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**A History of the Provision of Treatment for Mental Health  
in Nineteenth-Century Surrey**

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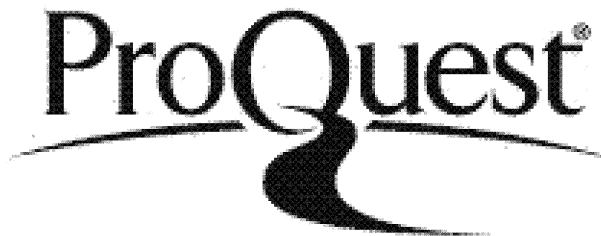
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## **Abstract**

The thesis presents a study of the provision of resources for the care and treatment of the insane in nineteenth-century Surrey. It covers the period between the mid 1770s until 1900 but focuses particular attention on the period 1830 – 1890.

It examines the establishment of private asylums, county lunatic asylums and other institutions providing accommodation for the mentally ill, and, so far as possible, the care of single patients in their homes or other residences designated for that purpose.

It traces the growth of legislation aimed at regulating the operation and conduct of asylums including their licensing, inspection and maintenance of records. It examines the impact of such legislation in the county with particular regard to the duties and responsibilities which fell upon those concerned with its implementation and administration at the local level. This examination includes the monitoring of private asylums and the processes by which the need for public asylums was established, their building and commissioning, staffing and subsequent asylum management.

It examines the relationship between the requirements of the poor law and lunacy legislation for the care of pauper lunatics, and, therefore, includes within its purview the accommodation of the mentally ill in poor law institutions. It also examines, therefore, the roles of the local justices and poor law officials in the provisions made for the care and treatment of the insane poor.

The study draws to a conclusion in the late 1880s coincidental with the reform of local government boundaries which resulted in a change of administrative responsibilities in Surrey and the newly created London local authorities.

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## **Abbreviations**

<b>ABM</b>	Unpublished biography of Alexander Morison by Alexander Blackhall Morison (1850 – 1927)
<b>AR</b>	Annual Report
<b>CL</b>	Commission in Lunacy
<b>JHC</b>	Journal of the House of Commons
<b>JHL</b>	Journal of the House of Lords
<b>LCC</b>	London County Council
<b>LGB</b>	Local Government Board
<b>LMA</b>	London Metropolitan Archives
<b>MAB</b>	Metropolitan Asylums Board
<b>MCCA</b>	Managing Committee of Caterham Asylum
<b>MCL</b>	Metropolitan Commission in Lunacy
<b>MD</b>	Morison Diaries
<b>NA</b>	National Archives
<b>PP</b>	Parliamentary Paper
<b>PLB</b>	Poor Law Board
<b>PLC</b>	Poor Law Commission
<b>PLU</b>	Poor Law Union
<b>RCP</b>	Royal College of Physicians of London
<b>RCPE</b>	Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh
<b>SCC</b>	Surrey County Council
<b>SHC</b>	Surrey History Centre

The map shows the parish boundaries (c 1820) and the Poor Law Union boundaries. The unions are numbered 1 – 20; no 1 is Bermondsey, 2 is Camberwell, 3 is Chertsey, 4 is Croydon, 5 is Dorking, 6 is Epsom, 7 is St George the Martyr, 8 is Godstone, 9 is Guildford, 10 is Hambledon, 11 is Kingston, 12 Lambeth, 13 Newington St Mary, 14 is St Olave's, 15 is Reigate, 16 is Richmond, 17 is Rotherhithe, 18 is St Saviour's, 19 is Wandsworth & Clapham, 20 is Farnham.  
County Asylums are marked 'o' with Wa for Wandsworth, Br for Brookwood, CH for Cane Hill, Ne for Netherne (out of study). Private Asylums are marked in approximate locations with a black dot (see Tables 8 and 21 for names). Metropolitan Asylum Board Asylum at Caterham marked \*C.  
Source: Map has been adapted from map of parishes given in J Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey*, (Surrey Archaeological Society, 1991).

local history. Initial research using discovered that the hospital was not a Surrey institution (whether was it an asylum) but that within Surrey, built in the nineteenth century.

<sup>1</sup> St Lawrence's Hospital began its existence as the Metropolitan Liverpool Asylum, Caterham, in 1870, under the management of the Metropolitan Asylum Board (MAB). It became and remained known as Caterham Asylum until 1979 when the MAB was abolished, and the asylum was taken over by the London County Council (LCC). Shortly after its take-over it became known as St Lawrence's Hospital (named after Caterham's 12<sup>th</sup>-century church, which though preserved and occasionally used was well exceeded by the Victorian Church of St Mary consecrated in 1861, a name it kept through the period of post-war reconstruction. Upon National Health Service structures which began in 1948 and incorporated the hospital was taken over by Lutetia NHS Trust, a private concern and one of the NHS trusts resulting from the proposals outlined in the government White Paper 'Caring for Patients', in 1991.

<sup>2</sup> P. Walker, *St Lawrence's - The story of a hospital, 1870 - 1994* (published by the Woking Press, Woking, for the Lutetia NHS Trust, 1994). Walker is a well-known Suffolk local historian.

## Chapter 1 – Introduction

Interest in undertaking a study of the provision for the care of the insane in nineteenth-century Surrey began with an event in Caterham, a town in the east of the county near its borders with Kent, in 1994. In that year St Lawrence's Hospital<sup>1</sup> was closed and its remaining 160 or so patients dispersed to several houses in the eastern side of the county. At the time of the closure the hospital was managed by Lifecare NHS Trust, an organisation formed in 1990 to take over the tasks of the Croydon Mental Health Unit. One of the tasks of the Trust was to bring about the long-considered closure of the 120 year-old asylum which since 1985 had gradually reduced its patient numbers. The last patients were removed to a number of houses purchased by the Trust, shortly after which the asylum and its remaining land was sold to developers to build a modern housing estate. The wrecker's ball quickly demolished the ward blocks turning them into enormous piles of London Brick and concrete soon cleared leaving no trace of the Victorian institute that had housed thousands of pauper lunatics. The demise of the asylum made little impact in the town its building had helped to form. No history, apart from a booklet commissioned by the Trust<sup>2</sup>, had been written and the original intention was to make good this gap in local history. Initial research soon discovered that the hospital was not a Surrey institution (neither was it an asylum) but that within Surrey, built in the nineteenth

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<sup>1</sup> St Lawrence's Hospital began its existence as the Metropolitan Districts Asylum, Caterham, in 1870, under the management of the Metropolitan Asylums Board (MAB). It became and remained known as Caterham Asylum until 1929 when the MAB was abolished, and the asylum was taken over by the London County Council (LCC). Shortly after the take-over it became known as St Lawrence's Hospital (named after Caterham's 12<sup>th</sup>-century church, which though preserved and occasionally used was itself succeeded by the Victorian Church of St Mary consecrated in 1861) a name it kept through the period of management under various National Health Service structures which began in 1948 and lasted until the hospital was taken over by Lifecare NHS Trust, a private concern and one of the NHS trusts resultant from the proposals contained in the government White Paper 'Caring for Patients', in 1991.

<sup>2</sup> R Malster, *St Lawrence's – The story of a hospital, 1870 – 1994*, (printed by the Wolsey Press, Suffolk, for the Lifecare NHS Trust, 1994). Malster is a well-known Suffolk local historian.

century, there were three county asylums, Wandsworth, Brookwood and Cane Hill; in the nineteenth century thirty-two private asylums were in operation for some time during that period. In addition, Surrey was home to Banstead Asylum, a Middlesex county asylum, four charitable hospitals providing accommodation for lunatics, Guys Hospital Lunatic Ward, Bethlem, Earlswood Asylum, and Thomas Holloway's Sanatorium, a Metropolitan Districts Asylum (Caterham), and Horton Asylum, an asylum opened at the onset of the programme of building five asylums near Epsom, for London County Council. The role of workhouses in providing accommodation for lunatics and the precise number of these establishments so involved was not firmly established until later in the study. Similarly, the status and provision made for single lunatics was an unknown factor.

The first reaction to establishing the number of asylums public and private to be found in nineteenth-century Surrey was to question, perhaps naively, whether the level of provision was unusual or whether there were circumstances peculiar to the county which made such a level of provision necessary. One further factor emerged from the initial assessment of the numbers of those deemed insane – the heavy and increasing imbalance between the provision made for the non-pauper and pauper lunatics. This resulted in a third tentative question – whether there was some relationship between the requirements arising from lunacy and poor law legislation. The following study is an attempt to answer these questions.

### Purpose of Study

The purpose of the study is to provide a history of the provision of resources in nineteenth-century Surrey for the accommodation and treatment of those deemed, at the time, to be insane. Its prime focus, therefore, is on the local level of the county and its parishes. Concern with the evolution and development of legislation and

policy at national level is intended to assist in the assessment and measurement of the impact of national legislation and policy at local level, its resultant interpretation, implementation and administration. The medical aspects of the study will be confined to the effects that the change and development of methods of treatment had upon the provision of resources.

Placing the prime focus of study upon the local level, however, necessitates that such study be conducted within a framework of significant change, development and growth in the social, economic, political and religious state of affairs of nineteenth-century Britain. Among the several factors affecting the provision of resources for the care and treatment of the mentally ill were the specific issues of parliamentary reform, the growth of central government control and the reform of the poor laws. There were the general issues of population growth, industrialisation and the change in the balance between rural and urban society. Such provision also took place against a background of attitudes and values ascribed to the various classes of society towards poverty and mental health. The social classes, at the same time, were in the throes of change and development.

#### Limitations of the Study

Whilst the study is primarily concerned with the nineteenth century, it is necessary to give some account of the relevant events of the late eighteenth century and some indication of what provisions were to continue into the early twentieth century. Particular attention, however, is focused on the period between 1830 and 1890; lunacy legislation which had the most significant effect in Surrey evolved between 1832 and 1890; the effects of the reform of the poor laws were manifest throughout the period; changes in the local government boundaries after 1888 significantly affected the area and population of the county and the disposition of its

resources for mental health care, providing a convenient break-point in the area of study.

Extensive use of primary sources, particularly those at local level, has been made in the course of the study. Inevitably, account needs to be taken of the absence of some records either in whole or in part. For example, many of the records of private asylums have not survived and records of single patients maintained in their own homes or in other establishments are almost non-existent. Records of, and reports on, public asylums, hospitals and other institutions such as charitable hospitals, proceedings at Quarter and Petty Sessions, reports of Committees of Visitors or Visiting Justices are not necessarily complete and vary in quality. At national level, relevant records of such bodies as the Royal College of Physicians (RCP) have not survived, whilst in government publications occasional errors have been detected.

There are many references in modern historiography devoted to nineteenth-century lunacy issues to the weight attached to, and effect of, so-called public opinion. The value which may be attributed to public opinion will be discussed later and it is sufficient at this stage merely to record some notes of caution. The 'public' capable or willing to venture an opinion on any issue was limited largely to the upper and growing middle classes. The vast majority of the lower classes, among whom were the poor, had neither the will nor the means to make much contribution to public opinion. The problems of lunacy, despite a growing enlightened attitude towards its recognition and treatment, nonetheless, remained a taboo subject. An incidence of insanity in a family was more likely to be characterized by secrecy rather than disclosure or discussion. There are few examples of contemporary diaries and correspondence maintained by next-of-kin, still less from patients. Sources of public

opinion are mainly journals, the national and local press and the literature of the time, much of which may suffer from a lack of objectivity.

One further source of information is extremely limited; records of informal exchanges and discussion between informed or interested groups are virtually non-existent. Records of formal meetings such as reports and minutes are usually (and understandably) brief. They say nothing about the discussion or debate from which they are formulated. More significant, little is known about the informal meetings and written exchanges, the networks of people of like interests, which were a day-to-day occurrence and from which much action emanated. Some idea of what such sources could reveal is obtained from the occasional diary or collection of correspondence.

#### Methodology of the Study

The purposes of examining the primary sources at national level have been to establish how legislation was developed and framed, and how the resultant legislation evolved into the policies of the relevant central bodies. The sources examined include the Journals of both the House of Lords and the House of Commons, and parliamentary debates in the *Parliamentary History of England* (pre-1803) and *Hansard*; Parliamentary Papers which have provided the Reports, Minutes of Evidence and associated appendices of Select Committees, Annual Reports of various Commissions and Returns and Abstracts required by parliament; public Statutes and Bills and Local Acts; Reports of Royal Commissions and associated appendices; correspondence between government departments, commissions and local authorities.

The purposes of examining the primary sources at local level have been to establish how legislation and national policy was interpreted and implemented by the

various levels of administrators and medical professionals of the county, and the relationship which evolved between local and national levels. The sources examined include the correspondence between the Court of Quarter Sessions and the Lord Chancellor's office; Parishes and Unions with the Poor Law Commission and its successors; the Annual Reports of Committees of Visiting Justices to Asylums; Quarter and Petty Session records.

Other primary sources examined include those available in the Royal College of Physicians of London (RCP) which holds a limited number of records and documents of the body which had an important role in the monitoring of mental health resources; the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh (RCPE) which holds a collection of documents and diaries of one of Surrey's medical specialists in lunacy; the collection of contemporary pamphlets and journals held at the Wellcome Institute; the collection of correspondence of individuals involved in formulation and implementation of the poor laws held at University College London.

Within the last fifty years a substantial amount has been written about the treatment of mental health and the implementation of the poor laws in the nineteenth century. Study of such secondary sources has been undertaken to increase background knowledge in general, but principally to provide a basis for comparison with views and conclusions drawn from the research of primary sources in the course of the study. Though reference to the secondary sources will appear appropriately throughout the following pages, a review of the principal secondary sources examined in whole or part is given below.

### Review of Secondary Sources

One of the purposes of reading secondary sources is to establish the extent to which research has been carried out in the area of study. This study is concerned with



the provision made for the treatment of mental health in the county of Surrey. Surrey has so far featured in only two other completed studies<sup>3</sup>, though a study is nearing completion into two nineteenth-century Surrey asylums<sup>4</sup>.

This study is also concerned with the implementation and administration of lunacy legislation and its relation to the implementation of the Poor Laws at the local level. This relationship must take into account the legislation relating to the poor that existed pre and post the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. In this area of research, Surrey is again featured in a limited number of studies. Pike's study straddles the pre and post 1834 Act<sup>5</sup>, whilst Gibson is concerned only with four decades after 1834<sup>6</sup>.

With the paucity of Surrey-oriented study attention was turned to other studies of the provision of treatment of mental health in other counties or areas.

Murphy has conducted research into the East London area<sup>7</sup> whilst Cochrane also has

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<sup>3</sup> (i) N Hervey, 'The Lunacy Commission, 1845 – 1860, with special reference to the implementation of policy in Kent and Surrey', (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Bristol, 1987).

(ii) D Wright, *Mental Disability in Victorian England, The Earlswood Asylum, 1847 – 1901*, (Oxford University Press, 2001).

<sup>4</sup> A Shepherd is nearing completion of her PhD thesis concerned with female patients at Brookwood Asylum and Holloway's Sanatorium. An article written by her, 'The Female Patient in two late nineteenth-century Surrey Asylums' appears in Eds J Andrews & A Digby, *Sex and Seclusion, Class & Custody: Perspectives on Gender and Class in the History of British and Irish Psychiatry*, (Rodopi, Amsterdam, 2004).

<sup>5</sup> W Pike, 'The Administration of the Poor Law in the Rural Areas of Surrey, 1830 – 1850', (Unpublished MA thesis, Birbeck College, University of London, 1950). Though useful in parts, this study undertaken over 50 years ago omits any reference to the metropolitan areas of the county.

<sup>6</sup> M Gibson, 'The Treatment of the Poor in Surrey under the operation of the new poor law between 1834 – 1871', (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Surrey, 1978). Gibson's work has proved useful in comparing the results of research into primary sources undertaken in the course of the above study.

<sup>7</sup> E Murphy, (i) 'The Administration of Insanity, 1800 – 1870' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2000).

(ii) 'Mad Farming in the Metropolis, Part 1: A significant service industry in East London', *History of Psychiatry*, Vol 12, Part 3, No 47, (2001), pp 245 – 282.

(iii) 'Mad Farming in the Metropolis, Part 2: The administration of the old poor law of insanity in the City and East London, 1800 – 1834', *History of Psychiatry*, Vol 12, Part 4, No 48, (2001), pp 405 – 430.

(iv) 'The Madhouse Keepers of East London', *History Today*, Vol 51, No 9, (2001), pp 29 – 35.

(v) 'The Lunacy Commissioners and the East London Guardians, 1845 – 1867', *Medical History*, Vol 46, No 4, (2002), pp 495 – 524.

(vi) 'The New Poor Law Guardians and the Administration of Insanity in East London, 1834 – 1844', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, Vol 77, No 1, (2003), pp 45 – 74.

written about London and its surrounding counties<sup>8</sup>. Walton has carried out research into the county of Lancashire<sup>9</sup> and the work of Forsythe, Melling and Adair is concerned with the county of Devon<sup>10</sup>. Most recently, Wright has conducted research into particular aspects of the provision of resources in Buckinghamshire<sup>11</sup>. In addition to articles, two authors have published books on the care and administration of the treatment of lunatics involving research carried out in the counties of Nottinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Staffordshire, Norfolk, Lincolnshire and Oxfordshire<sup>12</sup>, and in Leicestershire and Rutland<sup>13</sup>.

Before reviewing the principal secondary sources examined, mention should be made of some background reading. As an artist faced with a blank canvas applies a background colour, so, in order to provide a basis for more detailed examination, a number of general works of the history of the nineteenth century have been consulted. The following works listed as background reading are not further discussed though reference to them will be made as appropriate. The first work is the four volumes of Halévy's *History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century*<sup>14</sup>. Though quite

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<sup>8</sup> D Cochrane, '“Human, economical, and medically wise” the LCC as administrators of Victorian lunacy policy', in Eds W Bynum, R Porter & M Shepherd, *The Anatomy of Madness*, Vol III, (Routledge, London, 1988), pp 247 – 272. Cochrane's work though primarily concerned with the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century has relevance to Surrey in relation to the LCCs provision at Epsom.

<sup>9</sup> J K Walton, 'Casting out and bringing back in Victorian England: pauper lunatics, 1840 – 1870', in Eds W Bynum, R Porter & M Shepherd, *The Anatomy of Madness*, Vol II, (Tavistock, London, 1985), pp 132 – 146.

<sup>10</sup> B Forsythe, J Melling & R Adair, 'The New Poor Law and the County Pauper Lunatic Asylum – The Devon Experience, 1834 – 1884', *Social History of Medicine*, Vol 9, No 3, pp 335 – 355.

<sup>11</sup> D Wright, 'Delusions of Gender: Lay Identification and Clinical Diagnosis' in Eds J Andrews & A Digby, *Sex and Seclusion, Class & Custody: Perspectives on Gender and Class in the History of British and Irish Psychiatry*, (Rodopi, Amsterdam, 2004).

<sup>12</sup> L D Smith, 'Cure, Comfort and Safe Custody' - *Public Lunatic Asylums in Early Nineteenth-Century England*, (Leicester University Press, 1999)

<sup>13</sup> P Bartlett, *The Poor Law of Lunacy – The Administration of Pauper Lunatics in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England*, (Leicester University Press, 1999)

<sup>14</sup> E Halévy, *History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century*, Vols 1 – 4 (Benn, London, between 1951 and 1961). All translated by E I Watkin. Halévy did not write his history in chronological order, neither did he live to see its completion. Having completed Vols 1 – 3 he turned to the period 1895 – 1914 to write the concluding volumes. He died before completing Vol 4, and the English version of that volume includes a part covering the period 1852 – 1895 written by R B McCallum.

old, Halévy's work continues to command recommendation by many later historians. *The Oxford History of England* series has three works covering the nineteenth century<sup>15</sup> which still have value though gradually being superseded by *The New Oxford History of England* series. The new series, yet to encompass the whole of the nineteenth century, includes Hoppen's work<sup>16</sup> which examines the period 1846 – 1886. The background reading also included two idiosyncratic works: first, Young's much acclaimed work<sup>17</sup> spanning the Victorian period first published in 1936; second, Burn whose work on the mid-Victorian period was first published in 1964<sup>18</sup>. Two further works on the same period concerned with general economic and social issues by Kitson Clark and Best<sup>19</sup> led to attention to more specific issues of economic and social history. The history of the industrial and agricultural revolutions were provided by the works of Perkin, Checkland and Chambers and Mingay<sup>20</sup>. Useful background to the local study of the implementation of the poor laws was provided by Poynter<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> (i) J S Watson, *The Reign of George III, 1760 – 1815*, (OUP, 1960).

(ii) L Woodward, *The Age of Reform, 1815 – 1870*, (OUP, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, 1962). Books I and IV provide a broad sweep of English national history.

(iii) R C K Ensor, *England, 1870 – 1914*, (OUP, 1936)

<sup>16</sup> K T Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation, 1846 – 1886*, (OUP, 1999). Hoppen links three themes, 'established industrialism', 'multiple national identities' and 'interlocking spheres' in examining the four late decades of the nineteenth-century.

<sup>17</sup> G M Young, *Victorian England, Portrait of an Age*, (OUP, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, 1953). Young's work covers the period 1830 – 1902 in the form of a highly personal synthesis. It is sparsely footnoted, and has no bibliography. A 1977 edition was accompanied by annotations made by G S R Kitson Clark *et al*, which cast doubt on the validity of many of Young's references yet it continues to be described as 'brilliant', 'masterly', 'remarkable'.

<sup>18</sup> W L Burn, *The Age of Equipoise, a study of the mid-Victorian generation*, (Unwin, London, pbk ed, 1968). Burn deals with a comparatively short period from 1852 – 1867 when the dynamic forces of society were, in a sense, in a state of balance. It provides useful insights into middle class attitudes.

<sup>19</sup> (i) G S R Kitson Clark, *The Making of Victorian England*, (Methuen, London, pbk ed, 1965). Kitson Clark writes about the period 1850 – 1875, at the onset of the revision of aspects of Victorian history which began in the 1960s.

(ii) G Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851 – 1875*, (Granada, St Albans, Revised edition, 1973), an early example of a fresh look at Victorian history.

<sup>20</sup> (i) H Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780 – 1880*, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, Pbk edition, 1981).

(ii) S G Checkland, *The Rise of Industrial Society, 1815 – 1885*, (Longmans, London, 1969).

(iii) J D Chambers & G E Mingay, *The Agricultural Revolution, 1750 – 1880*, (Batsford, London, 1975).

<sup>21</sup> J R Poynter, *Society and Pauperism, English Ideas on Poor Relief, 1795 – 1834*, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1969).

This range of general background reading set in place, and chronological order, matters of fact – growing industrialisation, increasing population, fluctuating economy but with an overall upward trend, parliamentary reform, local government reform and changes in society. It provided a means of identifying the key areas of concern to those in the localities charged with, or active in the provision for the treatment of mental health – the local Members of Parliament, the justices, the elected or paid officers of the county and parish, the medical men and carers. It also began to throw some light on the order of priority which such provision would occupy in relation to other demands made upon them and other needs which existed or emerged in the localities. Provision for the treatment of mental health did not feature high in the order of priorities.

The key areas thus identified are:

1. The relationship between central and local government<sup>22</sup>.
2. The changes in poor laws.
3. The evolution of legislation concerned with the care and treatment of the insane.

Consideration of the relationship between central and local government involves, inevitably, some examination of the academic debate which lasted over twenty years from the late 1940s on the role of Jeremy Bentham in the growth of nineteenth-century government. This examination, though of importance and interest, is not considered essential to meeting the purposes of this local study. Appendix A provides a summary of the main contributions to the debate which has coloured the conclusions drawn from the examination of the more directly relevant secondary sources

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<sup>22</sup> It must be remembered that terms such as 'local government' would not have been used in the early to mid-nineteenth century. The term 'self-government' was used more widely when referring to the localities, though by the 1860s 'local government' had begun to be applied. There are other examples of terms used frequently by late-nineteenth and twentieth-century historians when describing concepts of government such as 'individualism' (1825), 'collectivism' (1880) which were not in general use.

described below. Two such sources are the works of Roberts<sup>23</sup> and Lubenow<sup>24</sup>; a third book of essays edited by Sutherland<sup>25</sup> has also proved useful. Both Roberts and Lubenow cover the period from the mid-1830's to the mid-1850s, a period during which, according to Young, there was 'the emergence of a new State philosophy'<sup>26</sup>. The contributions to Sutherland's book extend from 1820 to 1914 but the four essays of relevance cover the period 1820 to 1848.

Roberts's stance on the role of Bentham in the growth of the nineteenth-century administrative state is deployed in a paper published before his book<sup>27</sup>. Roberts first admits to the importance of Bentham's *Constitutional Code* in conveying the form of the administrative state he espoused and that Bentham had followers among the administrators and politicians in both Houses of Parliament. He contends, however, somewhat inconclusively, that there were other able and influential people who came to similar conclusions about the need for central administration and control; that the adverse conditions under which some members of society existed or worked influenced parliament in passing reforming legislation; and that even without Bentham some measure of central control would have resulted. Roberts's book, as its title suggests, extends the area of concern to the much broader claim that the nineteenth century was the time of the origin of the welfare state. It must surely be doubtful if the reformers had in their minds such an all-embracing concept which, in any case, did not come to fruition until the mid-twentieth century. Roberts claims that his book 'aims to describe the growth (in nineteenth-century

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<sup>23</sup> D Roberts, *Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State*. (Yale University Press, 1960)

<sup>24</sup> W C Lubenow, *The Politics of Government Growth - Early Victorian Attitudes Towards State Intervention, 1833 - 1848*, (David & Charles Archon Books, 1971)

<sup>25</sup> Ed G Sutherland, *Studies in the growth of nineteenth-century government*, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1972) has four opening essays of relevance to the study.

<sup>26</sup> G M Young, *op.cit.*, p 47

<sup>27</sup> D Roberts, 'Jeremy Bentham and the Victorian Administrative State', *Victorian Studies*, Vol II, (1959), pp 193 -210

bureaucracy), analyse its powers and organization, to discuss the men who became its civil servants, and to show in some detail how well it worked'. Despite some irritating but minor editorial inconsistencies, what Roberts does achieve is to provide a picture of the contemporary administration which varied in power and influence which, at best, was an uneasy marriage between the centre and the localities, but more commonly, still contained the elements of conflict between the two. The book's value is enhanced by reference to a range of primary sources such as pamphlets, parliamentary papers and reports on debates, committee reports and articles from the press.

Lubenow's work attempts to question three generalisations often found in twentieth-century history of Victorian government growth. First, rather than establishing a welfare state, modifications in the administrative structure comprised a blend of old with new organisational forms to provide a compromise for co-operation between the central and local administrative structures. Second, opposition to these forms was inspired less by *laissez-faire* theories and more by historical and legal assumptions and values. Third, the so-called revolution in government was not Benthamite in origin but stemmed from pressures emanating from increasing evidence of existing conditions which called for reform. He uses the case study method to test these generalisations by examining the legislative development in the poor laws, public health, railways and factories. Whilst making reference to the work of other historians, Lubenow makes extensive use of reports on parliamentary debates, the reports of Select Committees and Royal Commissions, political pamphlets, and contemporary periodicals and newspapers. In so doing this otherwise useful book invites the criticism that it gives more weight to the central viewpoint and less to the localities.

Sutherland's collection of essays, the first of which is briefly reviewed, are concerned with 'the complexities of the relationship between the government servant and his world'. The first essay by Finer<sup>28</sup>, author of the much respected biography of Chadwick<sup>29</sup>, makes what the author calls 'tentative suggestions' as to how the influence of Bentham's ideas came about. Finer suggests a threefold process. First, 'irradiation', a process of attracting likely converts to Benthamite ideas – as Finer puts it '(irradiation) made friends and influenced people'. Second, 'suscitation', a tactic of arranging public inquiries or the press, or both together, to create favourable public opinion among those with influence. Third, 'permeation', a process of securing official employment for oneself and using this advantage to promote further irradiation and suscitation (Finer's biographical work describes Chadwick's pursuit of all three processes). Finer's suggestions are well illustrated by examples, but he strikes a balance in his concluding paragraphs by asserting that he does not suggest administrative reform was solely Bentham-inspired but also owed something to other factors – the philanthropic action and, frequently, sheer necessity. He does not claim that Benthamites were the only zealous administrators. Neither does he claim that Bentham-inspired reforms always worked in the way they were planned. Finally, he does not claim that Benthamite reform was ever more than part of the spectrum of reconstruction that went on.

The changes in the poor law provide another ground for academic debate the principal participants of which were Blaug *et al*<sup>30</sup>. Further reference will be made to

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<sup>28</sup> S E Finer, 'The transmission of Benthamite ideas 1820 – 50', in Ed G Sutherland, *op.cit*

<sup>29</sup> S E Finer, *The Life and Times of Sir Edwin Chadwick*, (Methuen, London, 1952)

<sup>30</sup> M Blaug, 'The Myth of the Old Poor Law and the Making of the New', *Journal of Economic History*, Vol 23, (1963), pp 151 – 184; M Blaug, 'The Poor Law Re-examined', *Journal of Economic History*, Vol 24, (1964), pp 229 – 245; P Dunkley, 'The Landed Interests and the New Poor Law', *English History Review*, Vol 88, (1973), pp 831 – 841; U Henriques, 'How Cruel was the Victorian Poor Law?', *Historical Journal*, Vol 11, (1968), pp 365 – 371; D Roberts, 'How Cruel was the Victorian Poor Law?', *Historical Journal*, Vol 6, (1963), pp 97 – 107; M E Rose, 'The Allowance

issues raised in this debate and inevitably, reference will be made to the work of the Webbs<sup>31</sup>. The work chosen for this review was the most useful because its examination of the issues arising from the introduction of the new poor law includes consideration of the views and actions of those in the localities<sup>32</sup>, mainly in the midlands and eastern counties. Though issues about poor relief, the composition, role and status of the central body were to continue well beyond the end point, 1839, set by Brundage for his book, he maintains that by this date, in more than 90% of the country, the Poor Law Amendment Act had been implemented. Prior to the publication of his book, he had written articles which stressed his firm belief in the importance of the influence of landed interests in the development and implementation of the new poor law<sup>33</sup>, a view contested by Dunkley<sup>34</sup>. In these articles and in his book, Brundage argues that the implementation of the new poor law, far from increasing the power of central government, gave rise to the creation of autonomous bodies of government in the localities<sup>35</sup>. This may have had some truth in the midlands and eastern counties but not in Surrey.

