.com]
The Internet Archive [https://archive.org]
The Royal British Nurses’ Association [http://www.rbna.org.uk]
The Royal College of Nursing, Historical Nursing Journals [http://rcnarchive.rcn.org.uk]
The Royal College of Psychiatrists [https://www.rcpsych.ac.uk]
*The Times* Digital Archive [http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/archive]
Index

abuse of patients, 40, 158–62
acts
Asylums Act (1845), 17
County Asylums Act (1808), 16
Lunacy Act (1890), 16, 28, 125, 132, 188n. 74
Lunatics Act (1845), 17
Madhouse Act (1828), 17
acute hospital and wards, 7, 96, 121–2, 125–7
admission procedure, 16, 29, 70, 99–100, 122–7, 136–7, 139
agency and protest, 100, 113, 120, 149, 164
alcohol, 34–5, 189n. 116, 138
staff consumption, 72–2
amusements, 115
patients, 117–19
staff, 80, 118, 152
Andrews, Jonathan, 6, 12
Armstrong-Jones, Robert, 195n. 123, see Jones, Robert
Asylum Workers’ Association (AWA), 85
Asylums Committee, London County Council, 4, 22, 46, 77, 82, 108, 150
asylums, county
architecture, see space
bathing, 149
clothing, 99–102
conveyance for nurses, 80
daily routine, 147–9
death rates, 21
dietary, 150–1
family, 7–8, 42, 52
operations, 139
overcrowding, 22, 25
‘privileges’, 96–7
steward, 54, 193n. 56
terms of address, 154
tobacco, 151–2
attendants, male, 69, 71, 75–6, 82, 173
accommodation, 81–2
army background, 196n. 21
attitude towards medical staff, 59
fighting, 160
threat to jobs, 174
violence, 146–7, see nursing
Bartlett, Peter, 28
bed rest, 126, 135–7
beer, 76n. 76, 138, 150–1, 198n. 67
Bethlem, 16, 96, 98
Bexley Asylum, planning and construction, 4, 23–5, 51
Boer War, 71, 159, 186n. 32
Bond, Hubert, 44, 48, 52–4
Booth, Charles, 19, 175
Boschma, Geertje, 67
Bourke, Joanna, 115
Boyle, Helen, 45–6, 59, 64, 135, 175
Burdett, Henry, 51–2, 74, 83–4, 92–4, 107, 149, 156, 178
Busfield, Joan, 11
Carpenter, Mick, 66, 89
case books, 11–12, 49
Caterham Asylum, 21, 144
causes and forms of insanity, 33–9
Certificate of Medico-Psychological Association, 41
first woman to be awarded, 44
Chaney, Sarah, 130
Chesler, Phyllis, 10, 179
childbirth in the asylum, 139
chronicity, 29, 96
class, see gender
Claybury Asylum, planning and construction, 4, 23–5, 51
Claybury Hall, 30, 95–6, 110, 117–18, 149–51, 169, 173
clothing, asylum, 99–102
Clouston, Thomas, 74, 165