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System under the New Poor Law', *Economic History Review*, Vol 19, (1966), pp 607 – 620;  
K Williams, *From Pauperism to Poverty*, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1981)

<sup>31</sup> S & B Webb, *English Local Government*, Vol 1, *The Manor and the County*, Vol 8, *English Poor Law History, Part 2, The Last Hundred Years, Vol 1*, Vol 10, *English Poor Law Policy*, (Frank Cass, London, Reprinted Edition, 1963)

<sup>32</sup> A Brundage, *The Making of the New Poor Law – The Politics of Inquiry, Enactment and Implementation, 1832 – 1839*, (Rutgers University Press, 1978). Brundage's book is chiefly concerned with the political context – as he says 'the thread running through this book is the exercise or attempted exercise of power – the power of cabinet ministers, MPs, reformers, officials, magistrates, and landowners'. Its major shortcoming is the limited period of study – 1832 – 1839.

<sup>33</sup> A Brundage, 'The Landed Interests and the New Poor Law: A Reappraisal of Revolution in Government', *English History Review*, Vol 87, (1972), pp 27 - 48

<sup>34</sup> P Dunkley, 'The Landed Interests and the New Poor Law: A Critical Note', *English History Review*, Vol 88, (1973), pp 836 – 841, to which Brundage responded in A Brundage, 'The Landed Interests and the New Poor Law: A Reply', *English History Review*, Vol 90, (1975), pp 347 - 351

<sup>35</sup> A Brundage, *op cit* fn 32 above. Ch 5 describes the implementation of the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834, in the counties of Bedford, Huntingdon, Northampton, Cambridge, Suffolk, Norfolk, Rutland, Leicester, Nottingham and Lincoln and the power of the local nobility and magnates to determine the size and management of the newly formed Poor Law Unions (PLU), circumstances far removed from those that prevailed in Surrey.



The last fifty years or so has seen the writing of a sizeable volume of historiography concerned with the care and treatment of the insane. Much of it has been to do with the history of psychiatry, with emphasis on the development of the diagnosis and treatment of the insane<sup>36</sup>. Porter's work, published some time after the beginning of twentieth-century interest in the history of mental illness, traces the gradual change in the understanding of, and attitude towards, insanity and the factors which influenced the development of legislation concerned with the provision and regulation of treatment of the insane. The history of the treatment of the mentally ill has been characterised by conflict between what is termed the 'whig' approach to history and the revisionists as exemplified by, on the one hand, the works of Jones<sup>37</sup>, and, on the other, Scull<sup>38</sup>. It is not intended to enter upon this conflict – indeed, merit can be seen for both approaches. The whig approach has yielded factual accounts of events, whilst the revisionists have moved the writing of history beyond the self-justification of actions by the members of the medical profession. What neither approach has done is to offer much by way of consideration of the administrative history of the care and treatment of the insane, in particular the relationship between the central authorities and those in the localities. For that it is necessary to turn to

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<sup>36</sup> R Porter, *Mind-Forg'd Manacles: A History of Madness in England from the Restoration to the Regency*, (Harvard University Press, 1987). This book in one sense sets the scene for what later happened in the care and treatment of the insane in the nineteenth century.

<sup>37</sup> K Jones, *Asylums and After: A Revised History of the Mental Health Services From the Early 18<sup>th</sup> Century to the 1990s*. (The Athlone Press, London, 1993). Jones's revision of an earlier work *A History of the Mental Health Services*, which was, in turn, a combination of two earlier works. Despite the criticism levelled at by the revisionist school it presents a factual account of events.

<sup>38</sup> A Scull, *The Most Solitary of Afflictions, Madness and Society in Britain, 1700 – 1900*, (Yale University Press, 1993). This is an exemplar of the prolific writing of this sociologist who, perhaps more than anyone, has spearheaded the revisionist school of writers. By his own confession, his writing is influenced by Weber, and, though he is less willing to acknowledge, by Marx. Witheringly disdainful of writers like Jones, Scull is not without fault (see the Introduction to G E Berrios & H Freeman, *150 Years of British Psychiatry, 1841 – 1991*, (Gaskell, for the Royal College of Psychiatrists, 1991)). His writing, nonetheless, has probably helped to stimulate the writing of others less dogmatic into other areas concerned with the treatment and care of the insane.

recent works by Bartlett<sup>39</sup>, Smith<sup>40</sup>, a collection of papers edited by Melling and Forsythe<sup>41</sup> and an earlier work by Parry-Jones<sup>42</sup>.

Bartlett asserts that in the localities the medical specialists had a minor role in the decisions about the building of county asylums and the admission of patients to them; that the Lunacy Commission had very little formal power over local administration; that the decisions about the building of asylums and the admission to them were made by local magistrates and poor law officials. In short 'the county asylum was essentially a Poor Law institution'<sup>43</sup>. Bartlett's work covers the period 1834 – 1870 and includes the results of research in the localities of Leicestershire and Rutland. It opens with a chapter which reviews socio-legal history and asylums providing a balanced assessment of the whig and revisionist approaches. It goes on to present the case for focusing attention on the administrative and legal structures in the history of asylums. The effects of the change in the poor law are discussed which involves the unavoidable issues of so-called revolution on government. In turn, this leads to consideration of the concept of social control and its growing influence in shaping modern historiography of administrative reform. Bartlett refreshingly concludes that 'the phrase "social control" is itself problematic, as it seems to mean different things to different people'<sup>44</sup>. It is unlikely that the term would have meant much to a nineteenth-century local magistrate or poor law official.

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<sup>39</sup> P Bartlett, *The Poor Law of Lunacy: The Administration of the Pauper Lunatics in Mid-Nineteenth Century England*, (Leicester University Press, 1999)

<sup>40</sup> L D Smith, *'Cure, Comfort, and Safe Custody' – Public Lunatic Asylums in Early Nineteenth-Century England*, (Leicester University Press, 1999)

<sup>41</sup> Eds J Melling & B Forsythe, *Insanity, Institutions and Society, 1800 – 1914 – A social history of madness in comparative perspective*, (Routledge, London, 1999). This collection of papers was assembled under the editorship of Melling and Forsythe following a seminar held at the University of Exeter. Three papers are reviewed and referred to under separate notes which follow.

<sup>42</sup> W L Parry-Jones, *The Trade in Lunacy, A study of Private Madhouses in England in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972).

<sup>43</sup> Bartlett, *op.cit.*, p 2

<sup>44</sup> Bartlett, *op.cit.* p 26. Bartlett is referring to an article by J Mayer (among others) 'Notes towards a Working Definition of Social Control in Historical Analysis' in Eds, S Cohen & A Scull, *Social*

Chapters 2 and 3 form the heart of Bartlett's work. In Chapter 2 he sets out the case for regarding poor law and asylum law as a 'single strand'. Early asylum law was founded on pre-1834 poor law and throughout the nineteenth century asylums remained as institutions chiefly associated with the poor (Bartlett has some interesting observations to make on the inmates of asylums who were not strictly paupers –see also his paper reviewed in later paragraphs). He briefly reviews pre-1834 poor law legislation pointing out that the first statutes concerned with the identification and confinement of lunatics were contained within the poor law. The setting in place of a second stream of legislation concerned with the regulation of private asylums is acknowledged as is their role in admitting pauper lunatics. The two streams of legislation were not consolidated until the late nineteenth century and even then pauper and private patients were treated differently. Bartlett then discusses the effect of the implementation of the new poor law – its policies on the poor, the central administrative structure and the role of the elected bodies and officials in the localities, in particular their role in admitting patients to county asylums. He acknowledges that there were problems – the poor law administrators' concern about the high cost of asylums, both accommodation and treatment, the overcrowding as the number of diagnosed lunatics rose, and the standard of accommodation and treatment provided for lunatics in workhouses. He maintains, however, that the asylum system was built on the poor law infrastructure.

In Chapter 3 he traces the development of the legislation and administrative structures relating to pauper lunacy in the context of the poor law. Bartlett identifies three periods of development in pauper lunacy legislation; the first third of the nineteenth century concerned with the creation of county asylums and the committal

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*Control and the State*, (Blackwell, Oxford, Paperback edition, 1985). Mayer discusses the concepts of social control one of which is the exertion of power by the upper and/or middle classes over the working classes.

processes to them; the 1840s to the 1860s during which the provision of county asylums became mandatory, and administrative roles for the Lunacy Commission and local Poor Law officers introduced; a period of 'legislative calm' until 1890. He argues that these periods of action and inaction corresponded to progress in the 'practical and political fortunes' of the new poor law. 'Legislation supporting the county asylum structure was passed when the poor law was in disfavour: when the trend was to a stronger workhouse system, however, legislation over county asylums was conspicuously absent from the statute books'<sup>45</sup>. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the legal lines of authority and the supporting administrative structures. Bartlett concludes that the two administrative structures were inconsistent – the responsibilities falling on those administering the poor law were in conflict with the responsibilities falling on the same officials in the context of asylum legislation.

Smith's work is concerned with the perpetual dilemma of the purpose of care and treatment of the insane - to provide means of curing the patients, or to take care of them, or to provide a means of secure accommodation to minimise danger to themselves and to others. His study is concentrated on the period 1800 – 1850, and what makes his work of particular value is its reference to a number of primary sources in the localities – specifically the counties of Bedfordshire, Cheshire, Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Gloucestershire, Kent, Lancashire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Middlesex, Norfolk, Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire, Suffolk and the West Riding of Yorkshire.

During the period of study, enabling legislation stimulated the building of county asylums, funded locally, to join the few establishments, privately or subscription funded, the so-called voluntary sector, already in existence. Almost

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<sup>45</sup> P Barlett, *op.cit.*, p 97

without exception, as can be seen from the above paragraph, the asylums which were opened were not in the great urban centres or industrialised counties. Their number increased only slowly over the next three decades because of the permissive nature of the initial legislation. It was not until 1845 that the building of county asylums was made mandatory (and still avoided by some counties for several years longer).

Smith's chapters deal with asylum management, patients, staff, design, treatment and care, the use of restraint, and occupation of patients during their period in the asylum. The tension between cure and custody constantly surfaces throughout these chapters. In his conclusion he recalls that the ideals of a curative asylum were founded on a relatively small establishment, with a small number of patients able to receive a high level of personal attention and that such patients would be admitted in the early stages of their illness. The reality was an increasing number of patients who were in a poor physical state, ageing, or chronically mentally ill, requiring bigger and more impersonal establishments, looked after by a small number of poorly trained, badly paid staff. Smith concludes that of the three objectives of the original enabling act, 'comfort' came increasingly to the fore over 'cure' and 'safe custody'.

Further work by Smith on county asylums examines another aspect of their history<sup>46</sup>. He again takes up the theme of the importance of the early nineteenth-century legislation in providing another element in the 'mixed economy' of care hitherto served by Bethlem, St Luke's, a limited number of hospitals and asylums in the voluntary sector, and a growing number of private asylums. Bethlem and St Luke's admitted patients who were considered curable, a criterion more important than whether they or their relatives could pay. The lunatic hospitals were intended primarily to cater for those who could not pay. Private asylums catered mainly for the

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<sup>46</sup> L D Smith, 'The County Asylum in the Mixed Economy of Care, 1808 – 1845' in Eds J Melling & B Forsythe, *op.cit.*, pp 33 - 47

well-to-do, though some made contractual arrangements with parishes to accept paupers on reduced standards of care and accommodation. Smith asserts that the emergent county asylums had to operate in this mixed economy – that many entered into competition with an expanding private sector, accepting non-pauper patients. Still others entered into contractual arrangements to share facilities with neighbouring urban areas or counties. The growing number of pauper lunatics, and the emergence of legislation demanding adequate provision be made for pauper patients, brought about a steady decline in the mixed economy of care by the mid-nineteenth century.

A paper by Bartlett sets out to question both the revisionist, and whig history of the treatment and care of the insane<sup>47</sup>. He argues that the administrative and legal structures of the asylum movement identify the county asylum as a poor law institution in which the role of the medical specialists has been exaggerated. He then looks at the asylum within the image of the poor law. Finally he questions how the success or failure of the asylum can be measured when understanding of its purpose is unclear. In so doing he again raises the question of the admission of patients who were not strictly paupers – ‘the respectable poor’. He concludes that some asylums permitted such patients to be admitted, a practice condoned, at least, by the Lunacy Commission. Bartlett concludes that there was no single and consistent vision of what the county asylum was to be or who it was to serve, but that by placing it within the context of the poor law provides a ‘framework of understanding’. Despite its anomalies the asylum system grew as required adjunct to the poor law system.

A paper by Forsythe, Melling and Adair looks at another aspect of the asylum system – the relationship between central and local regulation<sup>48</sup>. The paper

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<sup>47</sup> P Bartlett, ‘The Asylum and the Poor Law: The productive alliance’ in Eds J Melling & B Forsythe, *op.cit.*, pp 48 - 67

<sup>48</sup> B Forsythe, J Melling & R Adair, ‘The Politics of Lunacy: Central state regulation and the Devon Pauper Lunatic Asylum, 1845 – 1914’, in Eds J Melling & B Forsythe, *op.cit.*, pp 68 - 91

provides a narrative of events, with particular emphasis on the period 1845 – 1890, revealing the changing relationship between the central authority – the Lunacy Commission – and the authorities within the locality- the Visiting Committee, the Boards of Guardians and the Medical Superintendent (important in this instance because the first Medical Superintendent was a celebrated and much respected individual). It traces the changes that took place in the relationship and the first subtle and then increasing direct influence of the central authority. The prevailing view of much modern scholarship that the Commission was a passive conciliatory body was not true of its relationship with the Devon authorities. The Lunacy Commission was effective in dealing with local interest groups and was both authoritative and successful in achieving its policy objectives. It had significant and increasing influence on the administration of the poor law in the county.

Parry-Jones's study of private asylums<sup>49</sup> deals comprehensively with the rise and fall of these establishments, their proprietors and regimes of care and treatment, in the late-eighteenth and early- nineteenth centuries. He provides useful commentary on legislative development and resultant imperfect attempts at regulation. Of particular value are the results of his research of the records of two Oxfordshire asylums serving both pauper and non-pauper inmates, smaller scale establishments but broadly similar to Surrey's Peckham House and Camberwell House.

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<sup>49</sup> W LI Parry-Jones, *The Trade in Lunacy, A study of Private Madhouses in England in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1972).

## **Chapter 2 -Surrey – the background to the study**

The geological and topographical characteristics of Surrey have largely determined its rate of development and prosperity. Its northern border was set wholly by the River Thames until 1889 when changes to local government boundaries altered the limits of its north-eastern corner. To the west lie the counties of Berkshire and Hampshire; to the east lies Kent which together with Sussex marks Surrey's southern border. Southward from the Thames the county is divided by bands of land running west to east. The northernmost comprises the low-lying London Basin of clay in the eastern and central area and the relatively infertile area of the Bagshot Sands in the west. This band rises gently to the second band, narrowest in the west, of chalk and flint that make up the North Downs. The downland dips steeply to the third band of greensand, widest and highest at its western end, before narrowing to the Vale of Holmsdale extending eastwards to the Kent border. The final distinct of intractable clay of the Weald forms the county's southern border with Sussex. The beneficial effects of improvements in agricultural methods and productivity which began in the late sixteenth-century and accelerated during the eighteenth century were attenuated by poor land management and a failure to improve the infrastructure. Canals linking the western side of the county to the Thames in the north and the Arun in the south were constructed in the eighteenth century followed by turnpike roads linking London to Portsmouth, Brighton and Lewes. However, it was the building of the railways, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, that had the most effect on the society and economy of Surrey as lines fanned out from London to the south-west, south and south-east, interconnected by east/west routes. Supplementary information on the county is given in Appendix B. The issue that arises from the examination of these characteristics is whether they, in some ways, set the county apart from its



# **SPECIAL NOTE**

**THIS ITEM IS BOUND IN SUCH A  
MANNER AND WHILE EVERY  
EFFORT HAS BEEN MADE TO  
REPRODUCE THE CENTRES, FORCE  
WOULD RESULT IN DAMAGE**

County	Population											X
	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	Increase
Surrey	269,043	323,851	398,658	486,334	582,678	683,082	831,093	1091,635	1436899	521,551	653,549	2.4
Middlesex	818,129	953,276	1144,531	1358,330	1576,636	2512,842	2991,314	3519,114	4197,297	4792,130	5328,855	6.5
Essex	226,437	252,473	289,424	317,507	344,979	369,318	404,851	466,436	576,434	784,258	1083,998	4.8
Kent	307,624	373,095	426,016	479,155	548,337	615,766	733,887	848,294	977,706	808,736	961,139	3.1
Lancashire	672,731	828,309	1052,948	1336,854	1667,054	2031,236	2429,440	2819,465	3454,441	3906,721	4387,043	6.5
Yorkshire	868,892	986,041	1173,187	1371,359	1582,001	1761,692	2033,610	2436,355	2837,034	3218,882	3512,838	4.0
Suffolk	210,431	234,211	270,542	296,317	315,073	337,215	337,070	348,869	356,893	361,790	373,353	1.8

Table 1. Population increase for the counties of Surrey, Middlesex, Essex, Kent, Lancashire, Yorkshire and Suffolk. Surrey, Middlesex, Essex and Kent were all affected by the Local Government Act, 1888.  
Source: Office of National Statistics, Area Monitor Displays

The effect of increased urbanisation in Surrey was mainly attributable to the expansion of London particularly to the south of the Thames and to the west in general. Table 2 shows the population of selected individual parishes.

Parish	Population									Remarks
	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	
Camberwell	7,059	11,309	17,876	28,231	39,868	54,667	71,488	111,306	186,593	Urban Met, x 26 growth
Lambeth	27,985	41,644	57,638	87,856	115,888	139,325	162,044	208,342	253,699	Urban Met, x 9 growth
Battersea	3,365	4,409	4,764	5,311	6,617	10,560	19,600	54,016	107,262	Urban Met, x 31 growth
Wandsworth	4,445	5,644	6,702	6,879	7,614	9,611	13,346	19,783	28,004	Urban Met, x 6 growth
Kingston	4,438	4,999	6,091	7,257	9,760	12,144	17,792	27,073	35,829	Rural town, x 8 growth
Dorking	3,058	3,259	3,812	4,711	5,638	5,996	6,997	8,567	9,574	Rural town x 3 growth
Guildford, St Nicholas	481	551	717	846	892	1,053	1,061	992	2,498	Rural town, boundary change, x 5 growth
Reigate	2,246	2,240	2,961	3,397	4,584	4,927	9,975	15,916	18,662	Rural town, x 8 growth
Home	476	521	585	595	649	659	637	672	698	Rural SE: x 1.5 growth
Thursley	584	564	617	673	766	762	788	897	900	Rural SW x 1.5 growth
Windsorham	1,060	1,148	1,590	1,912	1,899	1,794	2,090	2,364	2,669	Rural NW x 2.5 growth
Morden	512	549	638	655	685	628	654	787	694	Rural NE: x 1.3 growth

Table 2. Population of selected parishes in urban and rural Surrey, 1801 – 1881, also showing size of growth in numbers in 80 years.

The selection is intended merely to show the range of parishes in the county.

There was a dramatic increase in the population in the four Metropolitan parishes; the increases in Battersea and Wandsworth also indicate the expansion of London south and west of the Thames. The rural town parishes show growth but at a less dramatic rate. The rural parishes situated in four areas of the county show problems faced by the county with very large fluctuations in growth with a much slower growth rate overall. Only the rural parishes show rates of growth lower than the national rate. The table underlines the increases in population taking place in one comparatively small geographical area occupied by Metropolitan parishes. The problems encompassed the provision of relief for the poor, housing, public health measures and, in the context of this study, treatment for mental health.

### Poverty

Increase in poverty and the resultant expenditure on the relief of the poor was a constant concern of both central government and local authorities in the nineteenth century. Table 3 provides a comparison of those receiving relief in the year 1802 in the counties depicted in Table 1.

County	Total relieved	As % of population *	Ranking
Surrey	36140	13.4	4
Middlesex	63173	7.7	6
Essex	38337	16.4	2
Kent	41682	13.5	3
Lancashire	46200	6.8	7
W R York	54365	9.3	5
Suffolk	36110	17.1	1

Table 3. A comparison of the number of paupers in urban/rural and rural counties in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. \* Percentage figures corrected by use of updated population figures.  
Source: 'Abstract of Returns Relative to the Expense and Maintenance of the Poor (1802 - 3)', PP 1803 - 4 XIII, 1

It demonstrates the relative high level of poverty in counties which were predominantly rural in character. Surrey and Kent which, at that time, were very similar in character, show almost identical pauper levels.

Some twenty years later, as evidence of the growing concern about levels of poverty and expenditure on the poor, a Select Committee was appointed to examine 'Labourers' Wages'. Part of the evidence collected was the level of Poor Rate in every county in England & Wales for the years 1813 – 1820. Table 4 shows the return given for the counties depicted in Tables 1 and 3.

County	Poor Rate levied rounded up to nearest £000							
	1813	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820
Surrey	218	226	202	218	249	273	289	227
Middlesex	503	543	506	519	540	635	635	626
Essex	312	276	226	253	313	330	320	312
Kent	318	329	295	309	345	399	397	395
Lancashire	307	265	213	221	337	375	324	317
W R York	328	303	258	259	300	337	311	347
Suffolk	226	197	155	171	258	292	249	245

Table 4. Comparison of Poor Rate levied in urban/rural and rural counties for the years 1813 – 1820  
 Source: Extrapolated from 'Abstract of Returns Prepared by Order of the Select Committee on Labourers' Wages', PP 1825 XIX 1

The table shows an overall upward trend in the Poor Rate levied. The high levels in the years 1817 and 1818 correspond to the national trend, occasioned by low wages, high food prices and bad harvests. Surrey was not among the high rate counties.

Examination of the Poor Rate levied in Surrey parishes, however, provides a more telling picture. The Royal Commission appointed in 1832 to inquire into the poor laws sent questionnaires to thirty selected 'Rural' and seventeen 'Town' parishes

in the county (though Croydon appears in both sets of responses). Preceding the answers to the questions posed are details about the population, the poor rate

Parish	Population				Poor Rate Expenditure (£)				Amount per head (£.s.d)			
	1801	1811	1821	1831	1801	1811	1821	1831	1801	1811	1821	1831
Battersea	3365	4409	4992	5540	1630	2588	2766	3237	5/10	11/8	11/-	11/8
Bermondsey	17169	19530	25235	29741	6139	8526	15994	18943	7/1	8/8	12/8	12/8
Clapham	3864	5083	7151	9958	2317	3355	3831	3705	11/11	13/6	17/8	7/5
Lambeth	27939	41644	57638	87856	10436	19408	39613	37166	7/5	9/3	13/8	8/5
Reigate Ho	923	1128	1328	1419	780	893	691	945	16/10	15/10	10/4	13/3
Richmond	4628	5219	5954	7243	2984	3991	2556	3074	12/10	15/3	8/6	8/5
Bletchingly	1344	1116	1182	1203	980	1992	1229	1378	14/6	1/15/7	1/-/8	1/2/1
Guildford	481	551	717	546	527	1546	1309	967	1/1/10	2/16/1	1/16/6	1/2/10
Addington	178	252	354	464	207	248	452	339	1/3/1	19/8	1/5/6	14/7
E Clandon	260	228	230	281	108	169	158	89	8/3	14/8	13/8	6/4
Haslemere	642	756	887	849	288	895	937	825	8/11	1/3/8	1/1/1	19/3
Limpsfield	727	746	918	1042	515	1113	867	459	14/2	1/9/10	18/10	8/9

Table 5. Population for years 1801, 1811, 1821 and 1831 in selected 'Rural' and 'Town' parishes with corresponding Poor Rate and amount paid per head. The table has been abstracted from Parts A, B and C which precede the numbered questions.

levied and the amount paid per head by ratepayers for the census years 1801, 1811, 1821 and 1831. Table 5 lists selected 'Rural' and 'Town' parishes from the forty-seven parishes which were sent questionnaires. As in Table 2 the selection of parishes is intended merely to illustrate the different types of parishes in the county. Some inferences may be drawn from the above table. All show population increases in three decades; the Metropolitan parishes show the most dramatic increases, the rural town parishes less so; the rural parishes show a much slower expansion in population. This raises the question of whether there was large-scale migration from the rural parishes to the towns and the metropolis. Examination of parish records in the course of attempting to establish the number of lunatics in each parish reveals that there was no large-scale migration of able-bodied parishioners. What there was tended to follow the first of Ravenstein's Laws of Migration<sup>50</sup> – that migrants go only

<sup>50</sup> E.G Ravenstein, 'The Laws of Migration', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol 48, No 2, (June, 1885), pp 167 – 235. Ravenstein using data from the 1871 and 1881 initially derived seven 'laws' of migration presented to the Statistical Society of London. A second and enlarged paper with the same title was presented to the society in 1889 by which time the number of laws had risen to 11. There was some baulking by members of the society at the use of the term 'laws' but they were eventually accepted as such. The first law states 'The majority of migrants go only a short distance' which is supported by the small amount of evidence uncovered by the examination of parish records.

short distances. A short study undertaken by H A Shannon on migration in the later years 1841 – 1891 is of interest in this context<sup>51</sup>. He concludes that whilst extra-metropolitan Surrey, Middlesex, Kent, Essex and Hertford contributed between a third and a fifth of immigrants to London in the period studied, there was considerable migration from other south-eastern, midlands and south-western counties and Ireland.

Neither is there evidence of any large scale emigration overseas, as happened in some other predominantly rural counties such as Dorset and Wiltshire. Table 5 also shows that poverty was higher in the south of the county with the worst levels in the south-east. Peak levels of expenditure occurred everywhere, except Bermondsey and Clapham, between 1811 and 1821 and Guildford, and the rural parishes had the highest levels of poor rate per head of ratepayers.

### Land Utilisation

Consideration of land utilisation when filling in the background of Surrey, gives rise to two key issues the first of which is the question of the effect of enclosures. The enclosure of open fields, common lands, meadows and wastes in the eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries had a profound effect on both the rural economy and society. Enclosure had been practised since medieval times but accelerated in the 1760s and 70s, during the Napoleonic wars and up the 1840s. Formerly achieved by informal 'agreements' it became formalised by Acts of Parliament – there were over 4000 such acts between 1750 – 1850. W E Tate provides a useful guide to the history and extent of enclosure in Surrey.<sup>52</sup> Tate makes the point (endorsed by E C K Gonner<sup>53</sup>) that enclosure of open, common and waste

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<sup>51</sup> H A Shannon, 'Migration and the Growth of London, 1841- 91 – A Statistical Note', *Economic History Review*, Vol 5, No 2 (Apr 1935), pp 79 – 86.

<sup>52</sup> W E Tate, 'Enclosure Acts and Awards Relating to Lands in the County of Surrey', *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, Vol 48 (1943), pp 118 - 149

<sup>53</sup> E C K Gonner, *Common Land and Inclosure*, (Macmillan, London, 1912)

land had been taking place in Surrey since much earlier than the eighteenth century – as early as the sixteenth century – and had been a more or less continuous process. Tate cites Gonner’s assessment that much of the land in Surrey was of little agricultural value, and, of land of value, much was heavily wooded. Nonetheless, though the effects of late eighteenth and nineteenth-century enclosure were less than those felt in the Midlands and central southern England, they were sufficient to cause distress to many among the rural poor of the county. Little open field enclosure took place in this latter period (there was little left to enclose), but enclosure tended to be concentrated on commons and wastes, the source of subsistence for many of the rural poor. Ashurst Majendie, one of the Assistant Commissioners appointed to prepare evidence for the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Administration and Practical Operation of the Poor Laws, observes:

‘..... enclosures of waste land in 1809 had been injurious to the poor for people who had been able to keep pigs or sheep or cows could no longer do so and came to the Parish for relief.’<sup>54</sup>

The second issue which contributed to state of the poor in Surrey was the use made of the available land. In the nineteenth century there were no landowners with sizeable estates. The land was divided among landlords and tenants into medium (1000 to 400 acres) and small (less than 400 acres) farms. Responses to the relevant ‘Rural’ questions on farm sizes submitted to the Royal Commission confirm this assertion. There were a few who farmed land or managed stock using new methods and techniques, but their example was not followed by the majority of farm owners or tenants. The state of affairs is well summarised by J Caird who wrote a series of letters to *The Times* following surveys of thirty-two English counties in 1850 - 51 (later published in a book in 1852). Caird has the following to say about Surrey:

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<sup>54</sup> Report of Mr Ashurst Majendie on parts of Surrey. PP 1834 XXVIII, App A, Part I, p 165

'However various the soil, its cultivation exhibits too great [a] uniformity in one respect – the absence of enterprise. Throughout the county, neglect and mismanagement are apparent; and the general features of its agriculture betray a low scale of intelligence and a small amount of capital and interest. The visitor from the metropolis will have exhibited to him a state of rural management as completely neglected as he is likely to meet with in the remotest parts of the island. He will there see undrained marshes, ill-kept roads, untrimmed hedges, rickety farm buildings, shabby looking cows of various breeds, dirty cottages – nothing indeed exhibiting care or attention, except covered drains from farmyards, which ostentatiously discharge the richest part of manure into open ditches by the wayside.'<sup>55</sup>

Caird goes on to attribute this state of affairs largely to the relationship between landlord and tenant. This was affected by the 'custom' of the county by which the outgoing tenant received from his successor a payment for the improvements the outgoing tenant was said to have brought about to the property during his tenure (which included dressings of manure and lime, sheep foldings, ploughing expenses, and the value of seeds, wood, hay and straw).

### Wages

There is general agreement that the low wages paid to agricultural workers was a contributory factor to the high level of poverty in the rural areas of the country. It is further asserted that wage levels varied in different areas of the country and that, broadly speaking, the north had better paid agricultural workers than the south. Table 6, using the same counties depicted in Tables 1, 3 and 4 shows the average weekly wage of agricultural labourers in England over a period between 1824 and 1882. This period includes, therefore, periods of food shortage, agricultural unrest, the peak of agricultural employment and the onset of its decline. The table shows an upward trend for all counties though Essex and Suffolk were beginning to

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<sup>55</sup> J Caird, *English Agriculture in 1850 – 51*. Letter XV, (Frank Cass, London, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed, 1968), pp 117-125.



show a downward trend. Both these eastern counties paid low wages throughout the period. Surrey and Kent occupied the middle ground in wage levels though Surrey had lower wage levels than Kent. It confirms that northern counties did pay higher wages than the southern counties.

County	1824	1837	1850	1860	1872	1882	1892
Surrey	10s 8d	10s 6d	9s 6d	12s 9d	14s	15s	15s
Middlesex	-	10s 6d	-	-	-	15s 6d	-
Essex	9s 4d	10s 4d	8s	11s 3d	15s 9d	12s 6d	11s 6d
Kent	11s 9d	12s	12s	12s	15s 2d	16s 6d	14s 6d
Lancashire	-	-	13s 6d	-	15s 7d	17s 6d	18s
W R Yorkshire	12s 6d	12s	14s	13s 6d	15s 6d	16s 6d	16s
Suffolk	8s 3d	10s 4d	7s 11d	10s 7d	13s	12s 6d	12s

Table 6. Average weekly wage of agricultural labourers in selected counties of England. Figures abstracted from Appendix IX of Lord Ernle (formerly R E Prothero), *English Farming Past and Present*, (Frank Cass, London, 1961 edition), pp 524 – 526. Ernle has abstracted the figures for the table from various sources, expressing some doubt on the quality of the figures for 1824.

Examination of the agricultural wages paid in the rural parishes of Surrey in Table 7 provides a picture of widely varying levels which cannot be discerned from Table 6. The table shows divergence between the levels paid in the parishes. Only one parish acknowledges the payment ‘by the piece’ and, similarly, only one notes different rates paid during harvest. The trends shown are low wages in the south and west – e.g., Bletchingly, Ewhurst, Godstone, Newdigate, Oxted.

Summing up the background picture of Surrey – firstly, so far as population is concerned the county was affected by the concentration of people in a relatively small area in the north-east of the county until the reshaping of local government boundaries in 1889. Over a 100-year period Surrey’s population growth was not the highest in the country though it consistently exceeded the national average. Over

Parish	Wage pw	Parish	Wage pw	Parish	Wage pw
Abinger	-	Egham	12s	Merrow	13/4
Addiscombe & Croydon	14 – 15s	Ewhurst	10s	Merstham	-
Albury	-	Farnham	12s	Mitcham	12 – 15s
Bletchingly	11s	Godstone	12s	Mortlake	9/8 – 11/6
Gt Bookham	13 – 14s	Guildford St M	18 – 21s	Newdigate	12s
Buckland	13 – 14s	Guildford St N	13s	Oxted	12s
Chobham	13/6 day 15/4 piece	Haslemere	11/6	Send & Ripley	11/6
Cobham	15s	Horley	-	Streatham	
E Clandon	10 – 15s	Limpsfield	12s for 10 mths 15s for 2 mths	Wallington	12s
Crowhurst	15s	Lingfield	-		

Table 7. Average weekly wage paid to agricultural labourers in various parishes in Surrey. The parishes are those which received a set of the 'Rural' Questions sent out by the Commissioners examining the operation of the Poor Laws in 1832. The table is abstracted from the replies to Question 10 – 'What is the average labourer's wage?' The quality of the data depended upon who provided the answer. Some of the responses above are clearly suspect – e.g., Guildford St M and Crowhurst are high.

an 88-year period, however, it did have the highest population growth. The most dramatic growth took place in the Metropolitan parishes; growth in the rural towns was less dramatic whilst growth in the rural parishes was well below the national average. Secondly – poverty levels where Surrey was not among the highest levels. Within the county, there was considerable variation in poverty levels among the parishes. Poverty was worst in the south of the county and particularly in the south east. Thirdly, so far as land utilisation was concerned Surrey was not as badly affected in terms of land area enclosed as the midlands and central southern counties. Enclosure had been taking place since the late sixteenth century, but nineteenth-century enclosure was characterised by the enclosure of common and waste land which affected the very poor the most. By far the more significant factor in land utilisation was the poor quality of the land available and the low standard of farming practice. Finally, so far as wages were concerned Surrey was in the mid to lower half of wage levels paid to agricultural labourers. Within the county, and in line with poverty levels, the south and west of the county paid the lowest wages.

## Chapter 3 – The Onset of Change in the Provisions for the Treatment of Insanity

### The regulation of Madhouses

The examination of the relationship between the poor law and asylum law in Surrey cannot be undertaken until late in the first half of the nineteenth century. The account of the provision made for the treatment of insanity in the county begins in the eighteenth century with the establishment of resources to provide care, not for the poor, but for those for whose care payment could be made – the private asylums, or as they were then known, madhouses.

The earliest reference to private asylums in Surrey is to one owned by David Irish of Stoke, near Guildford, in 1700<sup>56</sup>. It seems likely that this house and the one in Thorpe remained in operation until well into the nineteenth century. Another madhouse owner was the self-styled Dr Thomas Fallowes of Lambeth Marsh. He, too, published a pamphlet advertising his cure for madness<sup>57</sup> which he sold over the counter or administered to patients in his house. No other examples of early Surrey madhouses have been found, but the existence of the houses of Irish and Fallowes leads to the need for conjecture about the size of the market for accommodation for paying patients, and the quality of their care.

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<sup>56</sup> D Irish, *Levamen infirmi etc.* (for the author, London, 1700). This is referred to in R Hunter & I Macalpine, *Three Hundred Years of Psychiatry 1535 – 1860*, (Oxford University Press, 1963), pp 279 – 281. It is a pamphlet filled with extracts on cures for insanity from more learned authors and the offer to accommodate ‘Lunaticks’ at his house at Stoke, near Guildford, and, also, a house lived in by his son, but supervised by Irish at nearby Thorp. Such ‘dynasties’ were not uncommon, e.g., the Munros at Bedlam and the Stilwells elsewhere in Surrey. The reference also mentions an agreement between Irish and a John Chitty of Witley, Surrey, concerned with the admission of Chitty’s wife for a payment of £5, and her cure within 3 – 4 months at which a further payment of £5 was due. On her discharge cure advice would be given on keeping her free of madness, failing which free drugs would be provided for 3 years. This document can be seen at Surrey History Centre (SHC) – MS. 5/4/9 (correct at the time of writing, though some documents are in process of reclassification and renumbering).

<sup>57</sup> T Fallowes, *The best method for the cure of lunaticks. With some account of the incomparable Oleum Cephalicum used in the same, prepared and administered by Tho Fallowes, M.D, at his house in Lambeth Marsh*. (for the author, London, 1705). This is referred to in R Hunter & I Macalpine, *op.cit*, pp 293 – 295. Fallowes is regarded as a quack and his cure bogus. What is of interest is that Fallowes maintains that his in-patients will be treated in kindness and without violence. Hunter & Macalpine later suggest that in 1714, a ‘Dr Fellows’ was tried, convicted and pilloried, whipped fined and sent to a House of Correction for one year for maltreating a lunatic (p 297).

A third area of concern – wrongful detention of patients – began to be voiced in the popular press. An oft-quoted example of this concern is that of Defoe (Surrey born and schooled) as early as 1706 in his periodical *A Review of the State of the English Nation* in which appeared an article about the wrongful detention of a girl in a madhouse owned by Dr Edward Tyson. Defoe also wrote articles suggesting that asylums be established for the care of idiot children and the need for the regulation of madhouses both of which reforms eventually were to come about.

In 1754 Sir Cordell Firebrace, Member of Parliament for the County of Suffolk, sent a draft Bill to the Royal College of Physicians of London (hereafter RCP) for its consideration<sup>58</sup>. The Bill proposed that the college be responsible for licensing the owners of private asylums and for carrying out visits to them. The President and other officers examined the proposal but felt that ‘visitations’ could be embarrassing to the college if its Fellows had to visit the private premises of colleagues, many of whom owned private asylums. Munro the elder, of Bethlem, was said to have recommended that the college decline to support the Bill which appears to have then died. In 1761 an attempt was made to issue a writ of Habeus Corpus to liberate a patient in the care of Robert Turlington, owner of a madhouse in Chelsea; a year later a similar attempt was made to free a patient from the custody of a madhouse owner named Clarke. The publicity which the cases aroused appears to have sparked off an article which was published in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* in 1763<sup>59</sup>. The publication of this article led to the appointment of a Select Committee of the House

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<sup>58</sup> Sir G Clark, *A History of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, Vol II, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, for the Royal College of Physicians, 1966), pp 582 – 588.

<sup>59</sup> ‘A case humbly offered to the Consideration of Parliament’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, Vol 33, (1763), pp 25 – 26.

of Commons ‘to inquire into the state of private madhouses in this Kingdom’ in the same year<sup>60</sup>.

The Select Committee was chaired by Thomas Townshend, Snr, and was distinguished, if for no other reason, in that it had a membership of 94 MPs among whom was Lord Midleton (George Broderick), MP for New Shoreham, but resident at Peper Harow in Surrey, Mr Charles Whitworth, MP for Bletchingley and Mr Charles Yorke, MP for Reigate (information on Surrey MPs and JPs is given in Appendix B). The caution exercised by the committee is echoed in the opening statement of its report –

‘The Committee, being sensible how much a subject of this nature is liable to frequent digressions and irregularity in the examination of witnesses, and thinking to keep the enquiry, as much as possible, from running unnecessarily into stories and transactions of private life, they resolved very early in their proceedings to confine themselves to two points:

1. The manner of admitting persons into houses now kept for the reception of lunatics.
2. The treatment of them during their confinement’<sup>61</sup>.

Several patients or ex-patients (all women) were interviewed by the committee as were the owners or keepers of two private asylums. The committee concluded that ‘the present State of the Private Madhouses in this kingdom requires the interposition of the legislature’. Leave was given to bring in a Bill but it was ‘not brought in’ and over ten years were to elapse before action was taken. In 1771, Mr Townshend, Jnr sought a motion to reopen the enquiry recalling the 1763 report which ‘gentlemen of the long robe took against’. After several false starts his persistence was rewarded

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<sup>60</sup> *Journal of the House of Commons (JHC)*, 22 February, 1763, pp 486 – 489.

<sup>61</sup> *Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to 1803*, Vol 15, 1753 – 64,

and the Madhouses Act, 1774 received Royal assent on 20 May, 1774<sup>62</sup>, effective from 20 November, 1774. The act required the licensing (for a fee) and regular inspection of private asylums. In London and within seven miles of the RCP the inspection was to be carried out by five Commissioners appointed by the college; in the provinces the inspection was to be carried out by a committee of justices accompanied by a medical practitioner. It also required that a medical certificate was produced confirming insanity before admission of non-pauper patients could take place. There were many imperfections and shortcomings in the act and in its execution, not the least of which was that it made no provision for the care and protection of paupers. It was, nonetheless, extended by a further act seven years later and made perpetual in 1786 and was not to be repealed until 1828.

At the RCP the *Comitiis Ordinariis Minoribus*, one of the college's two governing committees, met on 2 September, 1774 and decided to appoint its five commissioners. It also decided that the reports of its visitations were to be kept in a register in the college (since lost), with any adverse comment made posted in the Censors' room. Within four days of admission patients names were to be placed on a college register (also lost) and an account of fees for licences and commissioners expenses was to be maintained (some of the money received was spent on books for the college library). At the meeting Dr Thomas Reeve, Dr William Pitcairn, Sir John Pringle, Dr Robert Tomlinson and Dr William Heberden were elected Commissioners. Dr Heberden refused office and was fined £5 for so doing<sup>63</sup>.

The county response to the act began on 4 October, 1774, at the Quarter Sessions sitting at Kingston<sup>64</sup>. Twenty justices were present at this session, from 400

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<sup>62</sup> 14 Geo III, c 49 – Regulation of Madhouses Act, 1774.

<sup>63</sup> Sir G Clark, *op. cit.* pp 582 – 588.

<sup>64</sup> Records of proceedings at the Quarter Sessions are contained in Quarter Session Order Books (on microfilm). They are numbered QS2/1/23 - 85 covering the years 1774 – 1890. References to general

or so justices named in the Commission of Peace, which appears to be about the average attendance (see Appendix B for information on Quarter Sessions and Justices of the Peace). In the course of session business a Committee of Visiting Justices to Surrey Asylums was appointed comprising two justices and a physician (known as the Visiting Physician to Surrey Asylums), the latter initially appointed by invitation but, much later, by selection after advertisement. The justices were appointed on an annual basis – some served for more than one year, though there appears to be no deliberate policy of providing continuity of experience of inspection. In later years, as the number of private asylums increased, up to three justices could be appointed to serve on the committee, though at no time did the visiting team exceed two justices and occasionally only one justice was involved in the inspecting visit. Generally, the Visiting Physician was present at the visit, but there were isolated occasions when the justice(s) carried out their inspection without a medical presence. Reports of the visits were recorded in a register by a Clerk to the Visiting Justices (also appointed by the Quarter Sessions)<sup>65</sup>. Copies of these reports, as required by the act, were sent to the Commissioners of the RCP(now lost).

### Surrey Private Asylums

The first task of the newly appointed Visiting Committee was to respond to the applications for licences. The licences were issued for one year at a cost of £10 for establishments accommodating up to 10 patients and £15 if the number of patients exceeded 10. Applicants were required to present sureties of £100 for ‘good behaviour’. Two applications to license houses had already been received for

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Quarter Session business hereafter will be the in the form QS2/1/ followed by the number for a particular year in which the event or matter referred to took place. All ‘QS’ documents are at SHC.  
<sup>65</sup> The Register is contained in a number of original volumes the entries to which have been written by the Clerk. The Register (contains the Minutes of the visits) is numbered QS5/5/ 3 – 7 covering the years 1774 – 1890. References to the visits hereafter will be in the form QS5/5 followed by the number in which the year of the visit is recorded.

consideration by the justices which would imply that they had been in prior operation. The first was by Richard Brown, Surgeon, of Egham, for Foster House (later known as Great Fosters) for over 10 patients. Surety was offered by Richard Mackavon. The second application was from the Misses Mary Street and Mary Jollyman for over 10 patients, backed by John Randall Esq for Lea Pale House at Stoke-next-Guildford<sup>66</sup> (the locations of these houses suggest they may have been those owned by Dr Irish earlier mentioned). Great Fosters and Lea Pale House remained in operation until well into the second half of the nineteenth century though their owners and/or medical supervisors changed several times. In 1794, Mrs Frances Irish (widow), and Richard Stacey Irish joined Richard Brown at Great Fosters, but in 1799, the Irishes were licensed to open Frimley Lodge, taking three Great Fosters inmates with them<sup>67</sup>.

Annual visits began soon after the issue of the licences – initially on separate days for each establishment, but thereafter on the same day. The visitors travelled by chaise, and usually dined, and sometimes stayed overnight in a local inn. The act required that the visits be conducted between 8.00 am and 5.00 pm. Incomplete accounts of expenditure, contained in the back pages of the minutes, record their expenses, the fee paid to the doctor (later, on salaried engagement), cost of taking a copy of the visitors' report to the RCP, and the sending of letters to visiting committee members and asylum proprietors, weighed against income from licence fees. As can be imagined, for some years expenditure exceeded income and needed subsidy from the court of Quarter Sessions. The visits quickly fell into a repetitive pattern and do not appear to have been very searching. Phrases such as buildings appearing 'clean and well aired' with 'sufficient and convenient outlets for the Patients to take air and exercise' when describing facilities, and 'does not appear to be in want of proper care

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<sup>66</sup> QSS/5/3.

<sup>67</sup> QSS/5/3.



and treatment' when referring to patients appear in every report. The reading of prayers (a statutory requirement) is also mentioned though only to those 'in a fit state of mind to attend them'. For the first few years, each report began with listing all the patients and reports of any change in the state of their health. Details recorded were 'name', 'place of abode', and 'by whom sent'. The latter included fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, husbands, wives and occasionally non-relatives. Sadly, this source of information tailed off. It is not until 1807 that an adverse comment appears about an establishment (see later paragraph).

Inspection by the Commissioners of the RCP did not at first involve Surrey for most of the private asylums were in Middlesex, Westminster or the City. In 1797, however, a William Moyes (aka Moys, Moyses) was licensed to open a house for 20 patients (though from other sources the number of patients never exceeded six), the first private asylum in the metropolitan area of Surrey. Its actual date of closure remains uncertain but was probably between 1830 – 32.

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century the pace of the licensing of private asylums quickened. In rural Surrey, James Lucett, Gentleman, was licensed to open Weston House, Chertsey in 1815, initially accommodating one male patient. Lucett's history was colourful<sup>68</sup>. He remained at Chertsey until 1821 before purchasing 'a house in Ewell' to which his licence is transferred. He moved taking his patients with him (by that time, two males, one of which is described as 'deranged', and one female). The Visiting Justices noted that he should have obtained new certificates of insanity but took no action and after some critical comment on the state of the new house matters settled down until the Commissioners of RCP noted the

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<sup>68</sup> R Hunter & I Macalpine, *op. cit.*, p 326. It was not apparently known to the Surrey justices that in 1813 Lucett had been involved with another 'practitioner', Delahoyde, in the 'discovery' of a cure for insanity which attracted the support of members of the Royal family. The cure turned out to be nothing more than the use of a cold water douche on the patient's head whilst sitting in a bath of warm water. Cold water douching was not uncommon at the time and Delahoyde and Lucetts' claim was dismissed.

fact that he was keeping a patient without a certificate. The Commissioners ordered that the Surrey justices prosecute him and at the trial Lucett admitted the offence but, in mitigation, said that the patient was a surgeon and the uncertified admission was 'out of delicacy to his character as a professional man and at the express desire of his friends and family'. Though found guilty as charged no action appears to have been taken, though the licence was not renewed in 1824. In 1825 Lucett was imprisoned for debt but James Lucett's name appeared later in the same year on a certificate of insanity given for a female patient entering Great Fosters. He gave his occupation as 'Professor of the Cure of Insanity'.

In Metropolitan Surrey, towards the end of the first quarter of nineteenth century, there was rapid growth in the number of private asylums. Licences were issued by the Commissioners of the RCP to Walter Dobles of Surrey House, Battersea in 1819 for 13 private patients; to Paul Haines of Althorpe House, Battersea in 1823 for 31 private patients; to Thomas Cann of Sleaford House, Battersea in 1824 for 24 private patients; to George Man Burrows of The Retreat, Clapham in 1825 for 30 patients; to Charles Mott *et al* of Peckham House in 1825 for 172 paupers and 40 private patients and to John Kirkman of Audley House, Old Kent Road in 1829 for 6 private patients (closed in 1831). In the absence of any records of inspections carried out by the Commissioners of the RCP little is known about the early years of these private asylums but they began to be included in the visits of the Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy (MCL) established in 1828 and later discussed. Table 8 provides a summary of private asylums opened in rural and Metropolitan Surrey from 1774 to 1830.

### Bethlem and Guy's Hospitals<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Neither of these charitable institutions were Surrey-controlled resources.

For completeness these two establishments are included in the range of provision of resources for the treatment of the insane. In 1724 a Lunatic Ward was opened in Guy's Hospital for incurable patients, a facility extended to a separate building in 1728. In 1783 the hospital's medical officers wrote a report severely criticising the standards of cleanliness but it was not until 1795 that a new building was opened with a ward for ten females – indeed, for most of its later existence it admitted only female patients. It was the subject of a protracted conflict with the MCL and later with its successor, Commission in Lunacy (CL) over the Commission's right to inspect the facilities and to the regulation of the Lunatic Hospital to which it succumbed to the

Name of Asylum	Opened/Closed	Remarks
Great Fosters, Egham	1774 – 1866	Though primarily for private patients some paupers were admitted
Lea Pale House, Stoke	1774 – 1879	Private patients only
Frimley Lodge	1799 – 1824	Private patients only
Weston House, Chertsey	1815 – 1821	Private patients only
House in Mitcham	1819 – 1819	Licensed to W Finch, well known asylum owner in Wiltshire failed to secure expected number of patients
House in Ewell	1821 – 1824	Proprietor formerly at Chertsey
'The Recovery', Mitcham	1825 – 1826	Followed W Finch above but did not succeed.
Stockwell House (M)	1797 – c 1830	Private patients only
Surrey House, Battersea (M)	1819 – c 1840	Private patients only
Althorpe House, Battersea (M)	1823 – 1851	Private patients only until 1839
Sleaford House, Battersea (M)	1824 – c 1840	Private patients only
'The Retreat', Clapham (M)	1825 – 1872	Private patients only
Peckham House (M)	1825 – 1889*	Private and Pauper patients
Audley House, Old Kent Rd (M)	1829 – 1831	Private patients only

Table 8. Private asylums opening between 1774 and 1830. Those marked (M) are in Metropolitan Surrey. The mark \* indicates that the asylum remained in existence after the Local Government boundary changes in 1889. Source: compiled from Quarter Session reports and Annual Reports of Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy.

extent of drawing up regulations and appointing a resident medical officer. Criticism continued and the ward eventually closed in 1861. Bethlem (see also later chapters), for several hundred years the only source of care and treatment of the insane, moved from its long-established site at Moorfields to St George's Fields in Lambeth in 1815. Its policy had long been to admit patients on a paying basis (though some paupers were admitted) and only those that it was thought likely to be cured – to this end the duration of their stay at Bethlem was no longer than one year. The hospital had attracted a great deal of unfavourable publicity in 1815 in the course of a parliamentary enquiry into conditions in the hospital, and it, too, was involved in long conflict with the CL over its inspection. Bethlem eventually lost but its resistance led to legislation in 1853 which included measures to embrace charitable hospitals within the commission's purview.

#### Visiting Physicians to Surrey Private Asylums

Mention has been made of the appointment of Visiting Physicians to the Surrey Asylums. Unlike the justices who were appointed to the Visiting Committee usually on an annual basis, the doctors served longer in their posts providing some continuity of judgement on the asylums they were inspecting. Listed below are the appointed physicians from 1774 – 1889<sup>70</sup>:

John Anderson 1774 – 1786	T Brushfield Jan 1875 – Jan 1876
James Smith 1786 – 1797	T Leechford once only in June 1875
Robert Bloxham 1797 – 1804	J Strange Biggs Jan 1876 – Feb 1877
Thomas Remington 1804 – 1807	T Brushfield Feb 1877 – Feb 1878
Sir Lucas Pepys 1807 only	J Strange Biggs Feb 1878 – Apr 1879
George Ogilvy 1807 – 1809	T Brushfield Apr 1879 – Dec 1879
Alexander Morison 1809 – 1862	J Strange Biggs Dec 1879 – Dec 1880
(In Morison's absence abroad 1821	T Brushfield Dec 1880 – Nov 1881
Peter Mere Lasham)	J Strange Biggs Nov 1881 – Dec 1882
Charles Hood 1862 – 1863	J Barton Dec 1882 – Dec 1883
Edward Clapton 1863 – 1873	J Strange Biggs Dec 1883 – Nov 1884
J Strange Biggs Oct 1873 – Jan 1875	J Moody Nov 1884 – Dec 1885

<sup>70</sup> Compiled from QS5/5/3 – 7.

J Barton Dec 1885 – Feb 1887  
J Strange Biggs Feb 1887 – Nov 1887  
J Moody Nov 1887 – Jun 1889  
J Barton Jun 1889

From October 1873 the period of appointment as Visiting Physician shortens to about one year at a time. There is no obvious explanation for this change other than the fact that those appointed were all Medical Superintendents of County Asylums – Strange Biggs from Wandsworth, Brushfield from Brookwood, Barton from Brookwood and Moody from Cane Hill. So far as can be established, prior to the appointment of Dr Alexander Morison, none had particular experience of dealing with cases of insanity. His lengthy period of service as Visiting Physician to Surrey Asylums had an effect on the range and quality of the provision for the treatment of the insane in the county and he deserves to be set in context.

#### The early career of Alexander Morison

Alexander Morison was born at Baillie Fyfe's Close, Edinburgh High Street on 1 May, 1779, fifth child of Andrew Muirison<sup>71</sup> and Mary Herdman<sup>72</sup>. Generations of the Morison family were from the Aberdeen area – Morison's grandfather was a tenant farmer in the area. His father was sufficiently well educated to become a 'Writer of the Signet', a form of legal clerk, but later became a wine importer successful enough to buy a house of reasonable size overlooking the Firth of Forth

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<sup>71</sup> The surname is variously spelt in available records e.g., Murison, Muirison.

<sup>72</sup> Biographical details about Morison are obtained from three sources. The first is a biography written by his grandson, Alexander Blackhall Morison (1850 – 1927), also a doctor. The biography completed in 1926 was never published though its type written pages have been bound and covered. It is hardly surprising that its tone is adulatory, uncritical and selective. Hereafter, references to it will be prefaced ABM. The second and more important source is Morison's diaries contained in 33 volumes, covering the years 1807 – 1837, 1840 – 1851, and 1859 – 1862. No explanation can be given for the missing years though there is some suggestion that his second marriage to Grace Young (though she was known to the family) in 1851 caused ill-feeling and may account for the disappearance of the years 1852 – 1859. The earlier gap between 1837 and 1840 means that some information on the formative years of Surrey's preparation to build its first county asylum is missing. Hereafter, references to the diaries will be prefaced MD. The third source is the chapter on Morison by N Hervey in A Scull, C MacKenzie & N Hervey, *Masters of Bedlam*, (Princeton University Press, 1996), Ch 5, pp 123 – 160. This reference provides a modern, balanced assessment of Morison's career.

called 'Anchorfield'. Morison was educated at the High School and Edinburgh University, entering at 13 years of age, qualifying as a Doctor of Medicine in 1799. In the same year he married Mary Anne Cushnie who had inherited wealth from Jamaican plantations. Morison moved to London to complete his studies though he appears to have been ambivalent about practising medicine being equally attracted to farming. These doubts persisted for some years, and he was to always have considerable interest in the management of his land in Edinburgh and a small area he was given in Surrey. Using his wife's money he purchased a small estate 'Larchgrove' at Balerno, south of Edinburgh in 1804. Morison's wife had 16 pregnancies in the course of their marriage though only nine children survived. Their married life was characterised by long periods of separation. He appears to have been reluctant to settle permanently in Surrey though he did purchase houses in Surrey and London. His wife and growing family joined him for some periods but returned to Edinburgh frequently leaving Morison alone. Morison returned often to his home to take care of his modest estate, he (and sometimes his family) making the journey between the two homes by packet-steamer. Mary's fortune did not last and Morison's early career was dogged constantly by shortage of money<sup>73</sup>. His wife died in 1846, and Morison married Grace Young (known to the family) in 1851<sup>74</sup>.

Morison visited Russia in 1805 during which he met Drs Wylie and Crichton (later Sir Alexander Crichton)<sup>75</sup>. Crichton is said to have encouraged Morison to take an interest in psychiatry but his doubts about making a career in

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<sup>73</sup> There are frequent entries in his diaries 'Dined with the Duke'. This was a saying of the period referring to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, who was starved to death – hence to eat frugally. Also, he often 'travelled on the outside' when taking a coach trip it being cheaper than having a seat inside the coach.

<sup>74</sup> This summary of Morison's life is compiled from ABM, pp 1 – 129, RCPE.

<sup>75</sup> Possibly at the time Crichton was Physician to the Tsar; Crichton became Physician to Westminster Hospital and was the author of *An inquiry into the nature and origin of mental derangement*, 1798, in two volumes, considered to be a major work on psychiatry at the time

medicine were to continue. In 1807 he was elected Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh (RCPE) and, later that year, met Lord Somerville who engaged him as his personal physician, and, importantly, became his patron and friend until Somerville's death in 1819. Somerville persuaded Morison to set up a practice in Cobham (the first of several in Surrey and London), where he came into contact with more people of influence such as Lord Carhampton and Colonel Alcock – such contacts were useful to an impoverished young doctor and appear to have been used by Morison to widen his own sphere of influence and betterment. On 10 Feb, 1808 he registered as a candidate for entry to the RCP, in the process meeting Sir Lucas Pepys, and was admitted to membership on 11 April. Once more, however, doubts about making a career in medicine set after meeting Dr Vaughan, Sir Henry Holland and Dr Baillie<sup>76</sup>. Nevertheless, he continued to try to gain appointments of prestige and his persistence was rewarded by being invited by Mr Thomas Page, a Surrey justice, to accept the appointment of Visiting Physician to Surrey Asylums in October, 1809<sup>77</sup>, a post he held until 1862.

The appointment was, perhaps, a turning point in his career in that, thereafter, he seems determined to extend his knowledge of, and base for, his professional career on the subject of insanity. In addition to his general medical practice, he was still dependent on retention as a personal physician by anyone rich enough to afford such service. He had earlier accompanied Sir Joseph Mawbey, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baronet, on a visit to the west country; he was engaged as travelling physician to accompany the daughters of Thomas Coutts, the banker, on a trip to Europe, and later, engaged as a living-in physician to Coutt's widow, Harriet Mellon, an actress. His association with her enabled him to finance his setting up a series of annual lectures

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<sup>76</sup> All prominent physicians of the day. ABM, pp 20 –21, RCPE

<sup>77</sup> ABM, p 29, RCPE

on mental diseases in 1823<sup>78</sup>. Criticism there may be about the lectures, and the book which accompanied them<sup>79</sup>, but they represented the only source of formal teaching available at the time.