235
Cochrane, David, 23, 138
Colney Hatch Asylum, 22, 42–3, 48, 86, 96, 109–10, 117–18, 120, 124, 133, 140–1, 179
dietary and beer, 150–1
Mental After-Care Association, 144–5
railway station, 169
colonial context, 181n. 11
appeal to doctors, 195n. 128
committal proceedings, 15, 28, 206n. 10
Conolly, John, 132
convalescent villa at Bexley, 141
Davis, Gayle, 36
degeneracy, 19–22, 35, 37–8, 165
and attendants, 71–3
dementia, 34, 36
diagnosis, 34, 189n. 109
Digby, Anne, 5, 66, 175–6
discharge criteria and procedures, 21, 32, 141–5
after care, 144–5
appeals for discharge, 163
prevention, 142
recommitment, 141–2
stigma, 15, 29, 58, 100, 121, 145, 176, 210n. 146
Dove, Emily, 45–6, 59, 61
drugs
  bromide, chloral, hyoscyamine and paraldehyde, 137–9
Dwyer, Ellen, 7–8, 95, 106
Easterbrook, C. C., 136–7
Elkins, Frank Ashby, 51–2, 55, 73, 79
‘erotic’ behaviour of female patients, 166–7, 176
escapes, 72, 97, 99, 156, 164
eugenics, 142–3, 186n. 33
exercise and sport, 117–18, 204n. 150
therapeutic benefits, 141
‘feeble-mindedness’, 37–8, 142–3
Fennell, Phil, 138
Fenwick, Mrs Bedford, 59, 84
forced feeding, 133–4
Forsythe, Bill, 6, 15, see also Melling, Joseph
Foucault, Michel, 4–5, 67, 93, 147–8, 176, 179
friendships, 168–9
Gardiner Hill, Robert, 132
gender and class, 8–11, 63
discharge criteria, 141–5
femininity, 9–11
household chores, 116–17
masculinity, 9–11, 33–4
middle-class, 55, 61–4
normative behaviour, 127
nurses and attendants, 67, 73–6
overwork, 114
spaces, 98–9
staff, 25
working-class and work, 114
general paralysis of the insane (GPI), 21, 32, 35–7, 96, 189n. 96
Gittins, Diana, 7–8, 95, 106
Grant-Smith, Rachel, 92, 105, 107
Hamlett, Jane and Hoskins, Lesley, 100–1
Handbook for the Instruction of
  Attendants on the Insane, 73, 79, 83–4, 162
Hanwell Asylum, 22, 68, 77, 83, 100, 109–10, 132
heredity, 20, 33, 35, 37–8
Hine, George T., 23, 93, 121, 187n. 57
homosexuality, 168, 174
Horton Asylum, 22–3, 48, 53, 96, 105, 121, 141, 158
Hunter, Richard, 34, 42, 151, see also
  Macalpine, Ida
hydrotherapy, 139–40
electric baths, 140
hysteria, 10, 20, 166
‘idiots’ and ‘imbeciles’, definition, 12
intemperance, see alcohol
Ireland, 181n. 11
Jones, Robert, 4, 19, 20, 28, 33, 43, 46, 48, 52
attacks on, 158
and attendant accommodation, 81–2
and Claybury Hall, 95, 110–11, 150
and discharge, 144–5
and employing female staff, 152
and eugenics, 143
and female patients, 32–3
and ill-health, 57–8
and male attendants, 153
Mrs Jones, 53
and nursing, 65, 80, 83, 87, 122, 153–4
and patient employment, 104, 116
and religion, 119–20
and seclusions, 134
and suicide, 130
therapeutic approach, 131, 138, 140–1
and ward interiors, 97–8
and ward life, 146–7
and women, 50

Journal of Mental Science, 40

‘lady’ doctors, see medical staff
Leavesden Asylum, see Caterham
letters, patient, 155
Lomax, Montagu, 40–1, 55–6, 99–100, 109, 114, 119, 154–6, 159, 162
London county asylums, 22–5
Asylums Committee, 22
sub-committees, 22, 48
Long Grove Asylum, 23, 77, 96, 187
Lord, J. R., 48, 121
Lunacy Commissioners, 12, 14–15, 17, 47, 151, 154, 163
lunacy, rise in, 14–22
by class and gender, 26–8
in London, 21–2
‘lunatic’, definition, 12, 188n. 74

Macalpine, Ida, 34, 42, 151, see also Hunter, Richard
McGovern, Constance, 50–1, 61–2, 167
madhouses, 16–17

Male Nurses’ Temperance
Co-operation, 69, 75–6, 82, 157
mania, 34, 128–9, 135
Manor, the, 22–3, 95–6
Marland, Hilary, 10, 128
marriage, 174
alienists, 52, 54–6
attendants, 81–2
masturbation, 106, 164–7
Maudsley, Henry, 20, 33–4, 58, 165
mechanical restraint, 17, 67, 92, 137, 207n. 58
history of use, 132–3
in private asylums, 133, 137
medical profession
imperialism, 6, 15, 114
laboratory as male spaces, 63–4
new generation, 42–6
new theories, 19–21
training and examinations, 41
medical staff and officers, 25
alienists, 41–3
assistant medical officers, 25, 49–64
breakdowns, 56–8
conditions, protest against, 56–7
daily routine and accommodation, 53–4
duties, 46–9
houses and accommodation, 51–2
‘lady’ doctors, 44–6, 49–51, 58–63
and in America, 61
marriage ban and debates, 54–6
rules, 54
salaries, 194n. 87
superintendents, 42–4, 46–9
wives and families, 51–3
Medico-Psychological Association
(MPA), 41, 60, 83, 86, 135, 194n. 107, 195n. 129
melancholia, 33–4, 127–30, 138, 140
Melling, Joseph, 6, 15, see also Forsythe, Bill
Mental After-Care Association, 43, 144–5
Mental Deficiency Act (1913), 38, 143
mental hospitals, beginnings, 4
Mercier, Charles, 42, 47, 68
Metropolitan Asylums Board (MAB), 186n. 43
Michael, Pamela, 127
Monk, Lee-Ann, 59, 67, 81
moral treatment and moral management, 17, 67, 200n. 3
shift to moral management, 92
of staff, 73, 80, 173
surveillance, 5, 93, 156, 173
use of space, indoor and outdoor, 93–7
work, 102–17
mortality rates in asylums, 21, 87
Mott, Frederick, 36–7, 45, 64, 143
National Asylum Workers’ Union (NAWU), 85–6, 89, 200n. 128
neurasthenia, 20, 33, 139
Nolan, Peter, 67, 84
nomenclature, 154
nurses
accommodation, 77–8
amusements, 80
attrition of staff at Claybury, 70
Boer War, 71, 159
class, 74–6
degeneracy, fears of, 73
dietary, 78
discipline, 72–3, 80
dismissal, 71–3
Dutch practices, 67
employment criteria, 70
female nurses on male wards, 86–90, 178–9
general hospital influence, 75, 87–8, 172, 175
general nurses as asylum matrons, 172
history of, 67–8, 75
illness, 69
improvement to conditions and wages, 76–8, 80
intemperance, 73
marriage, 81–2
matrons, 25, 51, 59, 68, 78, 87, 90, 92, 95
meals, 153–4
as moral exemplars, 73, 75
patient admissions, 123–4
patient relations, 152–3, 156–7
power on ward, 155–6
professionalization, 82–6
promotion and recognition, 70, 77
recruitment and retention, 68–81
rise of female nurse, 86–90
Royal British Nurses Association, 84–5
Scotland, 87
sexual misconduct, 71–3
terminology, 75, 86
training and qualifications, 82–5
uniforms, 78–9
unionisation, 85
violence among themselves, 160–1
working conditions, 68–72
observation, 12, 104, 122, 126–7, 149, 154
Oppenheim, Janet, 9, 33–4
Orange, Margaret, 45–6, 60, 62
father, William, 60
overcrowding, 14, 22
patients, pauper admission to asylums, 122–7
age, 31
children, 31
demographics, 26–33
friendships, 168
infantilisation, 42, 92, 178–80
intimidation by attendants, 155–6, 161
marital status, 31–2, 37
men as breadwinners, 113–14
previous occupation, 28–31
relations with attendants, 156–7
socio-economic background, 28–9
patients, private, 27–8, 95, 125
clothing, 99–102
dietary, 150
GPI, 35–6
grant-in-aid, 188n. 84
mixing with paupers, 169