In pursuit of knowledge of insanity he visited Paris on a number of occasions and there came into contact with Dr J Esquirol, physician at the Salpêtrière, and chief physician to the Royal Asylum, Charenton, and already renowned in the care of the insane. Friendship and interchange of ideas and written material seems to have followed. His visits resulted in a value he was thereafter to attach to the treatment of lunatics – the value of work as a means of their occupation and punishment. It was also the start of a period of interest in phrenology – a then fashionable means of diagnosis, and more significantly, physiognomy. The latter interest was to develop into the publication of Morison's *The Physiognomy of Mental Diseases*<sup>80</sup>. His visits to Paris were followed by a number made at home to asylums at the forefront of mental health treatment. Despite these visits Morison was never to become a full convert to the practices of moral management in general, nor to non-restraint in particular.

Morison continued his endeavours to obtain prestigious appointments by the unashamed use of friends or people he perceived as having influence. He was not successful in his attempt to become a Medical Commissioner of the Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy (his first attempt failed in 1818 when the required legislation was not enacted) on its creation following the passing of the Madhouse Act

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<sup>78</sup> ABM, p 46, RCPE. The book from which the lectures were drawn was entitled *Outlines of Lectures on Mental Diseases* published in 1825. A fifth edition, edited by his son, was published in 1856.

<sup>79</sup> N Hervey, *op.cit.*, p 136. Hervey quotes Wakley of the *Lancet* who said that it was impossible to disentangle what was borrowed from what was original. He later revised his views saying 'it formed an extremely useful textbook.' Hervey states 'the book (like the lectures) was an unoriginal melange of ideas, uncritically assembled from existing works in the field.'

<sup>80</sup> The book was first published in 1838. A second edition followed in 1843. It consists of many delicately drawn portraits of patients suffering from various forms of insanity with diagnostic comment by Morison.



of 1828<sup>81</sup>. Neither was he successful in his attempt to become a Lord Chancellor's Visitor. However, he had been appointed Physician Extraordinary to the Princess of Wales (though never called to act) and Physician-in-Ordinary to the Duke of York and Albany. He was successful in being appointed Consulting Physician to Middlesex Asylum, Hanwell in 1832 and Visiting Physician to Bethlem in 1835. His contact with and patronage by some of the rich and famous had obviously indicated to him the value that such people attributed to personal and discreet care and treatment, never more so when they or members of their family were suffering from some form of mental health problem. This was to lead to the steady development of, and involvement in, a network for the provision of care and treatment for single patients. Morison was always to be involved with a number of his own patients in and around London and in Scotland, or in recommending to prospective clients where such treatment could be found. Morison's role in Surrey's provision for the treatment of the insane was about to extend to include paupers.

#### The patients in private asylums

Some information on the patients in the rural private asylums is included in the reports of the Visiting Justices but none for the Metropolitan asylums. In addition to the reports, a register of admissions was maintained for a short period as required by legislation<sup>82</sup>. At Great Fosters the patients, in addition to a small number from Surrey, came from Berkshire, Cambridge, Cheshire, Devonshire, Kent, London, Middlesex, Nottinghamshire, Warwickshire, Wiltshire and from Ireland, France and

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<sup>81</sup> 9 Geo IV, c 41, - Treatment of Insane Persons Act (Madhouse) Act, 1828.

<sup>82</sup> A Book of Admissions of Patients was required to be kept in 2 & 3 Will IV, c 107, Sect 27 & Schedule (M). It records patients' names, occupations, place of abode of the person committing the patient. The act came into force on 11 Aug, 1832, but the book includes patients resident at that time so it is possible to gain some knowledge of the long-stay inmates. Unfortunately, the books were not kept up for long (last entry 8 May, 1851), and the quality and quantity of the information provided is varied. The entries for Great Fosters are fulsome, for Lea Pale House less so, for Church Street, Epsom (licensed in 1845) negligible. QS5/5/10.

Germany. Their occupations included, in addition to the generic ‘Gentleman’ or ‘Gentlewoman’, Army Officer, Attorney, Banker, Butcher, Cabinet-maker, Clergyman, Cook, Draper, Gardener, Governess, Groom in Queen’s stables, Poulterer, Servant at Eton College, and Wheelwright. Entries for Lea Pale House showing patients came from Essex, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, and Sussex, with occupations which included Solicitor, East India Company Officer, Clergyman, Farmer, Governess, and Land Surveyor. By far the highest number of inmates in both asylums came from places other than Surrey. Great Fosters was prepared to take patients from a wider range of social classes – indeed it was prepared from quite early days to take paupers. Lee Pale House, by contrast was decidedly against taking all-comers.

Though much of the comment made in the reports is about the state of the buildings and amenities, e.g., leaking roofs, broken windows, lack of heating and worst of all inadequate toilet and washing facilities, some information begins to emerge about the treatment of patients. As stated, the earliest adverse comment was during the visit of the illustrious Sir Lucas Pepys (quite why he came to accept the comparatively lowly appointment as a Visiting Physician is not known – he was a Physician to the King and would as such been *au fait* with the mental health problems of George III). The chaining of patients at Great Fosters and Frimley Lodge is observed and the proprietors told to stop the practice and give undertakings, on pain of failure to renew licences, that it would not happen again. The follow up to this censure is not thorough and it would have been possible for the practice to continue between the annual inspections. Patients are frequently restrained – one of two brothers at Great Fosters spent 40 odd years as a patient in a ‘strait waistcoat’. At the other extreme, another patient, a cleric, incarcerated together with his mother, by his

father and her husband, recovers sufficiently to remain at the asylum as a paying guest (until another bout of depression lays him low). Both remain until their natural deaths. At Lea Pale House a genteel young lady from Essex, sent in by her mother because of her 'nervous disposition', after a time sought more freedom, but not discharge. She was allowed to tend a small garden, and when her mother died her future was again reviewed. She chose to remain and was given a room of her own living contentedly, apparently, until her death. Morison, on one visit has a long talk with her, and records in his diary 'she is a talkative person,..... not labouring under marked delusion and one whose sanity I should feel great difficulty in certifying .....'<sup>83</sup>. Apart from the use of restraint, the patients are given little treatment – Morison, as the long term Visiting Physician, records the odd recommendation for bleeding, or cold baths but little else. Though the proprietors of Great Fosters and Frimley Lodge were surgeons, Lea Pale was dependent on a visiting physician. Nothing is known about the early years of existence of the Metropolitan houses. At the start of and into the first quarter of the nineteenth century the criticism about the regulation of private asylums began to intensify. A Select Committee appointed in the period 1814 –16 failed to result in any legislative change. In Middlesex, where use of private asylums had widened to include significant numbers of paupers, an enquiry was launched by the magistrates into the standards of accommodation provided in such asylums. Almost concurrently, a Select Committee was appointed to investigate the provision made for pauper lunatics in the county. Its area of enquiry was enlarged to embrace the larger lunatic asylums. It is towards these events, the changes in the poor law, and the initial development of asylum law that attention is turned in the next chapter.

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<sup>83</sup> MD, 3 April, 1833

## **Chapter 4 – The Effects of the Poor Law Pre- & Post-1834 and the Beginning of the Asylum Era**

Chapter 3 described the unspectacular growth in the provision of resources for the treatment of mental health that began with the response to the Madhouses Act, 1774, and the licensing of a small number of private asylums. In response to the requirements of the act, the Commissioners of the RCP and the local justices put into operation the process of regular visits to these asylums. The inspecting standards were not particularly stringent and despite the medical presence in both the Commissioners' visits and those of the local justices there was little emphasis on the care and treatment of the patients. The appointment of Alexander Morison as Visiting Physician to the Surrey Asylums brought a medical man with some knowledge (and some pretensions to such knowledge) on matters concerned with insanity to inspection of rural private asylums. Perhaps the most significant, if unsurprising, fact to emerge was that the provision of these private asylums, intended as they were for non-pauper patients, met, largely, the needs of patients and their relatives who were not Surrey people.

In the same period (1770s – 1830s), Surrey, like every county in the kingdom, was affected by the growth in population, war, bad harvests, fluctuating food prices, increased expenditure on poor relief, the inadequacies of the administration of local government, and, relatively, a small but growing concern about the provisions made for the treatment of mental health. This chapter sets out to review the period of growing dissatisfaction with the poor laws, culminating in the major reforms encompassed in the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, the development of legislative inclusion of provisions for the care and custody of lunatics and the county's response to the asylum movement.

It is necessary to mention three examples of legislation which were enacted before 1770. In 1714, for the first time, lunatics were included in a consolidating act of Parliament<sup>84</sup>. Though this act is frequently associated with the poor laws, it is concerned more with the maintenance of 'law and order', tightening the rules by which society dealt with vagrancy which was perceived at the time to be a threat. The inclusion of 'furiously mad and dangerous' lunatics meant that another, albeit small, number of people who posed a threat to law and order were embraced within the law. No treatment for lunatics was included in the provisions of the act. That had to wait until 1744 when a further act made a modest concession to these unfortunate people<sup>85</sup>, though no means of providing such treatment was recommended. This is not to say that the confinement of lunatics was the only treatment they received. Research by Fessler, Rushton and Suzuki of Quarter Session Records shows a range of humane actions taken by the local justices in dealing with the insane<sup>86</sup>. Parry-Jones mentions the importance of the growing parish custom of 'boarding-out' lunatics in private dwelling houses which became known as 'madhouses'<sup>87</sup>.

A small number of workhouses had been built, or adapted from existing property, from the seventeenth-century. The number was to increase with the passing of an act sponsored by Sir Edward Knatchbull which permitted parishes to acquire

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<sup>84</sup> 12 Anne, c 23 – An Act for reducing the Laws relating to Rogues, Vagabonds, Sturdy Beggars and Vagrants, into one Act of Parliament; and for the more effectual punishing such Rogues, Vagabonds, Sturdy Beggars and Vagrants, and sending them whither they ought to be sent, 1714. It authorized two or more justices to apprehend lunatics who were 'furiously mad, and dangerous', and order that they be 'safely locked up, in such secure place ...as they shall direct and appoint'.

<sup>85</sup> 17 Geo II, c 5 – An Act to amend and make more effectual the Laws relating to Rogues, Vagabonds, and other Idle or Disorderly Persons, 1744. The act is significant in that among its provisions is the inclusion of the words 'maintaining and curing' when placing lunatics under restraint.

<sup>86</sup> A Fessler, 'The Management of Lunacy in Seventeenth-Century England. An Investigation of Quarter Session Records', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, Vol 49, (1956), pp 901 – 907, research in Lancashire and other counties; P Rushton, 'Lunatics and Idiots: Mental Disability, the Community, and the Poor Law in North-East England, 1600 – 1800', *Medical History*, Vol 32, (1988), pp 34 – 50; A Suzuki, 'Lunacy in seventeenth and eighteenth-century England: analysis of Quarter Session records', Part I, *History of Psychiatry*, Vol 2, (1991), pp 437 – 456; A Suzuki, 'Lunacy in seventeenth and eighteenth-century England: analysis of Quarter Session records', Part II, *History of Psychiatry*, Vol 3, (1993), pp 29 – 44, research mainly in Middlesex.

<sup>87</sup> W Ll Parry-Jones, *op cit*, p 7.

houses to accommodate the poor, or for small parishes to formally unite to share the facilities of a common workhouse, and to permit the management of workhouses to be contracted out<sup>88</sup>. The act's importance in the context of this study is that it increased the quantity of available accommodation for lunatics, though Brundage asserts that it was little used in rural locations, most incorporations being initiated in towns<sup>89</sup>.

There is no evidence that any Surrey parishes incorporated under the act. The incorporation of some Surrey parishes took place as a result of Thomas Gilbert's Act<sup>90</sup>. Though none were to further effect the number of workhouses in the county, the changes in the poor laws and attempts to reform them affected Surrey, as elsewhere. After Gilbert's Act, between 1782 – 1810, various acts were introduced concerned with aspects of the poor law such as settlement, apprentices, the workhouse test, relief and the regulation of vestries. Several bills were introduced and failed on aspects of the poor laws such as those by Samuel Whitbread on minimum wage levels. Pitt and Whitbread tried unsuccessfully to introduce bills on the reform of the poor laws. After 1810 the pace of enquiry into aspects of the poor laws quickened – parliamentary Select Committees were appointed to look into the 'Poor Laws', 'Poor Houses and Poor Rates', 'the State of Mendicity in the Metropolis', 'Poor Rate Returns', 'Labourers' Wages', 'Laws respecting Friendly Societies', 'Emigration',

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<sup>88</sup> 9 Geo I, c 7 – An Act for Amending the Laws relating to the Settlement, Employment and Relief of the Poor, 1723. As implied by the title, the act did little more than permit the incorporation of parishes. It introduced the concept of the 'Workhouse Test' by which paupers were admitted to the Workhouse and denying outdoor relief to anyone who refused to enter. Though not rigorously applied it was to have a renewal of importance on the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. In addition to being referred to as Knatchbull's Act it often referred to as The Workhouse Test Act.

<sup>89</sup> A Brundage, *op.cit*, p 7. Brundage states that the first rural incorporation took place in East Anglia in 1756.

<sup>90</sup> 22 Geo III, c 83 – An Act for the better Relief and Employment of the Poor, 1782. Known as Gilbert's Act, under its provisions parishes were authorised to unite and set up a common workhouse controlled by a Board of Guardians appointed by the justices. Unions established in Surrey were Ash (Ash & Normandy, Dockenfield in Hampshire, Frensham, Frimley and Searle – it is possible that these parishes may have incorporated earlier by local act); Farnham (Aldershot in Hampshire, Farnham, Farnham Foreign, Waverley, Puttenham and Long Sutton in Hampshire). Ash and Farnham joined to form Farnham Union; Hambledon (Alfold, Chiddingfold, Dunsfold, Hambledon and Hascombe); Reigate (Headley, Horley, Nutfield, Reigate Borough and Reigate Foreign).

‘Law of Parochial Settlement’ and ‘Employment or Relief of Able-Bodied Persons’.

Much of this activity of good intent was hampered by the quality of information received from the localities, either not forthcoming at all, or containing many inaccuracies. All this activity set the stage for the appointment of the Royal Commission for inquiry into the Administration and Practical Operation of the Poor Laws in 1832.

Mention has been made of Bethlem (founded in 1247 though not involved with treatment of mental health until 1377) and Guys Hospital Lunatic Ward (opened in 1724). Other hospitals were built in London and the northern cities of Manchester and York; St Luke’s Hospital, London, was founded in 1751, Manchester Lunatic Hospital (part of the city’s Infirmary) in 1763, and York Retreat, by the Society of Friends, in 1792. These hospitals, financed by public subscription or charity, were widely dispersed and centred in the growing urban areas. Their establishment was largely the result of the concern of a few local and well-intentioned citizens, not of legislation. Already, there were indications of growth in the market for accommodation of private patients, and, at the same time, concern about the quality of the care they received despite the regulation afforded by the Madhouses Act. More pressing was the need for accommodation of pauper lunatics and awareness of the need to accommodate lunatics committing, or found guilty of, crimes.

In 1800 an act concerned with the safe custody of criminals was passed but it failed to answer where they could be placed in custody<sup>91</sup> and the question remained in the air until 1805. In that year Charles Watkin Wynn, MP for Montgomeryshire,

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<sup>91</sup> 39 & 40 Geo III, c 94 – An Act for the safe custody of insane persons charged with offences. The act was hastily introduced following the trial of James Hadfield for treason in June 1800. Hadfield, who suffered from a delusion that he must sacrifice his life for the salvation of the world, attempted the regicide of George III (the sixth attempt on his life) and was duly tried for treason. Skilfully defended by Erskine, he was acquitted thus posing a dilemma for the authorities – what to do with a dangerous lunatic? The act, drawn up a month after the trial, introduced the concept of ‘detention during His/Her Majesty’s pleasure’ but did not clarify where such persons could be detained.

raised in the House of Commons the question of ‘lunatics in gaols and poor houses’. As a result an order for a Return of Criminals and Lunatics was made in 1806, one recipient of which was Sir George Onesiphorous Paul, High Sheriff of Gloucester, and a prison reformer. Paul’s response was detailed, proposing a coordinated response between government, counties and parishes for the provision of special institutions rather than prisons or workhouses. Funding for the building was to come from the government and counties, whilst parishes would pay for the accommodation and care of those admitted. Wynn presented the House with an ‘Account of the number of Lunatics and Insane Persons now confined and under custody, in the different gaols, houses of correction, poor houses and houses of industry, in England and Wales, taken from returns received from several counties, so far as the same can be made’. It was the first concerted attempt to find out the number of pauper and criminal lunatics in custody. Though shortly to be proved inaccurate it was a start and was to influence further action.

Wynn pressed for the appointment of a Select Committee<sup>92</sup> which was eventually appointed to ‘Inquire into the State of the Criminal and Pauper Lunatics in England and Wales, and the laws relating thereto’<sup>93</sup>. The return of lunatics was considered by the committee which commented that it was ‘so evidently deficient in several instances, that a very large addition must be made in any computation of the whole number’. Table 9 is abstracted for some counties making the return. For the counties displayed it shows a heavy dependence on Poor Houses, Houses of Industry

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<sup>92</sup> Hansard, 23 Jan, 1807, cols 514 - 515

<sup>93</sup> JHC, 1 Jul, 1807 – Membership comprised Wynn, W Wilberforce, W M Pitt, W Dickenson, C Dundas, Sir W Wynn (Wynn’s brother), F Burton, H Bathurst, S Whitbread, Shaw Lefevre, Sir H Paulet, Sir J Mildmay, J Fane, S Bourne, the Attorney General, the Solicitor General. It was quickly realised that the returns made on the number of lunatics were doubtful – some counties failed to respond, others claimed to have no lunatics. Dr Andrew Halliday (later Sir Andrew Halliday) conducted a survey of Norfolk and Suffolk on the committee’s behalf and found those counties’ returns to be inaccurate.



County	Gaols	H of Corr	Workhouses	Total
Surrey	1		67	68
Middlesex	5	27	143	175
Kent			62	62
Lancashire	5		272	277
W R Yorkshire			424	424
Suffolk			92	92

Table 9. Abstract from the Return of Criminal and Pauper Lunatics in Gaols, Houses of Correction, Poor Houses, Houses of Industry, and Workhouses in 1806.

and Workhouses to accommodate criminal and pauper lunatics. Surrey and Kent have similar numbers but Suffolk, with a smaller population, has a higher total. Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire show a much larger number than other counties with comparable urban and rural characteristics. The deficiencies in the returns are a feature of much early nineteenth-century information. Jones suggests a number of reasons in this instance:

1. Administrative inefficiency
2. Desire to conceal true state of affairs
3. Local officials' poor conception of what constituted insanity
4. Pride – desire to present the county in the best light
5. Apathy<sup>94</sup>

In Surrey's case the actual number of poor houses, houses of industry and workhouses in existence in 1806 is a matter of some doubt (information on Surrey parishes is given in Appendix B). From research into pre-1834 parish records (which cannot be claimed to be all-inclusive since there are gaps in the range and years

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<sup>94</sup> K Jones, *op.cit.*, pp 58 - 59

covered) on other issues, it can be said that there is wide variation in workhouse-type provision. Some parishes had workhouses of considerable size, others had a small cottage owned by or let to the parish to provide limited accommodation, for limited periods, to poor families. A return made to a 'Committee appointed to inspect .... Returns made by Overseers of Poor' in 1777, initiated by Thomas Gilbert, listed 45 workhouses in Surrey. A return made in 1803 puts the number at 85. The pre-1834 research referred to above, with its admitted limitations, results in a total of 53 suggesting closer agreement with the 1777 figure.

Considerable value was attached to Paul's letter (it appears as an appendix to the report) and the findings of the Committee closely follow Paul's recommendations<sup>95</sup>. The inquiry led to the passing of the County Asylums Act<sup>96</sup>. Essentially an enabling act, it authorised the justices to mortgage the county rate to finance the building of asylums for which detailed specifications of site requirements, inspection, accommodation, staffing, and admissions and discharges, were set out. The act required the admission of lunatics by warrant signed by justices on the application by an overseer, a direct connection with the poor laws. Amended three times, to cope with the threat of overcrowding, to clarify issues of admission and discharge, and certification<sup>97</sup>, the act resulted in the building of nine county asylums in the twenty-one years of its existence. In Surrey there was no reaction to the passing of the act. It does not appear in any Quarter Session business. It is possible that the justices believed the figures of the total number of lunatics in the county, or that they were reluctant to spend money on the construction of an asylum. If the first assumption is true then they were mistaken, as later events were to prove.

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<sup>95</sup> PP 1807 (39) II, 69 – Report of the Select Committee appointed to Enquire into the State of Criminal and Pauper Lunatics in England and Wales, and the Laws relating thereto.

<sup>96</sup> 48 Geo III, c 96 – Lunatics (Paupers & Criminals) Act (County Asylums Act), 1808.

<sup>97</sup> Amending acts were 51 Geo III, c 79, 1811, 55 Geo III, c 46, 1815, and 59 Geo III, c 127, 1819.

In 1813 – 14 George Rose made further attempts to introduce reforming legislation for the regulation of madhouses but was unsuccessful. A Select Committee was appointed to examine the existing legislation<sup>98</sup>. However, in 1814 abuses of patients at York Asylum and Bethlem came to light. At York, Godfrey Higgins, a county magistrate, had been involved in local enquiries into the treatment of patients, and a fire which had resulted in the loss of the lives of four patients at York Asylum. Though the enquiry was concluded to local satisfaction it came to the notice of the Select Committee and Higgins and Dr Best, physician to the Asylum, were later called as witnesses before the committee. At Bethlem, Edward Wakefield, a Quaker philanthropist, uncovered the severe case of mechanical restraint imposed on a patient named as William Norris and other irregularities of administration and patient treatment<sup>99</sup>.

The Select Committee was re-appointed in 1815 and took the unusual step of seeking further appointment in 1816<sup>100</sup>. Other cases of abuse had come to light or were to emerge in the course of the committee's investigations. Dr John Weir, Inspector of Naval Hospitals, reported on the bad conditions for ex-officers and men

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<sup>98</sup> JHC, 28 April, 1814, p 217. The membership of the committee was settled (see later note) though it did not apparently begin any investigation. However, a member, George Holme Sumner, MP for Surrey, and other MPS, visited Bethlem after the revelation that a patient, Norris, had been confined in chains for between 9 – 13 years and had 'caused his chains to be struck off'.

<sup>99</sup> Norris, an American Marine, was confined in a cage-like contraption, severely limiting his movement. Quite how long he had been so detained is still a matter of doubt, though the duration of restraint was only one reason for the public indignation his detention aroused. In a paper written in 1985, P Allderidge, Archivist at Bethlem Royal Hospital from 1967, attempts to debunk some of the popular myths about Bethlem. On the Norris case she maintains that he was extremely strong, cunning, had carried out murderous attacks on keepers and patients, and had wrists larger than his hands so that conventional manacles slipped off. She asserts he was confined from June, 1804 and released in or about June, 1814. P Allderidge, 'Bedlam – Fact or Fantasy' in Eds W Bynum, R Porter & M Shepherd, *The Anatomy of Madness*, Vol II, (Tavistock, London, 1985), pp 17 - 33

<sup>100</sup> The membership of the committee which began prolonged investigation was G Rose, W Wynn, S Whitbread (until death by suicide in July, 1815), Lord Seymour, Sir T Baring, R Peel, Mr Curtis, Mr Tierney, Mr Shaw, Mr Vessey Fitzgerald, Mr Lockhart, Mr Colquhoun (Lord Advocate of Scotland), Mr Thompson, Mr Sumner (MP for Surrey), Mr Hart Davis, Sir J Newport, Mr Manning, Mr Bennet, Mr Levevre, Mr Frankland Lewis, Mr Tomline, Mr Sturges Bourne. In addition to the above, the 1816 Select Committee also included Viscount Milton, Admiral Frank, Mr Western, Viscount Lascelles, Mr Duncombe, Earl Compton, Mr Fane, Mr Waldergrave, Sir G Clerk, Lord Binning, Mr Dundas, Sir C Pole, Admiral Markham and Mr Croker. JHC 28 April, 1815, p 253; JHC 8 Feb, 1816, p 16; JHC 23 Feb, 1816, p 72; JHC 15 Mar, 1816, p 204.

at Sir Jonathan Miles's Hoxton House, conditions at Thomas Warburton's four Metropolitan houses, Talbot's, the White House, Rhodes' at Bethnal Green and Whitmore House, Hackney, and Wakefield made further disclosures about a number of private asylums he had visited in his travels around the country. A banker, Henry Alexander, also as the result of his travels around the country, reported on adverse conditions in workhouses, mainly in the south-west, and finally, opportunity was taken to examine conditions at an asylum built as a result of the County Asylums Act of 1808 when a member of Nottingham Asylum's Visiting Justices Committee was called to give evidence. The committee was thus presented with the complete spectrum of lunacy care, and, notably, with examples of the shortcomings in its provision.

The committee was chaired by George Rose. Though an old man (he died in 1818), he chaired the committee, conducted the investigation by the questioning of over forty witnesses and saw to the preparation of four reports<sup>101</sup> which could do no other than present a largely damning picture of the current state of the care of lunatics. The evidence uncovered provided considerable ammunition for the recommendation and preparation of new legislation on the regulation of madhouses, and, as the committee saw it, endorsement of the county asylums and a need for more of such institutions to be built. The reports brought lunacy matters up the scale of parliamentary involvement for the first time, and to a wider general public. Yet surprisingly, despite the efforts of first, Rose, and then, Wynn, the expected

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<sup>101</sup> The reports of the Select Committee appear in four Parliamentary Papers, each paper comprising the Report, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendices. The Minutes of Evidence are transcriptions of the questions posed by members of the committee and the answers given by the witness. There was a great deal of skill displayed by the Chairman and members in their questioning, albeit with the advantage of prior knowledge of the abuse or maladministration. Several witnesses were given the opportunity of expansion, clarification or withdrawal. The witnesses included physicians, surgeons, an apothecary, private asylum proprietors, keepers, justices, parish officials, and a miscellany of what might now be called (with feint disparagement) 'do-gooders'. Written evidence was also accepted. The relevant Parliamentary Papers are PP 1814 -- 15 (296) IV 801; PP 1816 (227) VI 249; PP 1816 (398) VI 349; PP 1816 (451) VI 353.

legislative reform (in particular the regulation of madhouses) did not happen, stifled on each occasion, in 1816, 1817 and 1819, by the House of Lords. Twelve years was to elapse before another Select Committee was to succeed.

Despite the presence of a Surrey MP and JP, George Holmes Sumner, on the Select Committee, no matters touching lunacy in general or asylums in particular, apart from the routine appointment of visiting justices, appear in Quarter Session business in the period immediately following the Select Committee, 1816 - 1827.

Though there are no records to confirm it, there must have been some contact between the justices of Middlesex and Surrey – indeed, a few individuals qualified to serve as a justice in both counties. In January, 1827, a Committee of Inquiry was set up by the Middlesex Quarter Sessions to ‘examine the state of the pauper lunatics in the county’. Lord Robert Seymour had uncovered cases of abuse in some of the Metropolitan private asylums to which some of the county’s pauper lunatics had been sent. The Middlesex committee was chaired by Colonel James Clitherow, a Colonel in the Militia, and a Governor of Bethlem. Its membership included the aged Lord Seymour and Charles Pallmer, MP for Surrey. Middlesex Quarter Sessions records have not been examined but the committee came to the conclusion that the poor conditions under which the county’s pauper lunatics were kept warranted the building of a county asylum. At the Middlesex Quarter Sessions on 15 November, 1827 the decision was taken to build an asylum and the inquiry committee were ordered to take on the management of the project. Middlesex County Asylum, Hanwell, opened in 1831. The importance of the Middlesex committee was two-fold. First, it pre-empted the appointment of a parliamentary Select Committee on 13 June, 1827 ‘to inquire into the private asylums in the Metropolis housing Middlesex paupers’; second, it

may have been instrumental in initiating a similar inquiry into the pauper lunatics by the Surrey justices.

The impetus for lunacy reform by parliament slowed down after 1819 (despite all the evidence accumulated by the Select Committees of 1815 and 1816). The influence of those in the vanguard for effecting change declined – Rose had died (though his son, George Henry Rose continued the involvement with lunacy issues), Seymour was an old man and Wynn not the force he was in 1807. However, Robert Gordon, a Dorset magistrate, led a debate on the state of the lunacy laws and sought the establishment of a Select Committee which was appointed on 13 June 1827<sup>102</sup>. The work of the committee quickly produced another damning catalogue of abuse, appalling conditions, ineffective inspection and maladministration. Its recommendations led to Bills which were subject to the scrutiny of a Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed on 28 April 1828<sup>103</sup>. Finally, two acts received Royal assent<sup>104</sup>.

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<sup>102</sup> JHC 13 June 1827, p 556; 14 June 1827, p 561; 19 June 1827, p 578. Membership of the committee was Mr R Gordon, Mr S Bourne, Mr M Taylor (a Middlesex JP), Mr W Wynn, Mr T Wood (a Middlesex JP), Lord Althorpe, Mr G Dawson, Mr R Colborne, Sir J Newport, Mr Thompson, Mr C Pallmer (MP for Surrey and Middlesex JP), Mr T Rice, Mr J Hobhouse, Mr C Wood, Mr G H Rose (son of G Rose), Mr W Ord, Mr J Fazakerly, Mr C Rumbold, Mr S Wortley, Lord Ashley, Mr S Perceval, Lord Somerset, Mr Lennard, Mr Villiers, Mr F Baring, Mr E Protheroe, Mr Wodehouse, Mr H Liddell, Mr P Du Cane, Lord Byng. The committee interviewed some 40 witnesses which included physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, Commissioners of the RCP, magistrates, poor law Guardians and officers, asylum proprietors (including Thomas Warburton who had escaped censure during the 1815 – 16 inquiries), keepers and ex-patients. It quickly produced a report recommending two acts – to regulate madhouses and to improve the care and treatment of pauper and criminal lunatics – PP 1826 – 27 (557) VI 75 – 260.