previous occupations, 30
relations with attendants, 157
restraint, 133
sport and amusements, 118
work, 104, 110–11
pauperism, 29
photography on admission, 125
Poor Law, 15–16, 19, 28–9
Porter, Roy, 6, 15
Poverty, 16, 19–20, 29, 32–3, 113, 175
Prestwich Asylum, see Lomax, Montagu
prisoners, 206n. 8
privacy, lack of, 77–8, 149
private asylums and madhouses, 16, 22–3, 41, 58, 74, 76, 92, 125, 130, 133, 169, 173
‘progress’, effects of, 19, 33–4
puerperal insanity, 10, 33, 38, 128, 137, 142
Reaume, Geoffrey, 7–8
religious practices, 119–20
asylum chapel, 51, 120
Roman Catholic patients, 120
respite care for women, 144
‘revolving door’, 141
Robertson, George M., 69, 87–8, 90, 134, 136, 138, 173
Savage, Sir George, 137
Scotland, 11, 44, 87, 173, 181n. 11
Scott, Joan W., 8–9
Scull, Andrew, 5–6, 15, 20, 64, 92, 102, 114, 171
seclusion, 49, 92, 134–5, 162
segregation, 95–6, 106–7
self-mutilation, 130–1
Seward, William, 42–3, 48, 144, 151
sexual behaviour, 167–9, 176
Showalter, Elaine, 10–11, 38, 100, 112, 135
Smith, Leonard, 6, 67, 73, 84
social change, 18–19
economic migration, 18
education, 19
employment, new opportunities, 18
women, 18–19
sources, 11
space and buildings
female spaces, 176
indoor and outdoor, 93–7
indoor decoration, 97–9
segregation, 95
symbolism, 93
sport, 19, 117–18
and attendants, 70
staff, grades and numbers, 25
Stansfield, Thomas Edward Knowles, 4, 25, 43–4, 52
and the acute hospital, 96, 122, 126
attitudes to marriage, 53–5, 72
employing women, 110
and eugenics, 142
ill-health, 58
and male attendants, 69, 71, 76, 153, 159
and Mrs Stansfield, 53, 54
and nurses, 83, 175–6
and patient complaints, 170
and patient employment, 102, 105, 108
and recreation, 117
and segregation of patients, 96, 141
and unions, 85
and villas, 72, 96–7, 141, 153
Stearns, Peter, 115
stigma, 7, 29, 36–7, 49, 58, 100, 121, 127, 145, 176, 210n. 146
suicide, 129–30
superintendents, see medical staff
surgery and operations, 139
Suzuki, Akihito, 6, 113
symptoms, 127–31
syphilis, 21, 32, 35–7, 165, 189n. 96, see also general paralysis
therapeutics, 131–41
Tosh, John, 55, 82
total institution, 183n. 24
trade unions, 18, 57, 66, 82, 85, 89, 177
transportation to the asylum, 123
Tuke, Daniel Hack, 91, 107–8
Turnbull, A. R., 87–8, 136
urinals and water closets, 149

villa system at Bexley, 23–5, 72, 96–7, 153
convalescent villa, 141
violence, 147, 157–62
against staff, 60
complaints by patients, 163–4
visitors, 169–70

Walkowitz, Judith, 64, 107, 175
Walton, John, 6, 112
Weatherly, Lionel, 58, 157, 166
wives, superintendents’, 53
women
changes to employment and status, 114–16
new independence, 9, 18–19, 79
new occupational opportunities, 86–90
reproductive system and insanity, 38–9
rights, 18
role caring for insane, 68
surplus of, 18
work, patient
for attendants, 112
economic benefits, 102
hair picking, 109
kitchen, 109–10
laundry, 105–8
men’s work, 104
needleroom, 108–9
occupations, 104
outdoor work, 96, 104, 111–12
payment and incentives, 112–13
private patients, 110–11
resistance, 113
tailoring, 109
as therapy, 102
ward work, 112
women’s work, 105–6
Wright, David, 6, 15, 20–1, 66–7
Wynter, Andrew, 20, 35
York Retreat, 5, 45, 67, 91
York, Sarah, 129
Young, Arlene, 75, 214n. 2