<sup>103</sup> JHL 29 April 1828, p 260. Membership of the committee was Lords Dacre, Gower, Kenyon, Calthorpe, Rolle, Lauderdale, Colchester, Bexley, Farnborough, Wharnccliffe, Durham, Mount Eagle, Melrose, Skelmersdale, Marquis of Landsdowne, Marquis of Bute, Earl Shaftesbury (father of Lord Ashley), Earl Roseberg, Earl Talbot, Earl Malmsbury, Earl Rosslyn, Earl Eldon, Viscount Melville, Viscount Goderich, Viscount Vincent, Bishop of Llandaff, Bishop of Bath & Wells and Bishop of Lichfield & Coventry. The committee interviewed some twelve physicians some of whom were Commissioners of the RCP or asylum proprietors. They also considered petitions to the House of Lords against the proposed Bill for the regulation of madhouses including one from Sir John Chapman, one of the proprietors of Great Fosters House in Surrey. As a result of the committees work both Bills were allowed to go forward.

<sup>104</sup> 9 Geo IV, c 40 – Lunatic Asylums & Pauper or Criminal Maintenance (County Lunatic Asylums Act) Act, 1828, and 9 Geo IV, c 41 – Treatment of Insane Persons Act (Madhouse Act) Act, 1828.

The County Lunatic Asylums Act gave new impetus to the asylum movement. The nine built after the 1808 Act (Nottingham, 1811; Bedford, 1812; Norfolk (Thorpe), 1814; Lancaster, 1816; Stafford, 1818; West Riding of York, 1818; Cornwall, 1820; Lincoln, 1820; Gloucester, 1823) were to be joined by a further eight constructed between 1828 – 1842 (Chester, Dorset, Kent, Middlesex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Surrey, Leicester). It provided for some measure of central control for it required visiting justices of asylums to send annual returns of admissions, discharges and deaths to the Secretary of State for the Home Department. Though the inclusion of all subscription and charitable asylums (except Bethlem) within the inspection process had been intended, fear of offending the powerful parliamentary lobby of the governors of these institutions meant these clauses were dropped in the emergent act. The responsibility for inspection of Metropolitan licensed houses passed from the Commissioners of the RCP to a new authority, the Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy (MCL), appointed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department. One of the new Commissioners was Charles Pallmer, who, as has been noted, was MP for Surrey and one of its justices. Provincial inspection remained in the hands of local justices but they were required to send an annual report to the Home Department. Regulation of certification, admissions and discharges was tightened, and medical practitioners were required to be either in residence at larger establishments or to visit smaller ones not less than twice per week. The restraint of patients was to be permitted only on the authority of a physician or surgeon. The act was amended in 1829, tidying up some anomalies that had arisen, such as the source to which licence fees should be directed. A more significant change was to be made to the act in 1832 to which reference is made below.

In Surrey the parliamentary events of 1827 and early 1828 passed without any reaction, this despite the presence of one of its MPs on the Select Committee, and a petition sent to the House of Lords by a proprietor of one of the private asylums in the county. Then, unexpectedly, the county initiated action to enquire into the number and state of lunatics in the parishes of the county<sup>105</sup>. What followed is worth examining in some detail for it reveals the degree of awareness of the principal vehicle of local government – the Court of Quarter Sessions, to the issues of insanity of some of the county’s citizens. At the Michaelmas Session of the Court, some members of the appointed committee reported an event which had happened some days earlier<sup>106</sup>. It must be concluded that the justices were not aware of the passing of the Madhouse Act, or its requirements, as they affected them. Once so aware they took the necessary steps to comply with those requirements, and the Court ordered the committee which had been appointed to look into the number and state of pauper

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<sup>105</sup> QS2/1/48 dated 15 July, 1828. The following entry appears – ‘Ordered by this Court that it be and is hereby referred and recommended to William Joseph Denison and Charles Nicholas Pallmer Esqs, the Representatives in parliament for this County to the several Chairmen of the petty Sessions holden in this County and to Thomas Edwards, Doctor of Laws, Henry Drummond, Randle Jackson, John Ivatt Briscoe, Thomas Coles, John Wooley and William Nottidge Esqs and to any three of them, to be a Committee for the purposes of inquiring into the Number and the State of the persons, being paupers, who are at the time Non compos mentis in the several parishes of this County and that the said Committee do report the Result of such inquiry to the Court at the next General Quarter Session of the peace holden in and for this County.’ Why this sudden and uncharacteristic concern for pauper lunatics came about at this time or why it was specifically referred to the two MPs is unknown. Pallmer was a member of the parliamentary Select Committee, and both were JPs. The Chairmen of petty sessions (which were spread over the county) were obvious authoritative figures as local JPs to spur recalcitrant or lethargic overseers into providing information (not very successfully as it turned out). The other named were regular attenders at Quarter Sessions. Edwards was a cleric, but it was Briscoe who was to turn out to be the biggest influence (see Appendix B for personal details), though he was by this time, and remained, a close friend of Alexander Morison. Briscoe was also to become an MP for Surrey.

<sup>106</sup> QS2/1/49 dated 14 Oct, 1828. The following entry appears - ‘The Clerk of the Peace laid before us an Act of Parliament recently passed which appeared to us [the appointed committee presumably] to supersede (*sic*) the Necessity of making the Inquiry directed to the said Order in as much as it requires the Churchwardens and Overseers of every parish to transmit to the Clerk of the Peace annually a Return of insane persons chargeable to their respective parishes..... and whether dangerous or otherwise and how long they have been confined and in what place..... to be verified upon Oath and to be accompanied by a Certificate of a Medical Practitioner...and to be laid before the Michaelmas Session annually.’ The entry implies that the justices were not aware of recent parliamentary events for it goes on – ‘But as the Act was passed near the close of the last Session of parliament and did not appear to be generally known and was put in operation as regards these Returns at the first petty Sessions to be held after the fifteenth day of August We thought it advisable to call the Attention of the Magistrates in Petty Sessions to the provisions of the Act ....’ Extracts of the act and a form of warrant to parish officers and required return had been sent to petty session magistrates on 4 Oct, 1828.



lunatics (to which was added another cleric qualified in law) to examine the returns which, apparently, had already started to be made to see if they met the requirements of the act. The committee was asked to continue with its investigation and ‘for their opinion on the several matters referred to them’. The entry for the 14 October, 1828 continues with a comment which reveals the justices’ concern about the costs of the new measures<sup>107</sup>. Settlement issues and charges were something they knew about and spent considerable session time on resolving.

The subsequent report on the returns points out that not all the parishes had made a return (Fetcham and Gatton were named but there were obviously others), a problem which was to dog the gathering of information for some time to come. For the first time, however, some idea of the problem of accommodating the insane was revealed. From all the available returns the following figures were given:

‘380 as insane  
189 in Licensed Houses (subject to visitations by a Committee  
of Visitors, four times a year)  
134 (of which 17 are dangerous) in Poor Houses or Unlicensed  
Houses’

If the Licensed Houses were inspected four times a year the inference is that these were Metropolitan Houses – i.e., Hoxton, Bethnal Green or Peckham House (opened in 1825). It is likely that most of the inmates came from Metropolitan parishes. Further, if 134 were in Poor Houses (i.e., Workhouses) and Unlicensed Houses it assumes that the remaining 57 were ‘with friends or relatives’ in receipt of relief.

The examining committee were concerned that some of the 134 in Workhouses or unlicensed houses ought to be in an asylum or licensed house. They recommended that each Division of Petty Sessions (the county was divided into

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<sup>107</sup> QS2/1/49 dated 14 Oct, 1828. On the new act wrongly referred to as ‘Geo IV, c 11, Section 41’ (it should be Geo IV, c 41, Section 11) – ‘Where place of settlement cannot be found it shall be lawful for any two Justices by warrant to direct that such a person be confined in some public Hospital or Licensed House ..... Reasonable charges for the removal, maintenance, medicine, clothing and care.... paid by the Treasurer’ (i.e., by the County and not the Parish)

manageable areas for administering justice by one or two justices sitting in petty session) appointed a committee to visit the workhouses and unlicensed properties in their area. Where necessary the visitors were to enforce the provisions of the new County Lunatic Asylums Act (the existence of which was made known to them, presumably, at the same time as they were informed about the Madhouse Act) by placing lunatics in 'Hospitals or Licensed Houses' making an order to the local Overseer to pay for conveying them and their subsequent care and maintenance. They were concerned that a lunatic so treated, whose settlement could not be found, should not incur a charge to the parish seeking his admission, but be paid for by the county from where they came. Finally, they recommended a physician be appointed to visit the lunatics 'within this County or the County of Middlesex as are not visited by the Magistrates of this County' (this was not agreed, presumably because of a reluctance to step into the province of a neighbouring county or the MCL).

This chapter has reviewed briefly the growing discontent with the poor laws and the attempt to gather information as a prelude to eventual reform. It has traced the development of legislation covering both private asylums and the beginning of the county asylum period. More importantly, it has demonstrated the lack of concern by the county's leaders about the provision for the treatment of the insane. It is not suggested that this lack of concern was wilful or even showed indifference, but rather that insanity does not appear to have been perceived as a problem. If it was so perceived it was probably as a part (and a small part) of the much larger problem of growing poverty, pauperism and payment of relief.

This early attitude needs to be borne in mind as a return is made later to the relationship between the central and local authorities. These were about to undergo a

sea change as parliamentary reform, a short but intensive period of local unrest, and poor law reform took place.

## Chapter 5 – The Long Beginning of the Surrey Asylum Era

As discussed in Chapter 4, the gathering pace of reform in the treatment of the insane between the 1770s and 1830s, and the parliamentary activity of inquiry and legislative development seemed largely to have had little impact in Surrey until 1828. Briscoe's initiative, and the requirements of the two acts of 1828 were followed by a period of almost unbelievable inertia as the justices struggled to obtain accurate information on the actual numbers of pauper lunatics in the county. Insignificant though this may seem in the context of lunacy reform as a whole, it is important to underline these slow moving developments if a picture of the local scene is to be presented. This chapter moves to the period 1830 – 1845 to examine the provision made in Surrey for the care and treatment of its insane against a background of increasing change in other aspects of social, economic and political life. At times, that background was to come so markedly to the forefront as to almost dominate the scene.

First, however, a brief description of John Ivatt Briscoe<sup>108</sup>, a man who was to remain in the forefront of Surrey's provision for the insane. Briscoe was born in 1792, son of John Briscoe of Cross Deep of Twickenham, Middlesex, a London merchant. Educated at Ealing and then University College, Oxford, he achieved a BA in the school of *Literae Humaniores* and later entered Lincoln's Inn, but, it appears, was never called to the Bar. His interest in social issues emerged in the early 1820s and he published a pamphlet on prison discipline<sup>109</sup>. He first entered Parliament in 1830 as one of the members for Surrey, but as a result of the Reform Act of 1832, when the number of county MPs increased to four, was elected to the Eastern

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<sup>108</sup> The best summary of Briscoe's life is provided in his obituary published in *The Times* dated 19 August, 1870. There is some discrepancy in the date of his birth. *The Times* gives it as 1792, other parliamentary sources state 1791.

<sup>109</sup> *A letter on the nature and effects of the tread-wheel as an instrument of prison labour and punishment addressed to the Right Honorable Robert Peel*, (for the author, J Hatchard, London, 1824)

Division of the county. He failed to secure re-election in 1834 and after two years absence from parliament was elected MP for Westbury, Wiltshire, from 1837 – 1841. After another long spell out of parliament, he was elected MP for the Western Division of Surrey in 1857 where he remained until his death in 1870. Politically, he was described as a moderate Liberal and was a strong supporter of popular education and the extension of the franchise. Nowhere is his interest and involvement in lunacy reform acknowledged.

Briscoe married Anne Marie, daughter of Sir Joseph Mawbey, 2<sup>nd</sup> Bart., in 1819. Sir Joseph had engaged Alexander Morison as his personal physician and it seems likely that he and Briscoe struck up a friendship as a result of this mutual contact, a relationship which was to be sustained until Morison's death in 1866. In the early years of Morison's career, according to Morison's diaries, he borrowed money freely and frequently from Briscoe. He and Briscoe and another Surrey JP, Mr Lawson (though others were involved in discussion), were prime movers in an attempt to set up a joint stock financed private asylum<sup>110</sup>, but the proposed venture came to nothing. On Sir Joseph Mawbey's death (the title became extinct), Briscoe, through his wife, inherited the Mawbey estate of Botley's in Chertsey. Mawbey's widow, in 1830, began to drift in and out of insanity and was sympathetically cared for by Morison until her death in 1832, thus strengthening the bond between the two men. Finally, it is relevant that Briscoe was a JP for Middlesex as well as Surrey. It is likely, therefore, that he would have been well aware of the former county's inquiry into the state of its pauper lunatics. Having initiated a similar Surrey inquiry, he, at least (for there may have been others), appears to have been thinking about the

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<sup>110</sup> MD, entries dated 18, 20 May, 18 July, 9, 14 September, 1830

building of a county asylum for Surrey for he mentions it to Morison in 1830<sup>111</sup>, in advance of his subsequent actions at the Quarter Sessions.

From 1829 – 1832 slow progress was made in establishing the number and disposition of the county’s pauper lunatics<sup>112</sup>. The Clerk of the Peace was bidden to send out reminders to all the parishes of their duties to make returns and forward certificates of insanity to the Court. A small committee was appointed to oversee the operation and to see if returns made complied with the requirements of the law. Their efforts were constantly frustrated by failure on the part of parish officers to make a return, or sending in inaccurate or incomplete information which was sent back for correction. Failure to comply with the Court’s request for information and thus comply with the law resulted in threats of legal action against the Overseers, though there is no evidence that these threats were ever carried into effect. Eventually, towards the end of 1831, revised figures were laid before the Court of Quarter Sessions. They were as follows:

Total number of pauper lunatics	388 of whom:-
Confined in Licensed Houses	209 (117 said to be dangerous)
Confined in Workhouses or Unlicensed Houses	123 (6 said to be dangerous)
With friends or relatives	56 (47 were idiots)

The latter two categories were subject to no visits other than by parish officers or the Parish Surgeon. The Court noted the increase in the total number from 380 to 388, the increase in those accommodated in Licensed Houses from 189 to 209 and a reduction in those confined in workhouses from 134 to 123 – and, rather vaguely and

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<sup>111</sup> MD, entry 14 September, 1830

<sup>112</sup> QS2/1/50 – 51, 1829 - 1832

pointlessly, that a large proportion of the latter should be sent to a lunatic asylum<sup>113</sup>. They were prepared to devote considerable time to other, what must appear to be peripheral, topics concerned with the lunacy legislation. For example, time was spent on making sure the charges arising out of patients with settlement issues ('out-of-county' patients as they came to be known) were firmly deflected from the parishes. They also spent time (including the establishment of yet another committee) discussing income and expenditure arising from the payment of licence fees and inspection. The Clerk of the Peace was ordered to keep accounts (which he appears to do in a rather desultory manner) and to pay any credit or surplus to, or claim payment of any debt from, the county. To make savings the accommodation and transport requirements for visits to asylums were reduced by arranging more inspections on one day and sending only one or two justices on any one visit<sup>114</sup>. In pursuing these relatively trivial matters they were again demonstrating more concern about costs rather than the actual care and treatment of lunatics. However, some of that concern was shown in the response to the Court's order for Petty Session magistrates to inspect the workhouses in their Divisions (though it is clear that only a small number of magistrates complied with the order)<sup>115</sup>. The few reports that made

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<sup>113</sup> The length of time taken to produce the number and disposition of Surrey's pauper lunatics has been described as 'unbelievable inertia'. In fairness to the justices communication with the parishes was not easy, especially with the outlying rural parishes contact with which was by horseback or coach. They were seeking information from people, in many instances, of limited literacy skills. As Jones has remarked in an earlier setting 'Few counties possessed men of the calibre of John Howard (prison reformer) or Sir George Onesiphorous Paul – men who were willing to make protracted journeys by coach or on horseback, to risk the contagion of typhus or gaol-fever, solely in order to verify their facts.' K Jones, *op.cit.*, p 59. They also had other routine business which may have seemed more important or pressing such as the repair of roads and bridges, and the management of the Houses of Correction and Gaols to contend with. But in this particular period they had another major problem to occupy their time – as will be discussed.

<sup>114</sup> QS2/1/50

<sup>115</sup> QS2/1/51 On 4 Jan 1831, a report from Petty Session magistrates at St Mary Newington stated that whilst there were no unlicensed houses in the Division visits were made to the 'poor houses at Battersea where we found 1 male and 3 females confined, at Wandsworth, 3 males and 2 females, at Putney, 1 male and 1 female, at Tooting Graveney, 1 male, at Merton, 1 male and 4 females and at Wimbledon, 1 male.' The visitors noted that 'all but 2 of the lunatics were long-term inmates, all were receiving proper care and that there was no prospect of their returning to sanity. None were offensive

recommendations to send a small number of lunatics to an asylum were, doubtless, well-meaning, but to where would the lunatics have been sent (assuming any action was taken)? There was, of course, no county asylum at the time, and the only other choice open was a private asylum willing to accept paupers at a rate which parishes were prepared to pay. Hoxton, Bethnal Green and Peckham House were the likely establishments but there is no way of checking the number of Surrey paupers in any of these asylums with certainty.

Whatever interest and concern for the plight of pauper lunatics had been kindled by the inquiries initiated by Briscoe suffered a setback in 1830-31. Rising unemployment, increasing numbers of paupers and consequential cost of relief, bad harvests in 1829, another revolution in France, the defeat of a long-standing Tory government and consequential high expectation of reform by the incoming Whigs, all combined to increase the tension among the poor who perceived themselves as degraded and exploited, and were, as a result, sullen and discontented. It seems impossible to believe that the justices, as leaders of the county society, were unaware of the tension but, like their colleagues in Kent and Sussex (with whom some informal contact must have been maintained), they were taken by surprise by the events that began in Kent, spread to some eastern parts of Surrey, then to Sussex before spreading more generally westward and southward, encircled London into East Anglia. Rudé discusses three forms of disturbance which took place in 1830 - 31<sup>116</sup>.

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or likely to cause mischief or injury to others.' They ordered 1 male and 1 female 'to be conveyed to a licensed Lunatic Asylum.' But which one? A similar but shorter and less detailed report is sent from Farnham Petty Sessions where no orders were made for removal. At Clapham and Streatham the visitors saw a total of 2 males and 4 females and made no orders for removal. A little later reports were received from visitors to Camberwell, 1 female insane but tranquil, 1 harmless female imbecile, Newington, 3 males, 2 females, tranquil and harmless, and the 'manor at Hatcham' (New Cross Gate) none confined. These examples of a limited number of workhouses typify the difficulty in establishing the numbers and state of lunatics in the early days of the asylum period.

<sup>116</sup> G Rudé, 'English Rural and Urban Disturbances on the Eve of the First Reform Bill, 1830 - 1831', *Past and Present*, No 37, (1967), pp 87 - 102. Rudé identifies three areas of civil disturbance; among agricultural labourers mainly in the south of England; among industrial workers mainly in the



Hobsbawm and Rudé have written a work dealing with causes and effects of the agricultural disturbances<sup>117</sup> which include reference to Surrey. The sequence of events show that Surrey escaped relatively lightly<sup>118</sup> compared to neighbouring counties. Surrey, though some cereal crops were grown, was more heavily involved in pasturing cattle, so the majority of incidents in the county were the burning of ricks. The incidents took place over a short period – from 3 August, 1830 to 6 January, 1831. Retribution was swift and severe<sup>119</sup>, in some cases by small detachments of troops (though not in Surrey) but mainly by special constables sworn for the purpose and directed by local magistrates. Those charged with offences were mainly arraigned before Special Commissions appointed by the government – the Surrey accused got off lightly in comparison with those in other counties. Reference to the riots is surprisingly brief in the Quarter Session records<sup>120</sup>. Characteristically, the justices' main issue of concern was who should pay for the riots. A committee

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Midlands, the north and west of England; among the inhabitants of cities and boroughs. Concentration in this paper will be upon the agricultural riots in the south-east, many of which were known as 'Swing' riots.

<sup>117</sup> E Hobsbawm & G Rudé, *Captain Swing*, (Phoenix Press, London, Pbk Ed, 2001). The authors discuss the economic, social and political conditions leading up to the time of the riots, the events of the riots, those affected by the riots and the aftermath – repression and retribution.

<sup>118</sup> *ibid*, Ch 5, pp 97 – 115 and Appendices I and III. Ch 5 recounts the events in order of their occurrence. Caterham, in the east and on the border with Kent was the first site in Surrey to be affected, but other locations (some including Caterham on more than one occasion) followed in the south, centre and west of the county. App I gives the number of incidents by type and total for each affected county. Surrey is recorded as having a total of 29 incidents (though research being conducted at Surrey History Centre, as yet unfinished, is beginning to suggest this total is on the low side), most of which (23) were incidents of arson (rick burning but some to buildings), followed by tithe riots (4). By comparison Kent had a total of 154 incidents, Sussex (East and West) 145 incidents and Hampshire 208 incidents.

<sup>119</sup> *ibid*, Appendix II. Those charged in Surrey were tried not before the Quarter Sessions but by the Special Commissions quickly appointed by the government, in the case of Surrey's accused at Winchester. In the 3 courts held 20 cases were heard (a small number compared to Kent, 102, Sussex, 52, Hampshire, 298) resulting in 11 acquittals, 8 sentence to jail and 1 death sentence (later commuted to a prison sentence).

<sup>120</sup> At the start of the Order Book for the period Epiphany 1831 to Easter 1832 appears this note 'William Crawford is Commended for his Temper, Zeal and Energy in discharging his duties as Magistrate following the disturbance at Dorking.' It refers to an incident when a mob besieged Crawford in a Dorking inn, smashing windows and creating mayhem. The incident had its origins in Horsham, a political hotbed, where a riot was followed by some of its participants moving off to Wootton and thence Dorking. Crawford refused to be intimidated and with the aid of some Special Constables, succeeded in regaining order and arresting the ringleaders.

was appointed and eventually it was agreed that all the costs would be defrayed from the county rate<sup>121</sup>.

It is difficult to assess what, if anything, the riots achieved in Surrey. It had clearly frightened the justices who, nevertheless, responded vigorously to the local incidents without outside help. It may well be that the close proximity to London and, therefore, the speed with which troops could have been summoned was an inhibiting factor to the rioters. Agricultural conditions did not improve, wages did not increase and the vexed question of tithes was not tackled until an inquiry which led to legislation in 1836. Perhaps, one useful comment on the effect of the riots emerged later in 1834 made by Charles Mott who was to make his mark in the reorganisation of local government consequent upon the implementation of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834<sup>122</sup>.

The Madhouse Act of 1828, as amended by the act of 1829, was due for renewal in 1832. This task fell at the time of great parliamentary activity consequent upon the passage of the Reform Bill. In these unusual circumstances, once a new Madhouse Bill had passed through its First and Second Reading it was referred to a Select Committee to progress it further<sup>123</sup>. It was also referred to a 'private

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<sup>121</sup> QS2/1/52 – an entry dated 16 May, 1831 on the appointment of a committee 'to look into the nature and amount of expenses incurred in consequence of the late Disturbances and the mean of defraying them.' It was agreed that 'there were several Riots and Disturbances in different parts of this County... and the expenses incurred in holding meetings of Magistrates to consider the best means of suppressing and preventing recurrence and in carrying out Resolution passed, swearing in Constables' be paid by the county.

<sup>122</sup> MH32/56 – Correspondence of Charles Mott. Mott was the Assistant Poor Law Commissioner for Surrey from 1834 – 1837. A former Contractor to the Poor and part proprietor of Peckham House, a private asylum, he had a great deal to do with the initial setting up of Poor Law Unions in Surrey. The following remarks are contained in a letter written by him to the Poor Law Commissioners on 29 November, 1834. 'At Catterham (*sic*) I was told by Mr More, Assistant Overseer, that in consequence of there having been 2 incendiary fires within the Parish within the odd few years the rates have increased and the Officers cannot control the Paupers ... the money actually expended on the Poor in the Parish averages 20/- per head of Population. The general parochial management rivals in its deformity some of the worst Parishes in England.' Ineffective management cannot be attributed to the riots but a pusillanimous response to them was a likely outcome.

<sup>123</sup> JHC, 6 Feb, 1832. The membership comprised Gordon (who had presented the Bill), the Solicitor General, Mr Home, Mr Lamb (Under Secretary of State, Home Office), Lord Somerset, Mr Rice

committee' of the House of Lords before finally receiving Royal Assent in August 1832<sup>124</sup>. Essentially keeping up the improved standards of inspection of private asylums embodied in the 1828 Act, the new act also increased the legal representation on the MCL and transferred its inspectorate role from the control of the Secretary of State for the Home Department to the Lord Chancellor, a move which was to have ramifications in the role of the Commission in Lunacy later established.

The passing of the new act set in train another attempt by Alexander Morison to enhance his reputation by seeking an appointment to the MCL as a Medical Commissioner. He had failed in the same cause in 1828, for Peel had ignored any letters soliciting his support for names of likely candidates preferring to take the advice of Sir Henry Halford<sup>125</sup> before making the appointments. Morison canvassed Lord Brougham in 1830, 1831 and in 1831 he tried to gain the support, through Briscoe, of William Denison, another Surrey MP to influence Lord Melbourne, all to no avail<sup>126</sup>. His attempt to be appointed as a Lord Chancellor's Visitor also failed<sup>127</sup>.

The riots of 1830 –31 had heightened concern among many MPs about the state of agricultural society, which together with the continuing rise in the cost of poor relief, increased the pressure on the Whig government to turn again to the problem of reform of the poor laws. Lord Brougham, Lord Chancellor, sensitive to the problems posed by the poor laws and the task of reforming them, had begun to collect intelligence and seek advice from a range of sources. One man consulted was Charles

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(Under Secretary of State, Home Office), Mr Rose, Mr Freemantle, Mr Kenyon, Mr Strickland, Mr Bonham Carter, Mr Briscoe (MP for Surrey East), Mr Dawson, Mr Brougham (MP for Southwark, Mr Fazakerly, Mr Ord, Mr Protheroe, Mr Wynn, Lord Porchester, Mr Pussey, Mr Wilbraham and Mr Spence.

<sup>124</sup> 2 & 3 Will IV, c 107 – Care and Treatment of Insane Persons (Madhouse) Act, 1832 (slightly amended as a result of Madhouses Law Amendment Act, 1833).

<sup>125</sup> Halford Papers, DG24/872, Leicestershire Record Office – an exchange of letters between Sir Robert Peel and Sir Henry Halford, the latter making suggestions of the names of those medical men suitable for appointment to the MCL.

<sup>126</sup> MD, entries dated 6 and 8 July and 10 September, 1831.

<sup>127</sup> MD, entry dated 7 Feb, 1831, made application; entry dated 7 March, 1833, learned from Lord Chancellor's Office that appointments were made 18 months ago!

Mott, 'Contractor for the Maintenance of the Poor of Lambeth' and part-proprietor of Peckham House, a private asylum already involved with providing accommodation for pauper lunatics. It has proved impossible to establish how Mott came to be consulted by Brougham – the initiative seems to come from an approach by a Mr Edmonds who may have been a member of staff in the Lord Chancellor's Office<sup>128</sup>.

In 1832 the Royal Commission to 'inquire into the Administration and Practical Operation of the Poor Laws' was appointed under the chairmanship of the Bishop of London, Charles Blomfield. Initially six other Commissioners were appointed, John Bird Sumner, Bishop of Chester, Rev Henry Bishop, Henry Gawler, Walter Coulson, William Sturges Bourne and Nassau Senior. James Traill and Edwin Chadwick were added in the next year. The Commissioners set about the task of collecting data. Questionnaires were sent out to selected rural and urban parishes<sup>129</sup>; twenty-six Assistant Commissioners were appointed to travel around areas assigned to them and establish the state of affairs<sup>130</sup>. The Assistant Commissioners were issued with a booklet instructing them how to perform their duties and a list of headings

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<sup>128</sup> Brougham MSS, 37691, University College London, Special Collections. The letter dated 21 Jan, 1832, offered critical comment about pawnbrokers for providing money for the poor to spend on drink which Mott considered to be the cause of poverty in three cases out four. He had a great deal to say about diet in workhouses saying that it varied in cost between 2/6 and 5/- per head per week, the quality of food provided is often better than that of the rate-payers. The 'young, idle and dissolute' had the same diet as the old and deserving poor. Relief was given as a weekly pension for bastardy and casual relief. The Overseers – 'respectable men destitute of knowledge of the poor' were insulted and abused and over-ruled by the magistrates. When the poor are sent to prison they enjoyed better fare than those in workhouses. He provided an example of a young woman deliberately committing an offence to join companions already sentenced to prison.

<sup>129</sup> The questionnaires comprised 53 questions for rural parishes and 64 for urban (or 'Town') parishes. The quality and value of the questionnaires are challenged in two controversial papers by M Blaug. 'The Myth of the Old Poor Law and the Making of the New', *Journal of Economic History*, Vol XXIII, No 2, (1963) and 'The Poor Law Re-examined', *Journal of Economic History*, Vol XXIV, No 2, (1963) which have been the subject of debate and contention notably by K Williams, *From Pauperism to Poverty*, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1981) *et al.* Suffice to note at this stage that Blaug states in the second reference (p 231) that there is evidence that Senior and Chadwick drew up the questionnaire, and, incontrovertibly, that anyone wishing to challenge the Commissioners' interpretation of the facts in the responses 'has to wade through nine folio volumes running to almost 5,000 pages'! (There were actually 12 such volumes)

<sup>130</sup> The Assistant Poor Law Commissioners who prepared reports on Surrey were Harrison Gordon Codd and Edwin Chadwick (Surrey Metropolitan parishes), Ashurst Majendie (East Surrey) and Charles Hope Maclean (rest of Surrey)

which should form the basis of their reports. None of the four dealing with Surrey appears to have followed these guidelines – the reports vary in quality and content.

The ‘rural’ and ‘town’ questionnaires contained broadly similar questions intended to find out about the relief given in the parishes, the extent of the use of allowances, the labour rate and roundsman system. There were questions about the powers of the vestry and the role of the justices, and the existence of workhouses. They convey the impression that they were designed to support the eventual underlying principles of the subsequent recommendations enshrined in the Commission’s report – less eligibility, use of the workhouse test and central control and uniformity of implementation – all ideas already in the minds of Senior and Chadwick. The amount of information generated was enormous and it is difficult to conceive how so much data could have been handled at that time (despite the Victorian obsession with statistics). It lends weight to the scepticism of some modern historians as to the use to which the information produced was put. There was little point in collecting so much data when the indications it would produce were already known and would, in any case, have been supported by the reports from Assistant Commissioners. No analysis of the data was published at the time, and the replies were reproduced in their entirety as an appendix to the report. The data provide a rich vein, as yet virtually unmined, for the modern researcher in social conditions of the first part of the nineteenth-century. In Surrey 29 rural and 16 town responses were recorded, though not all responses contained answers to every question. Indeed, the quality of the responses in terms of fullness or answering the question posed depended on the respondent<sup>131</sup> among whom were justices (some were owners of the

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<sup>131</sup> Extracted from Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Administration and Practical Operation of the Poor Laws, Appendix B1, Answers to Rural Questions, Part I (Questions 1 – 13), PP 1834 (44) XXX pp 1 – 695; Part II (Questions 14 – 27), PP 1834 (44) XXXI pp 1 – 695; Part III (Questions 28 – 37), PP 1834 (44) XXXII pp 1 – 696; Part IV (Questions 38 – 45), PP 1834 (44) XXXIII pp 1 – 693;

larger farms), rectors, churchwardens and overseers (perhaps indicating a powerful vestry), and Assistant Overseers (usually paid men). The answers disclose many examples of different allowances, for rent, for children, use of the labour rate and, occasionally, the roundsman system and the employment of the unemployed males in parish work. They also show wide variation in wage rates across the county and almost universally high seasonal unemployment. What they do not reveal is the extent of interference in the decisions of the vestry or overseers by the justices (justices responding were hardly likely to confess to it) nor the quality and integrity of the parish accounts.

The reports of the Assistant Commissioners began to be returned. It is said that Brougham asked to see them as they came in. They also kept weekly diaries of their progress, though these have since been lost. The Assistant Commissioners were all men of substance, able to deal with local justices on more or less equal terms, but

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Part V (Questions 46 – 53), PP 1834 (44) XXXIV pp 1 – 693: Appendix B2, Answers to Town Questions, Part I (Questions 1 – 14), PP 1834 (44) XXXV pp 1 – 271; Part II (Questions 15 – 29), PP 1834 (44) XXXV pp 277 – 558; Part III (Questions 30 – 41), PP 1834 (44) XXXVI pp 1 – 278; Part IV (Questions 42 – 52), PP 1834 (44) XXXVI pp 279 – 552; Part V (Questions 53 – 64), PP 1834 (44) XXXVI pp 553 – 832. Rural parishes responding with name and occupation of respondent (if known) – Abinger (Charles King), Addington & Croydon (Hewitt Davies), Albury (H Durummond, JP and Landowner), Bletchingly (Rev J Kendrick), Great Bookham (W Heberden JP and Physician), Buckland (Rev C E Keene), Chobham (Charles Jerram JP), Cobham (Thomas Page JP), E Clandon & W Horsley (George Holme Sumner JP), Crowhurst (William Austin, Churchwarden and T Coomber, Overseer), Egham (Moses Buck, Overseer), Ewhurst (Rev C A Stewart), Farnham (William Mellersh, Guardian, T Sumner, J Hewitt), Godstone (Matthew Martin, Assistant Overseer), Guildford Holy Trinity (H P Below, Rector), Guildford St Nicholas (J Ellis & C Shephard, Overseers), Haslemere (J Mitchell, Churchwarden), Horley (T Bray, Vestry Clerk), Limpsfield (H Cox, Surveyor of Highways), Lingfield (Charles Head, Assistant Overseer), Merrow (Arthur Onslow, Rector, T B Sheratt, Churchwarden), Merstham (Robert Roffey, Churchwarden), Mitcham (R Chick, Collector, William Simpson, Overseer), Mortlake (Charles King, Vestry Clerk), Newdigate (John Chart), Oxted (CLH Masters JP), Send & Ripley (Rev G W Onslow, C of P), Streatham (R G Lorraine), Wallington (H Bridges JP). Town parishes responding were – Barnes St Mary (John Roseblade, Vestry Clerk), Battersea (James Unwin, Overseer), Bermondsey St Mary Magdalen (George Figg, Assistant Overseer, B Drew, Clerk to the Governors of the Poor), Christchurch (J G Meynott, Vestry Clerk), Clapham (W Dealtry, Rector, A Murray, Curate, W Franks, Vestry Clerk), Penge Hamlet (Robert Weir, William Graves), Croydon (Thomas Penfold, Vestry Clerk and Solicitor to the Poor), Lambeth (Robert Whatmore, Vestry Clerk), Putney St Mary, James Carpenter, Assistant Overseer), Reigate Borough (W Allingham, Guardian, Thomas Johnson, Vestry Clerk), Richmond (Thomas Duggan, Paymaster to the Poor), Southwark St George (Edmund Ludlow), Southwark St George the Martyr (John Fitch, Vestry Clerk), Southwark St Saviour's (F W Carter, Vestry Clerk), Southwark St Thomas's (Richard Churchward & J Armitage, Churchwardens, William Smith & Matthew Ledger, Overseers), Streatham (J S Yeats, Vestry Clerk and Clerk to the Governors of the Poor), Tooting Graveney (William Houghton, Vestry Clerk).

decidedly superior to the vestry officers and local farmers with whom they were expected to deal. Their reports, nonetheless, add more to the picture of local social and economic conditions. In particular, since they are relevant to provision for lunatics, the comments on the justices and workhouses are revealing. Ashurst Majendie visited the parishes of, and around, Croydon, Reigate Borough and Foreign, Bletchingly, Godstone, Tandridge, Oxted, Limpsfield, Lingfield and Crowhurst<sup>132</sup>. Charles Maclean visited the rest of the rural parishes of Surrey and has much critical comment on the magistrates and provides some hard information on the accommodation of pauper lunatics<sup>133</sup> in an altogether damning report. The information given on workhouses showed the merit of collecting data on the spot by someone with enough clout to overcome local reluctance or lassitude. Harrison Codd and Edwin Chadwick agreed to divide up the Metropolitan parishes. Codd took the 'Western Division', which included the parishes of St George the Martyr, Christchurch, Lambeth, Streatham, Battersea, Putney, Wandsworth, Southwark St George's, Southwark St Saviour's and Chadwick took the 'Eastern Division' because

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<sup>132</sup> PP 1834 (44) XXXVIII Parts I & II pp 1 – 953. Majendie's report appears in Part I. He comments 'relief in lieu of labour' – the technical term to express payments so given to buy off demands of the able-bodied on cheaper terms than by finding work. He goes on – 'The opinion of many of the most experienced magistrates themselves coincides with that expressed by occupiers and overseers, that over-liberation of the magistrates in granting relief has been the principal cause of higher rates and the dependence of the labourers on the parish.' The labour rate has been tried and abandoned in some parishes but the allowance system is beginning to 'creep in'. On workhouses he noted that Croydon had accommodation for 84 built in 1795 used as an asylum for 'the aged and children'; Bletchingly had a poor house as had Godstone. Tandridge had a poor house – a double tenement and a 'Punishment Cage' used to accommodate a poor family.

<sup>133</sup> *ibid* – Maclean is particularly damning in his remarks about magistrates – 'the present administration and perversion of the original poor laws ...have been produced by the direct or indirect interference of the magistrates..by their own infringement.. or their tacitly sanctioning or neglecting to control.... infringements by the parish officers or others'. He asserts that the abuses 'are the fruits of more recent administration' and that 'irretrievable mischief was effected by want of firmness... and exhibition of fear and feeling of intimidation...' On workhouses he gives actual inmate figures, e.g., Ockley 30 (21 at time of visit), Kingston 180 (also serves small neighbouring parishes), Guildford 50 (inc 2 insane men), noted as 'dirty and absence of discipline', Dorking 73 (7 idiots, old and infirm), Farnham [Gilbert Union], 58, inmates employed making sacks and stone-breaking, Epsom 90 (1 imbecile), Mitcham 140 (9 lunatics), Chobham 29 (4 idiots). He also visited workhouses at Godalming, Witley, Egham, Chertsey, Richmond, Shere, Albury, Ewhurst, Worplesdon, Chiddingfold and Cranley. Maclean concludes with some critical remarks on beershops to which 'may be traced much of the insubordinate spirit and outrageous proceedings which characterised the Counties of Surrey and Sussex during the winter of 1830 – 31.'

‘he was very familiar with it’. Codd’s report was lengthy and thorough. He pointed out that the ‘large and populous’ Metropolitan parishes are largely governed by local acts and attempts to unravel this legislative maze. He noted the inequalities in the rates and the methods of collection by ‘elective’ Overseers and professional collectors paid for the job. Part of the problem appeared to be the knowledge of the conditions of the poor displayed by well-intentioned but ignorant Overseers<sup>134</sup> and their willingness to be over-ruled by magistrates. In comment on the ‘Character of the Recipients’ (of relief) he said that they demand relief ‘as of right, encouraged by the magistrates’.

Chadwick’s report<sup>135</sup>, when it appeared, was an impressive document. It covered the London parishes in the north and east, Berkshire, parts of Buckinghamshire, Sussex and Hampshire (the remaining parts of these counties were not covered). From Surrey’s point of view it had one passage of particular interest – the questioning of Charles Mott on his London parish experience. Once again, it is difficult to establish why Mott was so singled out, though Chadwick may have been aware of Mott’s earlier contact with Lord Brougham. Mott’s account of the business of contracting out the management of a large workhouse and the shortcomings of current poor law administration seemed to impress Chadwick and may have led to Mott’s subsequent appointment as an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner after the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act<sup>136</sup>.

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<sup>134</sup> Codd quotes Christchurch as an example. ‘The Overseers were men of property... Mr Home, coal merchant, Thomas Hawes [brother of the MP for Lambeth], Mr Lee, lime merchant...such men cannot attend to and do not know the conditions of the poor.’ He cites examples taken from the evidence of the Workhouse Master of St Pancras recounting how a magistrate insisting on the payment of relief to a man already turned down. He gives another example of a Battersea magistrate giving relief to a man who has turned down the offer of work in a market garden.

<sup>135</sup> PP 1834 (44) XXXIX pp 1 – 469. Chadwick’s report was printed separately from the reports of other Assistant Commissioners containing his comments and the evidence of many witnesses he interviewed to support his claims.

<sup>136</sup> *ibid*, Appendix A, Part III, pp 192A – 208A - Mott reveals that he was brought up in a merchant’s house (Baring Mair & Co) from which he entered business on his own account as a shopkeeper. When



In advance of the publication of the report of the Royal Commission (a process of considerable debate and fraught with controversy), at Brougham's suggestion, each Assistant Commissioner was asked to select his most representative findings. These were gathered together (including a formidable contribution by Chadwick) and published as *Administration and Operation of the Poor Laws: Extracts of Information received from His Majesty's Commissioners as to the Administration and Operation of the Poor Laws* in early 1833, some 15,000 copies of which were widely circulated<sup>137</sup>. The first edition of the Report and its Appendices in 22 volumes was published in 1834. The passage of the Bill for the Poor Law Amendment Act was not free of controversy. Opposition to aspects of the bill was voiced by Major Aubrey W Beauclerk, MP for Surrey East, though that was countered by support from Benjamin Hawes, MP for Lambeth. The bill received Royal Assent on 14 August, 1834<sup>138</sup>. The appointment of three Commissioners, T Frankland Lewis, G Nicholls and J G Shaw-Lefevre to form the Poor Law Commission (PLC) came soon after. Edwin Chadwick, to the surprise of many but chiefly himself, failed to secure such appointment, but was appointed Secretary with the unwritten promise, never fulfilled, of the next commissionership.

In Surrey it is almost incredible that with justices participating in the Royal Commission questionnaire, the presence of four Assistant Poor Law Commissioners

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he was asked to pay what he considered exorbitant rates he investigated the management of the parish and had the rate demand reduced. As a result he saw a future in which he could 'serve myself whilst I served the public' and became a contractor to the poor. He had 12 years experience as such in various locations (including Newington and Alverstoke, near Gosport in Hampshire), and had been at Lambeth for three years. He was also 'principal proprietor of Peckham House Lunatic Asylum'. The interview was the start of a prolonged relationship between Mott and Chadwick. In the Chadwick Papers held in University College London Special Collection there are nearly sixty letters from Mott to Chadwick covering the period March, 1833 to May 1847 with comments on a wide range of topics which include poor rates, diet, prison punishments and burials. He was asked to comment on draft bills, and likely press reactions. The correspondence ends with complaints about his treatment about the time of his involvement in the scandal of Haydock Lodge.

<sup>137</sup> S E Finer, *Life and Times of Sir Edwin Chadwick*, (Methuen, London, Reprinted Edition, 1980), pp 46 – 49. See also S & B Webb, *English Poor Law History: Part II: The Last Hundred Years*, Vol 1 pp 54 – 55 and associated fn 2.

<sup>138</sup> 4 & 5 Will IV, c 76 – The Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834.

questioning and delving into parish affairs, reports which presented them and the condition of workhouses in the county in an unfavourable light, no response or action seems to have resulted, least of all, to resolve once and for all the number and state of pauper lunatics. But such was the case and any action concerned with the care and treatment of lunatics was to be delayed by the immediate requirements of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834.

One of the main requirements of the act was the creation of Unions of parishes governed by elected Boards of Guardians, though local magistrates were declared *ex officio* members of these boards. The newly created PLC was empowered to appoint Assistant Poor Law Commissioners whose first task was to set up the Unions in the area for which they were responsible and, thereafter, to oversee the administration of the Union under the general direction of the central authority.

Charles Mott was appointed as an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner on 4 November, 1834<sup>139</sup>. How he came to be successful in gaining the appointment is of interest. As has been stated, he was known to Lord Brougham and Edwin Chadwick (and also Nassau Senior who makes an acerbic comment about him<sup>140</sup>). However, according to Roberts, the selection and appointment of the Assistant Commissioners<sup>141</sup> was a competitive affair. Mott clearly had the experience of the vagaries of the poor laws, and was used to dealing with justices, parish officers and

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<sup>139</sup> There is some doubt about the date of Mott's first appointment. PP 1840 XXXIX 271 gives the date as 8 January, 1835. PP 1846 XXXVI 5 which gives the dates of appointment and resignation for the years 1834 – 1846 records Mott's first appointment as 4 November, 1834.

<sup>140</sup> Soon after Mott's appearance before Chadwick, in the course of the latter's preparation of his report to the Royal Commissioners, Senior in a letter to Lord Brougham observes 'Mr Mott is apparently a very sensible man, but I suspect that he will admire more than anybody else his own opinions when in print.' Letter from Senior to Brougham dated 4 July, 1833, in the Brougham Collections, No 44437, University College London, Special Collections.

<sup>141</sup> D Roberts, *op.cit.*, pp 164 – 165. Roberts states that Senior in a memorandum to Lord Melbourne, the Home Secretary, insists that the men sought should be possessed of 'diligence, impartiality, decision, discretion, knowledge of human nature' and able 'to conciliate prejudice and to persist in those measures of which they see the ultimate success.' Senior, Chadwick and the Poor Law Commissioners picked the first twelve Assistant Commissioners from over two thousand applicants. Of those chosen, only two were known to them before appointment. Robert's source for this assertion is given as *Quarterly Review*, No 53, April 1835, pp 284.

the poor to a far greater extent than his fellow Assistant Commissioners among whom were men educated at Eton, Harrow and Oxford and included in their number barristers, ex-army officers and a doctor.

Mott was first engaged working in Wiltshire, Somerset, Gloucestershire, Buckinghamshire and Suffolk before moving to parts of Kent and Middlesex and most of Surrey in August, 1835<sup>142</sup>. He quickly decided the areas to be covered by the Unions and the parishes which were to form them (aided by, it is believed, Col A'Court), called meetings of the local justices, landowners and more influential farmers, set up elections of Guardians and saw to the approval of the establishment of the resultant Unions by the PLC. Initiated by Mott and carried on by Kay the following Unions were set up in Surrey on the dates given:

Union	Date	Identity No assigned by PLC*
Bermondsey	21/3/1836	449
Camberwell	24/11/1835	450
Chertsey	6/11/1835	451
Croydon	21/5/1836	452
Dorking	10/6/1836	453
Epsom	31/5/1836	454
St George the Martyr	26/10/1835	456
Godstone	31/10/1835	457
Guildford	11/4/1836	458
Hambledon	25/3/1836	459
Kingston	4/6/1836	460
Lambeth	28/12/1835	461
St Mary's N'ton	9/5/1836	462
St Olave's	1/2/1836	463
Reigate	25/3/1836	464
Richmond	6/6/1836	465
Rotherhithe	1/2/1836	466
St Saviour's	11/2/1836	467
W'worth & Clapham	25/3/1836	468

\* See Annexe to Appendix C

<sup>142</sup> Assistant Commissioners were not assigned strictly to one county area. They undertook work in two or even more counties at any one time. Mott, for example, was still returning to Suffolk to continue or finish off work there when he came to Surrey and had begun work in Cheshire, Lancashire and W Yorkshire before the hand over to his successor in Surrey, Dr J P Kay (later Sir J P Kay-Shuttleworth who became much concerned with education policy), was complete. Mott was not initially entirely alone in Surrey because in much of his early work in setting up Surrey Unions he was accompanied by another Assistant Commissioner, Col A'Court.

Farnham did not become a Poor Law Union (PLC No 455) until 1846.

The events which took place in setting up the first Union at Godstone are described in correspondence between Mott, the Board of Guardians and the PLC<sup>143</sup>.

As can be seen from the list of Unions above, Mott did not waste time and 18 Unions were set up in eight months. There was some short-lived resistance and one failure<sup>144</sup>.

Some idea of the condition of existing local administration and Mott's methods of operation are given in his regular letters to the PLC<sup>145</sup>. There can be no doubt about Mott's commitment and energy. When he left Surrey in 1838 he was soon to get a reputation as the PLC trouble-shooter, making damning reports on the state of affairs

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<sup>143</sup> MH12/12314 – The first file for Godstone Union covers the period 1835 – 1842. It starts with a letter from Mott to the Commissioners recounting the first meeting of the 'Magistrates and other rate-payers' in the parishes on 18 September, 1835 at which '[I] explained the nature and extent of the Union.... there were the usual doubts and hesitations arising from mistaken views and prejudices which easily yielded to explanation.' The meeting was well attended and Mott secured the support of the magistrates 'C H Turner Esq, Rev James [it was actually Jarvis] Kenrick, Messrs C L Masters and Rivers' who 'declared their intention of rendering all the assistance in their power to carry the rules and Regulations into effect.' There was discussion about rationalising workhouse accommodation, and the appointment of paid officers with the attraction that 'the amount paid for Medical attendance and Assistant Overseers will be more than a Relieving Officer and Surgeon.' The election of 13 Guardians with 5 *ex officio* members followed quickly and the first meeting of the newly constituted Union took place on 4 November, 1835, delayed by Mott's absence completing unfinished work in Suffolk.

<sup>144</sup> MH12/12370/391 7a dated 23 June, 1835 – A'Court reported 'a state of high excitement at Hambledon'; MH12/12143/6388a dated 4 May, 1835 – Rev T Hobbs writes to PLC objecting: MH12/12332/776a dated 10 December, 1835 – Mott reported objections at Godalming. Mott and A'Court failed at Farnham – the Gilbert Union of Ash refused to sign up to new Union. Farnham was eventually unionised in 1846.

<sup>145</sup> MH32/56 – The file opens with letters from Mott dated 3 November, 1834 relinquishing his interests in Peckham House and handing over his Lambeth poor contractors business to his partner, Peter Drouet. He goes on 'The Parishes in ... Surrey particularly the agricultural Parishes are as my investigations have yet extended exhibit the same laxity of management, the same supineness on the part of the Gentry, arising from a dislike to mix with those with whom the Parochial measures are generally left, and desirous of avoiding being placed in unfavourable position with the Paupers, whilst the Farmers and Small Traders full acknowledge that the Paupers and the system hitherto adopted for their relief are entirely beyond their control.' In support of this damning statement he cited incidents of poor or ineffective management in several parishes and examples of corruption or embezzlement by parish officers. He noted that the magistrates are generally in favour of the Poor Law Amendment Act, but dissatisfaction among the labourers is spread by 'small shopkeepers and paid officers' (the latter feeling vulnerable 'to yielding up their power and emoluments.') He gave examples of how he dealt with reluctant parish Guardians (in Metropolitan incorporated parishes – at Lambeth where they are 'Gentlemen of considerable wealth and great respectability' he shamed them, whilst at St George's (respectable tradesmen but less intelligent) he threatened to report them for neglect of duty. Not unreasonably with the amount of travelling he undertook he made out strong case for keeping two horses! In between arranging meetings to explain the purpose of the Unions and setting them up he found time to investigate a case of cruelty at an orphanage and respond to requests from the PLC to comment on workhouse diet, medical treatment of the poor and the content of Registration Bill (passed in 1836).

at Bolton, the fall-out from which earned the Commissioners' displeasure and later, at Keighley, which ended in his 'resignation' in 1842. He went on to open an asylum, Haydock Lodge in Cheshire, which was the subject of lengthy parliamentary enquiry in 1846 and led to Mott's eventual disgrace<sup>146</sup>. He died in 1851.

Between 1834 – 1836 at the Court of Quarter Sessions a situation of *déjà vu* persisted over the establishment of the number and state of pauper lunatics. New committees were appointed to collect and examine returns from parishes, and again, returns were not made or contained errors; parish officers were threatened with dire penalties but they were never exercised. However, towards the end of 1836, Briscoe once again seized the initiative by announcing that he intended to propose the building of a county asylum. As a result the Court appointed a committee on 3 January, 1837, 'to inquire into the expediency of erecting a County Lunatic Asylum'<sup>147</sup>, which sets about its task reporting back to the Court within a few weeks. In June, before deciding to go ahead, notices were placed in the local press that the

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<sup>146</sup> D Hirst, '“A ticklish sort of affair”: Charles Mott, Haydock Lodge and the economics of asylumdom', *History of Psychiatry*, Vol 16, No 3, (2005), pp 311 – 332. The paper describes the mystery surrounding Mott's departure from the PLC, the straitened circumstances which led to the proprietorship of Haydock Lodge, his relationship with George Coode, an Assistant Secretary of the PLC, the financial mismanagement of the asylum and charge of cruelty of patients all of which led to Mott's eventual appearance at the Insolvent Debtors Court. He was imprisoned for a short while until he made satisfactory arrangements with his creditors.

<sup>147</sup> The members were Lord King, Sir Richard Frederick, Sir Edmund Curry, William Denison, Charles Barclay, Richard Alsager, Benjamin Hawes, William Crawford, Robert Hedges, Thomas Challoner Bisse Challoner, Thomas Ward, John Jeffery, John Spicer, Henry Gosse, Edward Adams, Thomas Puckle, William Nottidge, William Shadbolt, Charles Turner, George Nicholson, Charles Edgell, Wyatt Edgell, John Briscoe and the Reverends Charles Stuart, Jarvis Kenrick and Edwin Prodder. In its first report to the Court, quickly produced, they offered the following figures from Surrey's return included in the Annual Abstract of Returns of Lunatics for 1836:

357 lunatics comprising 241 in licensed asylums, 86 in workhouses, 30 with friends which should be compared with figures, still in dispute, collected a few months earlier:

370 lunatics comprising 233 in licensed asylums, 104 in workhouses, 33 with friends This illustrates the uncertainty about the true state of affairs which had been manifest since inquiries began in 1828 (an accurate figure does not emerge until the county asylum opens – see later figures). The committee recommended that 'an Asylum to accommodate 300 with room for expansion is required, to be situated at a distance not to exceed 10 miles from London on a site between 30 – 50 acres'. The County Surveyor had supplied preliminary estimates covering the cost of the building of accommodation, infirmary and associated offices, with the required drains and services amounting to £50,000. The Court ordered the committee to give further consideration to the issues but by early 1837 decided to go ahead and the committee's terms of reference were altered to 'oversee the building of the County Asylum'.

Court intended to appoint a committee to oversee the building of a county asylum (or, as required, to investigate 'the expediency of uniting with any one or more adjacent counties' – Middlesex, 1831, and Kent, 1833 were possibilities quickly discounted). On 27 October, 1837, the same committee (but with the addition of Henry Goulburn<sup>148</sup>, John Capes and John Roberts) was charged with the task of overseeing the building of 'the first County Lunatic Asylum'.

The committee met regularly over the next two years or more. They were quick to point out the financial savings which would result from building an asylum<sup>149</sup>. This belief underpinned their attitude to the provision of resources for the treatment of the insane – a concern to save money. It was perhaps understandable as the justices were responsible for setting and distributing the money raised by the county rate. They were concerned to use the funds available to them wisely and not profligately. It also revealed the widely held belief that insanity could be cured, as indeed it could in some instances. They were to experience disillusion as more and more patients remained in need of care for longer and longer – and as the numbers diagnosed, or considered insane increased.

At one of its meetings they invited Sir William Ellis, Resident Physician & Surgeon of Middlesex County Asylum (Hanwell) and Morison, Consultant Physician

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<sup>148</sup> Rt Hon Henry Goulburn was a political heavyweight who happened to live in Surrey though MP for Cambridge. A former Under Secretary of State for Home Affairs and, more importantly, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in Wellington's short-lived Government, then Home Secretary twice under Peel and was to be Chancellor of the Exchequer again in 1841. His interests were in war and finance, certainly not lunacy and he was not a regular attender at the committee meetings.

<sup>149</sup> QS2/1/56 – 57 – for the years 1837 – 1839. A report presented to the Court on 27 June, 1837 states 'savings in future years to be effected by the diminished weekly payments by the parishes for the Maintenance of the Insane in private Asylums as well as from the increased Number of Cases in which patients will be restored to their friends cured by the Instrumentality of a County Asylum ever open to receive them. They deem it their duty to recommend the Erection as a measure of Wise Economy and enlightened Humanity and they trust that they would receive the general and cordial approval of the Court of Quarter Sessions and the County at large.'

(to Hanwell) and, by that time, Visiting Physician of the Royal Hospital, Bethlem<sup>150</sup>, sensibly seeking the advice and guidance of these experienced men. The advice of Mr Lapidge, the County Surveyor (he had a son confined in Lincoln Asylum), was by now often sought on such matters as a suitable site, suitable architects and builders, extent of building services, in particular water supply and, above all, costs. These were revised upwards to a total of £75,000 and approved by the Court. An application to the Exchequer Bill Loans Commission for a loan was turned down and, as a result, a 'private offer' for a loan from the Westminster Life Insurance Company<sup>151</sup> was subsequently negotiated<sup>152</sup>. After considerable advertising in the press a suitable plot of land was purchased<sup>153</sup>. A number of architects were invited to prepare, present and explain designs for the building.

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<sup>150</sup> Morison pursued the possibility of a post as Visiting Physician to Hanwell with characteristic doggedness. The precise date of the start of his campaign is uncertain but is during 1831, the year the asylum opened. From an MD entry dated 5 April, 1832, Col Clitherow, Chairman of the Asylum management committee told Morison it is not his intention to appoint a Visiting Physician (why should he when a Resident Physician has already been appointed?). Morison immediately offered his services free as Consulting Physician! Morison was clearly paying visits to Hanwell – he reported on a visit on 29 March when he witnessed uproar and beatings going on in a female ward, but refrained from reporting this, in particular to a Captain Acklom (managing committee member), whose patience with Morison was clearly wearing thin, and who told Morison his committee would not appoint a Consultant Physician – MD entry dated 16 May, 1832. Despite this gloomy prediction Morison was so appointed and with a fee of two guineas a visit 'to be called upon when Ellis thinks he needs his services.' – MD entry dated 29 May, 1832. Predictably, Morison spent a great deal of time at Hanwell whether he was required or not. He used it as a source for teaching students and a venue for giving lectures until the arrival of John Conolly in 1839. Morison's endeavour to be appointed Visiting Physician to Bethlem was even more well-planned. Hearing of the vacancy occasioned by the death of Sir George Tuthill in 1835, Morison set about canvassing by letters to over 200 Governors of the hospital whose names he tracked down – MD entries dated 7 and 11 April, 1835. His prodigious effort was rewarded by election to the post against three other candidates – MD entry dated 6 May, 1835. Again, characteristically, his visits to Bethlem thereafter were conscientiously carried out almost daily.

<sup>151</sup> This probably came directly or indirectly as a result of a directorship held by one of the justices. This appears to have been quite common – indeed, Morison was appointed a Director of the Equitable Life Insurance Company - MD entry dated 2 May, 1833 a duty he carried out again most conscientiously.

<sup>152</sup> The sum required should be raised by mortgaging the County Rate repaid with interest (4½%) in 14 equal payments spread over 14 years.

<sup>153</sup> A site of 97 acres of farmland known as Springfield, near Wandsworth, was purchased from Henry Perkins (of the Barclay Perkins brewing family). The site consisted of land, buildings and fittings, and growing timber. After conveyance of the property arrangements were made for the letting of land and selling off of timber in the intervening period before the asylum was built to offset slightly the purchase price of £9,750.

Throughout 1839 the building was progressed. It was unusual for the time in that its 'E'-shape was erected on a concrete raft, but the novel design caused some problems particularly in the inclement wet weather that persisted in the winter months. Eventually the roof was erected and the building allowed to dry out whilst a 'boiler cistern for baths and Wards to have Hot Water', a steam-driven pump for raising water (the capacity of the pump and water supply were to prove a problem), and other essential services were fitted. Money from the insurance company was paid in tranches and any not needed for payment of bills was prudently invested in Exchequer Bills. Though bad weather continued in early 1840, by June good progress towards its completion was reported. Some errors had been made in the estimates and a further loan of £23,000 became necessary, accepted by Westminster Life Insurance Co., without altering the interest rate.

Attention was turned to key staff appointments. The committee decided that the intended Medical Superintendent (for whom a house was included in the design) should receive £250 *per annum* and a Matron, ideally the wife of the Superintendent, should receive £100 *pa*. The posts were advertised and Dr and Mrs Quick, of Dorset County Lunatic Asylum were appointed to take effect from 1 December, 1840. A man to 'take charge of the steam engine, Warming Apparatus and Gas machinery' was also engaged to commission the plant and run it at weekly wage of 30/- but with the provision of a cottage. Later, in April 1841, another key post was filled with the appointment of Mr Moorhouse as Steward, his duties to be combined with that of Clerk to the forthcoming Visiting Committee of Justices.

At the last moment problems arose with the finished building and the operational requirements. The committee maintaining that the 'Instructions given to the Architect were never more than general Suggestions' found that 'deficiencies had



arisen because of necessity to increase accommodation for Officers and a variety of conveniences and improvements or cleanliness and comfort of patients, some omitted, some overlooked.’ In addition to the loss of accommodation space, there was ‘no provision for noisy patients and a shortage of furniture, bedding and domestic articles.’ These teething troubles were resolved and in its report to the Court, dated 29 June, 1841, the committee was able to record the admission of the first patients on 14 June, 1841 (52 males, 70 females). Morison (now Sir Alexander) reported that 299 patients (115 males, 184 females) still awaited admission, many from private asylums. He regretted that no more than 20 of this number were curable and invited the committee to choose 100 of those ‘most likely to benefit from admission’ – needless to say the committee did not take up the challenge! Accommodation charge was set at 9/- per week (the same as Hanwell), and, thereafter, continued effort was made to reduce this amount.

By September, 1841, Morison had carried out an analysis of patients so far admitted divided into five categories. Its findings were gloomy in the extreme:

1. Patients disordered less than 1 year and considered curable	3 males	2 females
2. Disordered from 1 – 5 years	23 males	41 females
3. Disordered 5 – 30 years	34 males	53 females
4. Not known but thought to be long duration	11 males	23 females
5. Idiots	5 males	11 females
Paralytics	8 males	
Epileptics	21 males	26 females
Total	106 males	152 females

Morison expressed disappointment ‘that so few afford hope of cure.’ Nevertheless, each subsequent report to the Court stresses the number patients ‘discharged cured’. The ‘success rate’, for that is how it was clearly seen, remained low. The number of admissions steadily increased and by October, 1842, plans were drawn up to increase the accommodation to 350 by providing facilities for 50 female patients in the basement of one of the wings of the building. By January, 1844, with a total of 383 patients (33 more than the 350 for which the accommodation was designed) the

asylum 'is declared full.'<sup>154</sup>. The declaration was shortlived and more accommodation was provided in another basement for twenty male patients. By September, 1844, the total number of patients had risen relentlessly to 396 and was still rising<sup>155</sup>.

The appointment of Dr Quick and his wife was not a success. Quick had 'a serious misunderstanding' with the Steward and both were asked to resign (Quick was subsequently re-instated for a short time, but gave way to Mr Samuel Hill in October, 1843). Mrs Quick was ill for most of the time of her appointment and her duties were carried out by a Mrs Whitfield, who was appointed in her place. The new Steward was Mr Bridgeland from Kent County Asylum<sup>156</sup>.

On the opening of the asylum, the committee charged with setting it up was re-appointed (with some changes in membership) and re-titled 'The Committee of Visiting Justices to the County Lunatic Asylum'. By the end of 1844, Briscoe, then out of parliament, was its chairman. The committee continued to give reports to the Court but in 1844 these reports were printed and made available not only to the Court but to public scrutiny<sup>157</sup>. An example of one of the tables, in this case prepared by Morison is given in Table 10, who in addition to this table provides others giving age,

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<sup>154</sup> QS2/1/60 – 61, entry dated 7 January, 1844

<sup>155</sup> QS2/1/62 – 63, entry dated 23 September, 1844. A later entry dated 31 December, 1844, gives a total of 402 patients together with a somewhat euphoric comment that the committee 'confirm the opinion which they have already expressed of the wisdom and humanity of the Legislature in passing an Act for the Erection of County Asylums...anxiously endeavoured to carry out the Act in the spirit as well as to the letter... extending accommodation and increasing the cheerfulness and comfort, ventilation and fireplaces.' Their problems were only just beginning.

<sup>156</sup> Bridgeland was effectively stolen from Kent County Asylum. Some members of the managing committee visited the Kent asylum and were shown the administrative procedures used there. They were impressed and subsequently adopted them for the new Surrey asylum, together with Bridgeland, to put them into effect.

<sup>157</sup> The announcement that the first printed annual report has been published appears in QS5/6/13 (it is effectively the fourth annual report since the opening of the asylum). These reports, thereafter, follow a standard layout – an opening 'Report to Court of Quarter Sessions' by the Chairman of the Visiting Committee, reports from the Medical Officer(s), the Chaplain, and a series of Tables. The tables provide a wide range of information on financial, staffing and dietary matters, and upon the patients. The reports are sent to the MCL and, after 1845, to the CL and, while there may be some minor errors in them, they provide, for the first time, reasonably accurate information collected from the county.

duration of disorder (of particular concern to him), type-of disorder and admissions from other hospitals, private asylums and workhouses.

Parish	Male	Female	Total
Battersea	1	-	1
Bermondsey	6	-	6
Camberwell	1	2	3
Chessington	1	-	1
Clapham	1	1	2
Croydon	-	1	1
Egham	1	-	1
Lambeth	12	-	12
Leatherhead	1	-	1
Mortlake	1	-	1
Newington	7	1	8
Putney	-	-	1
Puttenham	1	-	1
Reigate	1	-	1
Richmond	2	-	2
Rotherhithe	-	1	1
St George the Martyr	9	-	9
St George in the East*	1	-	1
St John Horsleydown	4	-	4
St Margaret's*	-	1	1
Tooting	1	-	1
Wandsworth	2	1	3
County	10	8	18

Table 10. Parish of origin of patients admitted to Surrey County Asylum abstracted from Table 23 in the 4<sup>th</sup> Annual Report of the Committee of Visiting Justices to the County Lunatic Asylum, 23 September, 1844 – 31 December, 1845. The original table was compiled by Morison, Visiting Physician to the Asylum. Most will have come from the Union or parish workhouse. The items marked \* are not Surrey parishes and the term 'County' is not explained. QS5/6/1/6 reveals that 'County' refers to patients who were not resident in the county. The committee employed a solicitor to trace either parishes/unions which could be made to pay for these patients, or relatives who could be prevailed upon to make a contribution towards their keep. The large numbers from the heavily populated Metropolitan parishes is to be expected. The relatively small range of parishes was to increase in later years.

The inspection of private asylums in both rural and Metropolitan Surrey continued throughout the period 1830 – 1845. As Table 8 shows there were only two rural private asylums, Great Fosters and Lea Pale House, in operation in the period. As required by the Acts of 1828 and then 1832, visits took place first, four times per year, then reduced to three visits. If the Minutes of their visits are an indication, the quality of the inspections carried out by the justices became less thorough. Both houses had change of ownership. At Great Fosters, Sir John Chapman, George

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Hereafter, they will be referred to by an ordinal number, location, and period of cover (e.g., as in this instance, 4<sup>th</sup> AR, Wandsworth, 23 September, 1844 – 31 December, 1845).

Furnival and Charles Summers, all ‘Surgeons’, were joint proprietors, with Thomas Phillips, Surgeon, as Resident Medical Officer. John Randall, who had supplied the surety for the first licensees, had become the proprietor of Lea Pale House. Great Fosters admitted the occasional pauper but only for short periods; Lea Pale House continued to admit only private patients.

The creation of the MCL improved the standards of inspection of the Metropolitan private asylums in comparison with the practices revealed by the Secretary of the RCP at the Select Committee inquiry in 1815. Evidence to support that contention for the period 1828 – 1832 comes principally from Home Office papers<sup>158</sup>. The 1832 Act moved responsibility for the Commission from the Home Secretary to the Lord Chancellor and no annual reports were published until 1841, when the annual reports of the Commission for the years 1836 – 1841 were printed in a Parliamentary Paper<sup>159</sup>. However, the activities of the MCL were presented in a paper by Lt Col H Sykes read before the Statistical Society of London on 15 June, 1840<sup>160</sup>, though it is not possible to identify individual houses. Again, reference to

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<sup>158</sup> HO119/5 – Miscellaneous Papers. As its title implies it is a collection of odd papers some of which are concerned with lunacy matters. One piece of importance is the first annual report of the newly created Commission to the Home Secretary. Couched in optimistic style it presents the Commission’s findings on the state of the Metropolitan licensed houses. It mentions Sleaford House and Althorpe House as well as making general criticism of parish officers and relatives presenting insane patients too late for any hope of cure. However, the most useful source of information is contained in HO44/51 a series of 18 folios covering two years 1829/30 and 1830/31. Surrey private asylums reported upon are Lower Tooting, The Retreat, Clapham, Sleaford House, Surrey House, Althorpe House, Audley House, and Peckham House (which comes in for some early criticism). Also reported are Hoxton House, White House, Bethnal Green, Bethnal House, Bethnal Green (all three receiving reports more favourable than in 1815) in which Surrey pauper lunatics were accommodated.

<sup>159</sup> PP 1841 Session 2 (56) VI 235 – Reports of the MCL to the Lord Chancellor, 1836 – 1841. These appear to be summaries. No reports for 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1842 or 1843 have been traced.

<sup>160</sup> Lt Col H Sykes, ‘Statistics of the Metropolitan Commission in Lunacy’, *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol 3, No 2, (July, 1840), pp 143 – 160. Sykes gives a full description of the Commission and its activities. He includes tables of the returns from all the Metropolitan licensed houses from August, 1832 to May, 1839. Unfortunately, to preserve their anonymity he does not name them but gives each a Roman numeric identity number. Whilst it is possible to take an intelligent guess as to the identity of some houses it is not possible to do so in every case. Nonetheless the returns and the text of the paper give some idea of the thoroughness of the inspection process.

Table 8 shows that three of the Metropolitan private asylums closed in the period 1830 - 1845<sup>161</sup>.

Also within the period, the accommodation available for pauper lunatics in workhouses changed as a result of the Poor Law Amendment Act. One of the first tasks of the Assistant Poor Law Commissioners, having encouraged, cajoled or browbeaten the parishes into combination as Unions was to prevail upon the Boards of Guardians to rationalise the available workhouse accommodation. This involved selecting the adoption of an existing workhouse as the Union workhouse, often requiring refurbishing, adaptation or expansion, or the building of new larger premises. Though strictly speaking the long term accommodation of lunatics in workhouses was not permitted by law, there was still reluctance to send any pauper lunatic except the most violent and intractable to the county asylum on the grounds of expense, grounds which not only included the weekly cost of maintenance, but, an important factor for thrifty Guardians, the cost of transporting them under escort to the asylum. The separation of lunatics into wards of their own, though obviously desirable, was not among the early priorities in the alteration or rebuilding of workhouses. Table 11 shows the state of workhouses post the new poor law.

Morison's career was enhanced by his appointments to Hanwell and Bethlem but the arrival of John Conolly as the Resident Medical Superintendent at Hanwell enflamed an already smouldering resentment Morison felt towards him. It led to Morison's unfettered access to Hanwell being removed. The development of the animosity between the two men is described by Hervey<sup>162</sup>. Morison made what

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<sup>161</sup> Stockwell House, Lower Tooting, Sleaford House and Surrey House all closed. Hervey identifies Friern Place, Peckham Rye, licensed to W Pollard, Medical Superintendent, The Retreat, Clapham from 1832 – 1835, but no record of this can be found, although Pollard was certainly appointed to the Clapham post in 1831

<sup>162</sup> A Scull, C MacKenzie & N Hervey, *op.cit.*, Ch 5, pp 150 – 153. Morison's feelings about Conolly may have begun much earlier, but he did not agree with Conolly's views or practice of non-restraint.

appears to be another blunder on forming 'The Society for Improving the Condition of the Insane' in 1842 when he invited the 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Shaftesbury to be its President.

Union	Date	Remarks
Chertsey	1836	New workhouse. Additions in 1871 and 1894
Croydon	1840	When Union formed in 5/1836 Croydon used old workhouse built 1726 used. Extended in 1838-40
Dorking	1840	New building
Epsom	1836	New building
Farnham	1846	Union late forming. Used existing Farnham workhouse
Godstone	1839	Union formed late 1835 decided to enlarge workhouse of neighbouring parish of Bletchingley
Guildford	1836	New building. Additions 1856.
Hambledon	1876	Continued use of workhouses at Chiddingfold, Hambledon Haslemere and Witney until new building
Kingston	1837 - 39	New building
Reigate	1834	Continued use of Gilbert Union workhouse
Richmond	1836	Existing building altered and enlarged
Bermondsey	1836	Continued use of existing building
Camberwell	1835	Continued use of existing building. New workhouse built 1878 and 1892
Lambeth	1835	Continued use of existing building. New workhouse built between 1871-74. Original site closed 1877 -new workhouse
Newington, St M	1836	Continued use of existing building. New workhouse built 1850
Rotherhithe	1836	Continued use of existing building (1829).
St George's, S'wark	1836	Continued use of existing building. Rented Eagle House, Mitcham, 1856 which included accommodation for lunatics
St Olave's, S'wark	1836	Continued use of existing buildings
St Saviour's, S'wark	1836	Continued use of existing buildings
W'worth & Clapham	1838 - 40	New building

Table 11. The state of Union workhouses immediately following unionisation. Alteration or extension of existing buildings or the building of new workhouses was to accommodate increased numbers of paupers to standards required by the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834. Compiled from Boards of Guardians' records.

Shaftesbury's son and heir, Lord Ashley, as Chairman of the MCL, already had a respected name for lunacy reform. The two men were implacably opposed over the lunacy and other reforms proposed by the younger man. The 6<sup>th</sup> Earl, as a Governor

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Conolly's success in this practice at Hanwell brought pressure to bear on the professional judgement of Morison from members of Visiting Committee of Justices for Wandsworth who were in contact with, and influenced by Middlesex magistrates.

of Bethlem, was particularly opposed to Ashley's attempts to bring Bethlem within the scope of inspection by the MCL. The aims of the society were two-fold; firstly, to enhance the knowledge of the treatment of the insane by encouraging lectures, demonstrations and the award of a monetary prize for the best essay on improving the conditions of the insane; secondly, 'raising the character' of attendants, both male and female, by awarding a monetary prize to those receiving the most glowing testimonials for their service in caring for insane patients. The latter aim was underpinned by a subsidiary group 'The Attendants' Friendly Society'. Meetings of the society took place in the homes of members between December and August. Membership, never large in number, comprised the medical specialist working in or owning private asylums, county asylums, and a few non-medical but well-intentioned people of social or political standing. Among the members, therefore, were Sir Charles Summers, Charles Hampden Turner (both of Great Fosters), Dr A J Sutherland (Blacklands House), Dr G Mann Burrows (The Retreat, Clapham), Dr Munro (Brooke House), Dr Philp (Kensington House), Dr Haslam (ex-Bethlem), Dr Quick (Surrey Asylum) and Lady Ellis (widow of Sir William and owner of Southall Park). On the death of Lord Shaftesbury, the Duke of Norfolk took on the presidency (the Duchess was also a member) and on his demise John Ivatt Briscoe continued until the society wound up in 1865, though its activities were largely curtailed some years earlier, apparently as a result of shortage of funds. In this connection it should be noted that Morison's son, Thomas Coutts Morison, was awarded the essay prize on two occasions, more than meeting his guinea membership subscription. Awards of two or three guineas were made for several years to worthy attendants. In terms of lasting achievement the society did little but it was an example of the kind of network

through which much was achieved over and above formal committees<sup>163</sup>.

The Madhouse Act, 1832 required renewal every three years. This was achieved uneventfully in 1835 and 1838. In 1839 a Select Committee was appointed to look into the conduct of a private asylum in Hereford – Benjamin Hawes, MP for Lambeth, was a member. The findings of the committee were to set in train pressure to extend the powers of the MCL to include the inspection of provincial private asylums. When the Madhouse Act came up for renewal in 1841 such an automatic process was resisted by Thomas Wakley who said in the House ‘that some alteration should be made to the existing law, and without delay’<sup>164</sup>. Following lengthy debate the Licensed Lunatic Asylums Bill was presented to parliament which brought a furious attack against it, led by Wakley. The second debate led to an amended Bill which was eventually passed in May 1842<sup>165</sup>. The act, though short-lived, was of importance for it gave Ashley, the Chairman of the MCL, the opportunity to conduct a thorough enquiry into the state of the provision of care and treatment of lunatics over the entire spectrum of private, pauper and single patients in private and public asylums and unlicensed houses, hospitals and workhouses. The enquiry led to the publication of the Report of MCL to the Lord Chancellor in 1844, a document of immense range and import for the future. One outcome was legislation which set the pattern for the treatment of lunatics until 1890 about which more will be discussed in the following chapter<sup>166</sup>.

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<sup>163</sup> J Pitman, ‘Papers of the Society for Improving the Conditions of the Insane’ *Proceedings of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh*, Vol 24, (1994), pp 420 – 427. Pitman, the Archivist of the College gives an interesting account of the Society and its papers retained in the College Library. Morison was in the habit of keeping files of cuttings from newspapers on legal cases involving insanity issues. There are also files containing examples of essays. The above comments are drawn from the file marked ‘Rules and Reports’.

<sup>164</sup> Hansard, dated 21 September, 1841, cols 693 - 702

<sup>165</sup> 5 & 6 Vict, c 87 – Lunatic Asylums Act, 1842

<sup>166</sup> 8 & 9 Vict, c 100 – Lunatics Act, 1845



With the approach of 1845 the Visiting Committee of Justices to the County Asylum were beginning to take stock of what had been achieved with the opening of Surrey's first asylum. Once more, events in parliament appear to have passed by without comment. But notes of concern about the asylum cannot be concealed from the brief reports made to the Court of Quarter Sessions. The raising of funds, the building and staffing of the asylum had caused them problems enough but it is apparent that there was rising concern about the numbers that had been admitted over and above their expectations and that the rate of cures effected was not high leaving more and more patients requiring long-term accommodation and care. In an addendum to a report to the Court, Sir Alexander Morison gave the following figures, shown in Table 12, for admissions and cures from opening to 31 December, 1845<sup>167</sup>.

State	Male	Female	Sub-Total	Total
Admitted	378	343		721
Cured	58	57	115	
Died	121	56	177	
Removed	19	9	28	
			320	
In Asylum	180	221		401

Table 12. Admissions, and cures from June 1841 to December 1845.

The table encapsulates the problems which were to become worse.

<sup>167</sup> A. R. H. The Age of Improvement (Longmans, London, 1930), pp. 224-225 - provides a summary of the social and economic conditions of the mid-1830s to the mid-1840s. His remark that there was no glimmer yet in the whole nineteenth century that 1840-41 was an exceptional year for this country.

<sup>168</sup> Such disclosure and adverse publicity, it can be said, made by Anglican Poor Law Commissioners had an impact on the more pious law implementation. It is open to question whether the moral duty was at fault.

<sup>167</sup> QS2/1/62 - entry dated 7 April 1846

## Chapter 6 – Expansion and Problems in Asylum Provision

The previous chapter described the slow progress made in the building and opening of Surrey's first county asylum in 1841. That event took place against a background of economic depression<sup>168</sup> and growing social unrest brought sharply into focus by the agricultural riots of the early 1830s. It was, to some extent, affected by parliamentary reform and to a great extent by the enquiries preceding, and the enactment of, the new poor law. The enquiries resulted in the disclosure and underlining of the weaknesses of local government<sup>169</sup>. There was rapid acceptance in Surrey of the requirements of the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834. In particular, and with only one exception, the creation of Poor Law Unions was, in part, due to the perception that these new local bodies would result in the restoration of control (and attendant financial savings) in the provision of various forms of relief to the poor. The gradual strengthening of lunacy legislation, which included the creation of the MCL, brought about some improvement in the standards of inspection of private asylums in the Metropolitan parishes in contrast to the declining standards of inspection of the rural private asylums. The establishment of the numbers of lunatics in Surrey requiring alternative and, it was hoped, cheaper accommodation in a public asylum took an inordinate amount of time. It soon became apparent that not only that the numbers had been underestimated, but also that the expected rate of cure did not materialise once the county asylum was opened. The county, as elsewhere, had arrived at the threshold of significant lunacy legislative change, which was about to

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<sup>168</sup> A Briggs, *The Age of Improvement*, (Longman, London, Pbk Ed, 1980), pp 294 –295 – provides a summary of the social and economic conditions of the mid-1830s to the mid-1840s. His remark that 'there was no gloomier year in the whole nineteenth-century than 1842' is an inauspicious start to this chapter.

<sup>169</sup> Such disclosure and adverse comment, it has to be said, made by Assistant Poor Law Commissioners bent on getting the new poor law implemented. It is open to question whether the local justices would have so readily admitted they were at fault.

make further demands on already stretched resources. This chapter looks at the period from 1845 to the mid 1860s and the mixed economy of provision of care and treatment of the insane. In so doing it identifies certain limitations in the depth of research possible in the time available to conduct it.

The Lunatic Asylums Act, 1842 enabled the existing laws governing county and private asylums to continue for three years, but its most significant provision was to enable the MCL to undertake an inquiry by inspection of all licensed private asylums, county asylums, military and naval hospitals and other hospitals admitting the insane (except Bethlem) in England and Wales. For the first time the provision of care and treatment of the insane, under existing law, was subject to inspection by a national as opposed to a local body. Inspection of licensed asylums was to take place twice per year, and county asylums once per year. The composition of the Commission, though not altered in permitted number (20 maximum), changed to increase the number of professional commissioners (from five up to seven medical, two up to four legal) at the expense of the number of honorary or unpaid commissioners (12 down to nine). The unpaid commissioners included five MPs (Ashley, Vernon Smith, Lord Seymour, Barneby and Gaskell and a retired MP, Gordon) and two statisticians (Sykes and Hawkins). A new professional medical commissioner was Dr J C Prichard, author of a then standard text *Treatise on Insanity*<sup>170</sup>.

The act required that the inspections conducted by the Commissioners should investigate and report on:

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<sup>170</sup> Prichard was the first Medical Commissioner to be appointed who had knowledge and experience of the treatment of the insane. In addition to *A Treatise on Insanity* published in 1835, Prichard wrote an earlier work *A Treatise on Diseases of the Nervous System* published in 1822 and a later work *On the different Forms of Insanity in Relation to Jurisprudence* in 1842. Prichard was a friend of Morison. His career and influence is described in W F Bynum, 'Theory and Practice in British Psychiatry from J C Prichard (1786 – 1848) to Henry Maudsley (1835 – 1918)', Ed T Ogawa, *History of Psychiatry*, (Osaka: Taniguchi Foundation, 1982), pp 196 – 216.

1. For county asylums – whether the asylum had been constructed, managed, visited and had systems of admission and discharge of patients in accordance with ‘the provisions of the law’.
2. For county and all private asylums – whether a system of non-restraint was employed<sup>171</sup>.
3. Whether a system of classification of patients existed, the number of attendants to serve each class and, if in operation, the proportions of attendants since adoption of non-restraint.
4. Whether patients were adequately occupied and amused.
5. The condition and state of mental and bodily health of pauper patients on admission.

The visiting Commissioners were required to add a note of their visit in the ‘Visitors’ Book’ at each asylum.

The period of inquiry, from August, 1842 (the date of Royal assent to the act) until July, 1844 (the date of publication of the MCL report), corresponded with a small total of asylums in Surrey. In addition to the county asylum at Wandsworth, there were three private asylums in Metropolitan Surrey, the Retreat, Clapham, Althorpe House and Peckham House and only two rural asylums in operation, Great Fosters and Lea Pale House. The Visitors’ Books of Surrey asylums have not survived and it will come as no surprise that no notes or comments on the visits by

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<sup>171</sup> The inclusion of this stipulation seem to have come about by the relatively late conversion of Ashley to the merits of non-restraint occasioned by a visit to Hanwell at the behest of John Adams, Serjeant-at-Law, one of the Middlesex Visiting Committee. An entry in Ashley’s diary dated 17 May, 1842 (E Hodder, *The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury K.G.*, Cassell, London, Popular Edition, 1893) shows that he was clearly moved by the experience of seeing Conolly’s techniques at work. Ashley subsequently underlined this change of heart by a speech in the House (Hansard, Vol 65, dated 16 July, 1842, col 223) during the debate on the amended Lunatic Asylums Bill. Adams was also instrumental, through John Jeffery, a Surrey JP and member of the Wandsworth Visiting Committee, in the introduction of non-restraint at Surrey Asylum against the advice of Morison.

Commissioners, which undoubtedly took place<sup>172</sup>, were recorded in the reports to the Court of Quarter Sessions by either Visiting Committee to Surrey Asylum or the Visiting Committee to the Private Asylums. Comments were made, however, in the body of the Report of MCL published in July, 1844<sup>173</sup>, not as a Parliamentary Paper but in a book<sup>174</sup>.

The report presented for the first time something approaching the true state of affairs in the care and treatment of the insane. It followed closely the subjects of inquiry required by the act but in a slightly different order and with additional sections. The emphasis throughout was on the pauper lunatics, with over a third devoted to their accommodation in different classes of asylum<sup>175</sup>, their condition on admission, the forms of mental diseases they presented and the treatment they received. Though it still remained ambivalent on the use of non-restraint it laid considerable stress on the need for early treatment, in well constructed asylums, providing treatment based on the experience of the best medical officers in the existing asylums (not all counties had an asylum and this advice anticipated further legislation that would make such provision mandatory). In a section giving the statistics of the insane, it called into use figures supplied by the PLC<sup>176</sup> showing those

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<sup>172</sup> The Report of the MCL to the Lord Chancellor, 1844 provides two examples of adverse comment. For Peckham House, a reference to repeated concern about the diet of patients and, more significantly, general concern about standards but the MCL cannot revoke the licence because of shortage of accommodation in county asylum. For Great Fosters, in operation for nearly 100 years, shortcomings in accommodation.

<sup>173</sup> E Hodder, *op.cit.*, pp 307–308. Hodder on the report states it was ‘fitly called “the Doomsday Book of all that, up to that time, concerned Institutions for the Insane”’ [apparently by D H Tuke in his *Chapters in the History of the Insane in the British Isles* in 1862. It is hoped the irony was intended]. Ashley noted in his diary for 2 July, 1844 – ‘Finished, at last, Report of the Commission in Lunacy. Good thing over. Sat for many days in review. God prosper it! It contains much for the alleviation of physical and moral suffering.’

<sup>174</sup> *Report of the Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy to the Lord Chancellor*, (Bradbury & Evans, London, 1844) (hereafter *1844 Report*). The report was presented to both Houses of Parliament.

<sup>175</sup> The MCL stepped outside its terms of reference in that it included visits to some workhouses in the course of its inquiries. ‘We availed ourselves of all opportunities to visit Union and other Workhouses as lay in our road.’ (*1844 Report*, p 98)

<sup>176</sup> The difficulty in obtaining the number of pauper lunatics in the county had already been experienced by the Surrey justices, despite the responsibility laid upon overseers in County Lunatic

lunatics in workhouses and those receiving outdoor relief and living with relatives or friends. The former figure showed that there were still high numbers confined in workhouses and this despite the requirement of law that those certified as insane on admission to a workhouse were to be admitted to an asylum within fourteen days<sup>177</sup>.

Before considering the outcome of the *1844 Report*, it is relevant to consider the emergent policies of the PLC in relation to lunatics as part of the developing relationship between it and the MLC. The report of the Royal Commission of 1832 made only brief allusion to the treatment of lunatics, and the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, as has been pointed out, merely the reference to the transfer of lunatics from workhouse to asylum. It is perhaps appropriate to consider the PLC's attitude towards the role of workhouses. Both the Royal Commission report and the Poor Law Amendment Act place the workhouse as the focal point of the reform of the poor law. The report stresses the need for classification of workhouse inmates and that these classes<sup>178</sup> should be confined in separate buildings, but these needs appear not to have been recognised by the Poor Law Commissioners appointed in 1834, or if they were, nowhere enforced<sup>179</sup>. The

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Asylums Act, 1828. Required returns were either incorrectly made or not made at all. Section 6 of 5 & 6 Vict, c 57 – An Act to continue the Poor Law Commission; and for further Amendment of the Laws relating to the Poor in England, 1842, laid upon the Clerks to the Guardians the duty to do the same and to send copies to the PLC and Home Secretary. Their production became more regular.

<sup>177</sup> Section 45 of the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834 contains the clause 'nothing in this Act contained shall authorise the detention in any workhouse of any dangerous lunatic, insane person or idiot for any longer period than fourteen days.' The MCL interpreted the clause as meaning any lunatic, insane person or idiot. The PLC maintained that 'dangerous' applied to the whole phrase 'lunatic, insane person, and idiot'. If someone was not dangerous he or she need not be sent to an asylum. Workhouses thus admitted and kept insane persons who according to the MCL ought to have been sent to an asylum. Unions, however, were not a little influenced in their action by the cost of sending someone to an asylum. Furthermore, the somewhat anomalous situation was fast approaching (indeed in some places had already arrived) where county asylum accommodation was not available and the only choice open to Unions other than keeping a pauper lunatic in the workhouse was an expensive private asylum. That was not an option favoured by the Boards of Guardians unless it was somewhere such as Hoxton or Peckham House where a cheaper rate for accommodation was available.

<sup>178</sup> The four classes were (1) the aged and really impotent, (2) the children, (3) the able-bodied females, (4) the able-bodied males.

<sup>179</sup> There is no reference to the classification of workhouse inmates or separate buildings in the Act, but a seven category system of segregation by sex and age was later introduced by the PLC.

Assistant Commissioners in the field pursued with vigour the rationalisation of property belonging to parishes and the alteration and/or enlargement of existing, or the construction of, new buildings (see Table 11). The 'General Mixed Workhouse' became the norm until the provision of separate wards for the sick and, in some places, lunatics was made some years later. The attendant results of having dangerous or noisy lunatics, imbeciles or idiots living with the able-bodied or the aged and infirm posed day to day problems for the workhouse managers and a dilemma for the Boards Of Guardians. On the one hand there was the requirement of the law and on the other their anxiety to keep the costs of relief to a minimum. Though the PLC by order and advice to Unions upheld the spirit of the Poor Law Amendment Act, it ignored the misinterpretation of the law and the reluctance of the local Guardians to spend money on asylum fees. These practices were known to the MLC or tacitly acknowledged in the course of its inquiry and cannot have helped to enhance the relationship between the two bodies. One further point is relevant. In 1837 a Select Committee was appointed to examine the working of the Poor Law Amendment Act. The committee examined witnesses from various parts of England and Wales who had either general complaints or concerns about a specific geographical area. It produced twenty-two reports, before being re-appointed in 1838 after which it produced a further forty-nine reports (these reports are another rich source of information on social and economic conditions of the time). The Fifth Report, however, is of particular interest recording the evidence of Edward Gulson, Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, assigned to Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire at the time. Gulson was a Quaker, formerly a fell-monger and a 'director of the poor' in Coventry. He was also an ardent supporter of Edwin Chadwick. Gulson made a case for the provision of Union lunatic asylums separate from workhouses, capable of

accommodating up to 250 patients and under the control of the Boards of Guardians and thus, indirectly, the PLC rather than the MCL, basing his suggestion on the reductions that could be made to the poor rate<sup>180</sup>. If Gulson's proposal reflects thinking by a person or persons in the PLC there is some common ground with the MCL and Ashley in particular. Though Ashley was clearly committed to an expansion in the number of county asylums (which was to follow with further legislation) he was equally concerned about the tendency for these asylums to become too large, accommodating many hundreds of patients, many of whom were incurable, and stretching the medical resources and thus chances of cure for other patients. He too favoured smaller asylums accommodating no more than 250 patients, one of the suggestions at the conclusion of the *1844 Report*.

The report contains twenty-five suggestions written 'in the expectation that the law as it regards lunacy, will shortly be subject to revision'<sup>181</sup>. Before initiating that process of revision Ashley was able to make a telling intervention in a debate on the Poor Law when he told the House that there were 17,000 pauper lunatics in England and Wales and asylum accommodation for only 4,500<sup>182</sup>. As a result of

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<sup>180</sup> PP 1837–38 (144)(145) XVIII Pt 1 157, 189 – Fifth Report of the Select Committee on the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834. Gulson had had a torrid three days of examination by the committee under the chairmanship of Mr Fazackerly (a member of the 1827 Select Committee on Pauper Lunatics in the County of Middlesex and on Lunatic Asylums) at the conclusion of which he mounted an attack on county asylums in terms of their cost and effectiveness. He proposed the cheaper alternative of asylums serving several Unions (Unions within Unions, so to speak) under the control of Boards of Guardians. Despite the obvious scepticism of the chairman he persists in his claim. The incident is of interest in that it raises the question – for whom was Gulson speaking? It seems unlikely these ideas were his own, but did they reflect thinking in the PLC? Jones suggests the proposals were from Chadwick (K Jones, *op.cit.* p 128) and Finer (S E Finer, *op.cit.* p 93) recalls Chadwick's original vision of the provisions of a new poor law included specialized schools, hospitals, asylums and almshouses.

<sup>181</sup> *1844 Report*, pp 204–208. The suggestions include the provision of smaller asylums (up to 250 patients) in every county; that incurable patients could be moved out of asylums to make room for curable patients; separate cheaper asylums be built in the more populous counties, e.g., Middlesex and Lancashire, for chronic patients; if patients could not be accommodated in such asylums they should only be accommodated in specially adapted workhouses. The suggestions also include tightening of regulations on certification, maintenance of records, visits and inspections, submission of building plans and estimates for new county asylums and licensing of private asylums.

<sup>182</sup> Hansard dated 12 July, 1844, cols 744–745. Ashley rose to confirm a point made by a Mr Cochrane, MP for Bridport who had said that he knew of cases where the fourteen day limit of retaining dangerous lunatics in workhouses was 'in very general disregard'. Ashley said that his report



Ashley's intervention the Home Secretary said 'the whole subject was well entitled to the careful and early attention of the House'. Ashley's tactics in getting new legislation under way were unusual. On 23 July, 1844, he rose again to bring forward a motion 'for an Address to the Crown, praying Her Majesty to take into her consideration the report of the MCL, as, in the following Session, the statute under which they acted would expire.'<sup>183</sup> At the conclusion of the debate which followed Ashley was asked to go ahead with the preparation of necessary legislation.

The passage of two Bills prepared by Ashley (the work involved all the Commissioners in the MCL) was relatively smooth. In the course of several debates during their passage Ashley mounted a strong if somewhat optimistic presentation of the financial advantages that would accrue with the provision of a county asylum (this aimed chiefly at those MPs representing counties still dragging their feet over building an asylum). He still clung to the view that insanity could be cured if treated early enough, promising cure rates which were certainly never attained. He also continued to recommend the removal or at least isolation of chronic and incurable patients from the mainstream curative wards. The powers of inspection were to be widened to be all-embracing (with the exception of Bethlem where that battle remained to be fought), to include all asylums both county and private, hospitals and workhouses and some inspection of single patients<sup>184</sup>. Ashley had to ward off

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more than confirmed Cochrane's assertion and he was able to give specific examples of Redruth, Bath, Leicester and Birmingham.

<sup>183</sup> Hansard, Vol 76, dated 23 July, 1844, cols 1257 – 1288. Ashley's motion was accompanied by an impassioned speech in which he criticised the present state of single patients, the inadequacy of county asylum accommodation (he again refers to some overly large asylums), the number of lunatics in workhouses and the present state of private asylums. Whatever Ashley's aims were in seeking such a motion Sir James Graham, the Home Secretary, in saying that he hoped he would not press it promised the support of the government in bringing forward new legislation which appeared to satisfy Ashley, who confides in his diary 'the speech did its work so far as to obtain a recognition from the Secretary of State that legislation was necessary and should be taken up in my sense of it.' (E Hodder, *op.cit.*, entry dated 24 July, 1844, p 310)

<sup>184</sup> Hansard, Vol 81, cols 180 – 202. During an exchange on the care and treatment of single patients he says 'I have said before, and I say again, that should it please God to afflict me with such a

objections and attempts to delay the passing of the Bills from a minority of MPs mainly on the grounds of a threat to individual freedom and increasing the power of central government, the most notable of which was from Thomas Dunscombe, fellow MP for Finsbury to Ashley's other antagonist Wakley. Dunscombe presented a petition on behalf of John Percival<sup>185</sup>, but was unsuccessful in delaying the receipt of Royal assent to the Bill<sup>186</sup>. The first Act brought into being the Commission in Lunacy (CL). This resulted in an increase in central power at least as potentially influential as that given to the PLC as a result of the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834. It was a power, nonetheless, that had to be exercised with restraint against continued local opposition. The second Act brought pressure to bear on reluctant local authorities to make provision for pauper lunatics and to make it easier for collecting data on the disposition of lunatics.

The report laid considerable emphasis on two themes:

1. The need for early diagnosis and consequential treatment if insanity was to be cured.

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visitation, I would greatly prefer the treatment of paupers at an establishment like that of Surrey Asylum to the treatment of the rich at one of these receptacles.' It is assumed he was being complimentary! He makes a further reference to Surrey (Hansard, Vol 82, col 395 – 418) when contrasting the cramped exercise conditions of some private asylums with those available in county asylums 'It was pleasing to contrast with such places the Hanwell and Surrey Asylums .... in Surrey Asylum he had seen lunatics brought to use sharp weapons such as axes, hatchets etc.' If of no other value these examples indicate that the relationship between Ashley and Surrey Asylum was at this time amicable. They were not to remain so.

<sup>185</sup> Percival's petition against the Lunatics Bill is noted in JHC dated 1 July, 1845 and Dunscombe contribution to the debate in Hansard, dated 2 July, 1844, col 417. The petition was concerned with manner in which lunatics were taken into asylums, their detention and release and the various methods of inquiry into the circumstances of their detention. Dunscombe sought unsuccessfully to delay the passing of the Bill. Percival, an ex-patient, was the Secretary of the Alleged Lunatics' Friends Society, the activities of which are objectively described in N Hervey, 'Advocacy or Folly: The Alleged Lunatics' Friends Society, 1845 – 63', *Medical History*, Vol 30, (1986), pp 245 – 275. More will be heard of the Society's activities.

<sup>186</sup> (i) 8 & 9 Vict, c 100 – An Act for the Regulation of Care & Treatment of Lunatics (Lunatics Act), 1845 was passed on 4 August, 1845.

(ii) 8 & 9 Vict, c 126 – An Act to amend the Law for the Provision & Regulation of Lunatic Asylums for the Counties & Boroughs and for the Maintenance & Care of Pauper Lunatics in England (County Asylums Act), 1845 was passed on 8 August, 1845. It was strengthened with regard to the duties of justices in following admission procedures, and the use of workhouses in providing temporary care for pauper lunatics by 9 & 10 Vict, c 84 – An act to amend the Law concerning Lunatic Asylums and the Care of Pauper Lunatics in England, 1846.

2. The retention of large numbers of incurable patients in curative wards which inhibited the effective use of available medical resources.

Concern about these aspects in the operation of Surrey's asylum was reflected in the annual reports by the Visiting Committee of Justices and the medical officers, contributing supplementary data and reports. It should be borne in mind that these medical officers had no say in who was admitted to the asylum. Morison, as the county's most influential medical specialist in lunacy, almost as soon as the asylum opened, complained about the number of patients sent in with little or no hope of recovery. Table 12 examined the admissions and cures claimed for the first four years of asylum's operation. Table 13 examines more closely the duration of illness on admission over a ten-year period. Over that period the average of low duration

Duration	1841/45*	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851
Less than 1 yr	196	29	33	44	166	179	193
1 to 5 years	159	10	11	11	114	56	48
5 to 20 years	143	8	4	4	78	14	27
From birth	24	2	4	3	23	16	19
Not stated	199	9	12	3	60	60	72
Total admitted each year.	721	58	64	65	441	325	359

Table 13. Shows the duration of illness alleged on admission for the years 1841 –51. The figures for 1841 to 1845 in the column marked \* were not published until 1845 as an aggregate. The patient numbers are male and female combined. Though there was a widely held belief that more females were admitted insane than males it was not true. After an initial period when patients with an illness duration of less than 1 year were less than 30% of the total admissions, matters improved to between 50 – 60%. The disturbing fact is the high numbers of those admitted where no information on their condition was supplied by Poor Law or other medical officers. The significant increase in numbers admitted in 1849 and thereafter is a reflection of increased accommodation and a removal of patients from private asylums. Source: Annual Reports of the Visiting to Surrey Asylum for the years 1845 – 1851.

was 48% of total admissions. If Ashley, and indeed Morison's, contention had been true, even with what was regarded as unsatisfactory numbers with early diagnosis admitted, a high cure rate would have been expected. Table 14 shows the actual cure rates as a percentage per year of the total number of patients in the asylum. The cure rate was disappointingly low and did not improve as at the end of another decade it was still only 6.3%. Several of those 'cured' were not patients with early diagnosis

Time/condition	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851
Nos at previous year end	368	401	402	396	400	701	782
Admitted in year	121	58	64	63	441	315	359
Cured	27	20	29	20	68	104	116
As % of total no of patients	5.5	4.3	6.2	4.3	8.0	10.2	10.1
Died	55	34	35	33	61	96	120
Removed	6	3	6	6	11	34	52
Nos at end of year	401	402	396	400	701	782	853

Table 14. The numbers of patients admitted, cured, deceased, removed uncured and remaining for the years 1845–51, with the cure rate show as a percentage of the total number of patients accommodated. Rapid expansion of that number occurs in 1849 with the provision of additional building of accommodation.

Source: Annual Reports of the Visiting Committee of Surrey Asylum, 1845–51.

and ‘removed, cured’ was reported on a few fortunate patients afflicted for several years. Rapid cures were achieved by some patients who were elderly and debilitated by the improved diet, clothing, warm bedding, more rest and increased personal hygiene which they experienced on admission to the asylum. Table 14 is also of interest in that it shows the mortality rate was high<sup>187</sup> (and remained so) and that some patients, mainly harmless chronic idiots and imbeciles, were removed and returned to their workhouse or discharged to the care of relatives and friends. Others were removed to their settlement parish or appropriate county asylum. The efforts of the

<sup>187</sup> A contemporary view of the mortality of lunatics is to be found in W Farr, ‘Report upon the Mortality of Lunatics’ *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol 4, No 1, (April, 1841), pp 17–33. Farr, a man of humble origin, gained experience of hospital work in Shrewsbury and later continued medical training in Paris and Switzerland, eventually qualifying as an apothecary after further study at UCL. He became an ardent supporter of the new mathematical skill of statistics and contributed ‘Vital Statistics’ in MacCulloch’s *Account of the British Empire* published in 1832. The article referred to was written after that of Col Sykes, to which reference has been made, and to which Farr himself makes reference. After an unashamed plug for the merits of statistics it follows a convoluted argument comparing the mortality at Hanwell, Bethlem and the Metropolitan licensed houses accommodating paupers. He concludes that the mortality of lunatics at all types of asylum was much higher than the sane population, 1.2–1.5% (for 35–50 year olds, life expectancy in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century increased from the mid-thirties to the late forties) compared to a mean of 12% (Hanwell), 9% (Bethlem), 19% (for licensed houses with large numbers of paupers) and as low as 16% (for licensed houses with small numbers of paupers). He found that patients were more likely to die in the first year of confinement, then, as a cure became less likely, life expectancy increased (a fact that asylum managers and proprietors had begun to find out), though he also observed that many patients appeared to have been sent to the asylum to die (it may well be, therefore, that they did not die of insanity but old age and debility). It should be noted that Farr obtains his mortality rate by dividing the number of deaths by the number of patients whose state was changed, i.e., cured + died + removed expressed as a percentage. Table 13 divides the number of deaths in one year by the total number of patients accommodated in that year with a lower resultant figure. A comprehensive survey of Farr’s contribution to the development of medical statistics is contained in a biography by John M Eyler, *Victorian social medicine. The ideas and methods of William Farr*, (John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1979).

debt chasing solicitors, Messrs Smallpiece & Co., were regularly reported with high praise not only because of the recovery of money but for facilitating the removal of patients. Settlement issues remained an area of concern to the justices.

Two further areas of information on patients are relevant in the comparison between the areas of concern expressed by the *1844 Report* and the situation in the asylum, reported by the justices. Table 15 depicts the age distribution of patients admitted between 1841- 51. It shows a concentration in the 30 – 40 year-

Age Group	1841-45	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851
Under 10 yrs	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
10 – 20 yrs	1	2	3	1	18	9	33
20 – 30 yrs	16	9	12	14	89	69	57
30 – 40 yrs	36	16	14	19	106	87	77
40 – 50 yrs	21	12	15	13	108	58	78
50 – 60 yrs	7	15	10	9	62	35	53
60 – 70 yrs	6	3	8	5	30	25	29
Over 70 yrs	-	1	2	2	11	15	-
70 – 80 yrs	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
Not stated	1	-	-	-	17	4	17

Table 15. Shows the age distribution of patients admitted each year from 1841 – 51. The age groups between 30 and 50 years of age predominate – the age group within which normal life expectancy fell. There is also a general tendency to admit the elderly with an age group of 70 – 80 year-olds first recorded in 1851. Source: Annual Reports of the Visiting Committee to Surrey Asylum, 1845 – 1851.

olds, though the overall trend shows the admission of older patients nearing the end of their lives.

Finally, the causes and diagnosis of insanity as recorded in the asylum records are of interest. The essential elements of admission, which consisted of an order signed by a justice and a certificate signed by a doctor, provided scant information of help to the asylum staff, concentrating on a cause for what was described as ‘an attack’. The causes were divided into two categories, moral and physical. Summarising the causes listed in the annual reports of the Visiting Committee for 1841 – 1851 are as follows:

Moral

- Disappointment
- Misfortune
- Unemployment

Physical

- Hereditary Disposition
- Intemperance
- Blow on the head

Reverse of Fortune	Epilepsy
Loss of Property	Paralysis
Anxiety	Fever
Poverty	Over exertion
Grief	Venereal disease
Fright	Morbidity
Over study	Palsy
Marital breakdown	Chorea
Election/Political excitement	Rheumatic fever
Religious fervour/ excitement	Hysteria
	Cancer

Some of the causes listed under ‘moral’ are indicators of financial and economic circumstances which have brought about the state of poverty of the sufferer (poverty *per se* is surprisingly of low incidence), whilst others such as marital breakdown (which includes domestic violence) and grief are more understandable. Insanity caused by political/electoral issues probably reflects the period of reform, whilst religious fervour that of the growth of the non-conformist church. Among the physical causes intemperance occupies a dominant place (Ashley espoused that it was the main cause of insanity among the poor), as does the damage done by blows or falls to the head, whilst epilepsy and hysteria (seen essentially as a female affliction) rank highly and less often the cause of insanity was venereal disease. Once admitted, the patients were diagnosed with the form of mental illness. Morison was either asked, or felt it incumbent upon him, to provide definitions of the diagnoses of patient insanity<sup>188</sup> in notes of guidance which accompanied each annual report from the

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<sup>188</sup> Morison’s notes of guidance are printed in every annual report during his term of office as Visiting Physician to Surrey Asylum. Briefly he states ‘The phenomena of insanity may be comprehended under three heads, Most Unreasonable Conduct, Incoherent Discourse, and Erroneous Ideas or Delusions. These have again been divided into two classes, one including the symptoms of a deranged mind, the other those of a weak mind, constituting the Lunacy and Idiocy of the legal writer.’ He goes on to say that derangement can be general or partial and that ‘Mania is applied to general insanity, and that of Monomania to partial insanity.’ He states that weakness of mind can also be general or partial. When the former, ‘termed Idiocy when general and the term Imbecility to slighter degrees when congenital.’ However weakness of mind is not always from birth and can occur after loss of full mental faculties when it is termed ‘Dementia or Fatuity’ – the term ‘Incipient Dementia’, analogous to imbecility and modified by the previous circumstances of the patient is ‘very common in Asylums ... mental disorder more or less blended with weakness of memory and incoherence of ideas..is frequently the state of mind of old age.’

Visiting Committee. The notes were intended for lay reading but they represent a stage in the development of knowledge about mental health which was to undergo extension and clarification as the nineteenth century progressed.

It is clear from Tables 13 – 15 that the number of patients admitted in 1848/49 increased significantly. The relatively small enhancements in available accommodation which took place after the opening of the county asylum had proved inadequate for the increased demand. By late 1845, the Visiting Committee was ordered 'to consider the means of providing adequate accommodation for all Pauper Lunatics' and prepare a Special Report for the Court. The committee underwent some changes in membership<sup>189</sup> and Samuel Hill was replaced by Robert Holland as Resident Medical Officer. Its initial estimate was that accommodation for a further 400 patients<sup>190</sup> was required and the County Surveyor, Lapidge was asked to draw up plans and estimates for extensions and additional buildings on the existing site rather than the construction of a new asylum. Tenders were invited for the construction<sup>191</sup> and the plans and estimates submitted to the CL. After further exchanges between the Commission and the committee, approval was sought from the Secretary of State. With approval given, the committee were authorised to negotiate a further loan of £42,000 with the London Life at 5% *per annum* to be repaid over

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<sup>189</sup> QS2/1/62 – 63 and 64 – 65. The committee's first chairman, Lord Lovelace, Lord Lieutenant, was replaced by Briscoe and the new MPs on the committee included Henry Goulburn, William Denison and Henry Kemble, replacing Benjamin Hawes and Charles Barclay. Later William Cubitt (of building company fame), MP for Andover and Sheriff of London, Henry Hope, MP for Gloucester City and Lord Lovaine (the future 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Northumberland) were to become members giving some indication of the support of the local dignitaries. Briscoe was, in turn, replaced by Kemble.

<sup>190</sup> QS2/1/62 – 63. The actual figures established by the committee were 99 in private asylums, 143 in workhouses, 4 in public hospitals and 52 with friends and relatives. Pressure for more accommodation came in particular from 'the most populous (parishes) who contribute most to the County Rate.... they wish to remove patients from private asylums because of expense and from workhouses where, by law, they should not be.'

<sup>191</sup> The ten tenders submitted all exceeded the estimate. The least expensive was from a builder, called Kelk who offered to complete the work for £39,799. The County Surveyor then realised he had made a mistake (yet again) and, wisely, a second estimate was called for from a Thomas Hopper who provided a revised figure of £37,300. Mr Kelk suddenly felt able to make a reduced offer of £36,525 and secured the work.

seven years. The builder awarded the contract for the additional buildings, Mr Kelk, as good as his word, completed the work and was paid off on 20 August, 1847.

From mid-1848, admissions took place from private asylums, workhouses, other hospitals and from friends and relatives in greater numbers as a result of the increased accommodation available. Table 16 shows the sources of admissions from 1845 to 1851. The table shows clearly the increased rate of admissions from 1849. Prior to 1849, the admissions from Metropolitan private asylums and union and parish workhouses was modest but, with the enlargement of accommodation, the county asylum was able to respond to increasing pressure to admit more patients. Patients

Where from	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851
Bethlem	12	11	2	7	5	28	31
St Luke's	2	4	2	-	-	3	4
St Thomas's	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Guy's	-	-	-	1	1	1	1
Peckham Hse	8	1	-	7	49	5	3
Hoxton	-	4	-	-	17	3	2
Bethnal Green	1	1	4	-	4	1	1
Bow	-	2	2	5	25	2	-
Clapham Retreat	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Althorpe Hse	-	12	4	2	5	1	2
Camberwell	-	-	-	-	34	3	-
Hanwell	1	2	-	-	2	2	-
Colney Hatch	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Other Cty Asylums	-	1	1	-	2	2	3
Other Priv Asylums	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
Workhouses	46	12	28	15	94	58	95
Prisons	1	1	-	1	1	3	2
With friends	6	17	20	25	201	198	192

Table 16. Admissions to Surrey County Asylum from various sources for the years 1845 – 51. Bethlem had a policy of removing patients who did not yield to treatment after one year. Guy's patients were all incurable. An added reason for removing patients from Peckham and Althorpe was an outbreak of cholera in both establishments in 1848. Althorpe closed in 1851. Table 10 showed the parishes from which patients were admitted in 1841 – 45 numbered 20. Over the period of this table the number of parishes with patients admitted (and thus charged) increased substantially to over 60. The admissions from the care of friends and relatives increased markedly.

were transferred from private asylums and the workhouses and a large number of those who had been previously looked after by relatives and friends. These patients (or more accurately those who looked after them) would have been in receipt of out-relief and one possible explanation for this influx was the continued pressure by the



PLC and its successor, the Poor Law Board (PLB) to reduce out-relief payments.

The enlargement of the asylum and the increased number of patients resulted in an increase in staffing levels. One of the suggestions made by the CL in the exchanges with the Visiting Committee over their expansion plans was to engage a second resident medical officer. Charles Snape was appointed in November 1848 as Resident Medical Officer (Female Wards) and, at about the same time, so was an Assistant Matron. When Holland left shortly after a Resident Medical Officer, Hugh W Diamond, was appointed in 1849, Snape taking over the Male Wards and Diamond the Female Wards<sup>192</sup>. The following from the 9<sup>th</sup> AR of the Visiting Committee is a list of staff employed at the asylum at the end of 1850:

Medical and Administrative Staff

	£ pa
1 Visiting Physician	210
2 Resident M Os at £350	700
1 Chaplain	100
1 Clerk & Steward	330
1 Matron	120
1 Assistant Matron	60
2 Steward's Clerks (£70 and £60)	130

Male

4 Attendants at £35	140
1 Attendant at £34	34
1 Attendant and Shoemaker at £33	33
1 Attendant and Tailor at £32	32
4 Attendants at £32	128
3 Attendants at £31	93
1 Attendant at £27	27
4 Attendants at £26	104
1 Attendant at £25	25

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<sup>192</sup> Little is known about Snape's earlier background. He was married and had a young family and took an active part in the recreational activities of his patients. Diamond was the son of William Bachelor Diamond who was the proprietor of a private asylum, Weston House, St Pancras where Hugh Diamond first gained experience of working with the insane. He applied for the residency at the same time as Snape but was turned down because of some apparent (but non-existent) irregularity in his qualifications. Successful at the second attempt, he joined Snape and, though there were differences in their approach to treatment, both men worked well together. Diamond's wife died in 1850. Already by this time, he had a growing reputation as a photographer specialising in the physiognomy of the insane, and was the author of papers presented to learned societies on the subject. Both men were later to feature in a case of alleged manslaughter of a pauper inmate by Snape.

1 House Porter at £30	30
1 Baker at £1 1s per week	54 12
1 Engineer at £1 10s per week	78
1 Fireman & Smith at £1 4s pw	62 8
1 Labourer attending fires at 14s pw	36 8
1 Bailiff at £1 pw	52
1 Gardener at £1 pw	52
1 Under Gardener at 18s pw	46 16
1 Farm Labourer at 16s pw	42 16
1 Farm Boy at 9s pw	23 8
1 Carpenter at £1 7s pw	70 2
1 Bricklayer at £1 10s pw	78

Male Attendants (1<sup>st</sup> Class) started at £30 per year rising by £1 per year for 5 years

Male Attendants (2<sup>nd</sup> Class) started at £25 per year rising by £1 per year for 5 years

### Female

2 Attendants at £20	40
1 Attendant at £19	19
1 Attendant at £18	18
1 Attendant at £17	17
6 Attendants at £16	96
2 Attendants at £15	30
9 Attendants at £13	117
3 Attendants at £12	36
1 Cook at £25	25
1 Laundress at £20	20
2 Laundresses at £14	28
1 Laundress at £12	12
1 Kitchen Maid at £12	12
1 Kitchen Maid at £10	10
1 House Maid at £12	12
1 Dairy Maid at 12s pw	31 4
1 Lodge Keeper Front at 5s pw	13
1 Lodge Keeper Back at 5s pw	13

Female Attendants (1<sup>st</sup> Class) started at £15 per year rising £1 per year for 5 years

Female Attendants (2<sup>nd</sup> Class) started at £12 per year rising £1 per year for 5 years

The wages of attendants were low and only marginally above the general wage level of the unskilled labourer at the time (9 – 10s per week) though the employment was relatively secure and free of seasonal fluctuation. Though not disclosed, it was probable that some training was given, bearing in mind Morison's efforts to improve the standards of asylum staff. The wage differential between male and female staff may offend the modern eye used to greater attempts at sexual equality, but would

have been accepted as normal. These were the wage levels of a public institution and underline the difficulty experienced by private asylum proprietors in recruiting and retaining attendants. There are no comparable figures available for private asylum staff in the 1850s but some rough comparison can be made by figures given for 1864 (14 years later) for staff at Great Fosters, Lea Pale House and Church Street, Epsom. Taking an average figure for all three establishments so-called 'experienced' male attendants earned £25 per year and female attendants, surprisingly, with less differential, £20 per year<sup>193</sup>. In both types of establishment young and reasonably strong men and women would be sought for, no matter what high ideals of non-restraint may have expressed by the management, the physical restraint of the difficult patient was undoubtedly common. On the positive side the attendants were more than just ward keepers. Great store was set on the therapeutic value of keeping the patients occupied, apart from the economic and financial value of using them productively. As a result male and female attendants were expected to supervise, and teach those patients able and receptive enough to work in the gardens, laundries and workshops. Though not entirely self-sufficient, the grounds were used to grow vegetable crops, a small herd of cattle provided milk and dairy products, the laundries maintained a supply of clean clothing and bed linen and a sewing workshop produced basic items of clothing and bedding. Many of the patients from the Metropolitan parishes were inexperienced in, and totally unfit for, the more agricultural work.

Despite the enlargement of accommodation it was not long before pressure to admit more patients began to be exerted once more. The issues of the asylum's

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<sup>193</sup> Listed at the back of QS5/5/7 are some brief details of attendant staff employed at Great Fosters, Lea Pale House and Church Street, Epsom for 1864, by which time none had more than ten patients. Great Fosters (about to close after more than a century of operation) had male and female patients and employed 3 male attendants and 2 female attendants. Lea Pale House, also a mixed establishment, lists only 3 male attendants. Church Street had only female patients and employed 4 female attendants. None had paupers at the time.

return of some chronic patients to workhouses and the Union's persistence in sending patients who would least benefit from asylum treatment added disharmony to the relationships of the local authorities, the Visiting Committee and the Boards of Guardians. It is necessary to take into account the relationship between the localities and the centre, and between the two central authorities, the CL and PLB.

Before doing so it is necessary to take in a brief digression from the narrative of events and developments in Surrey's provision of mental health resources. As identified in Chapter 1, one of the key areas of concern to those in the localities charged with the provision of these resources were the relationships that developed between central and local authorities in the nineteenth century, particularly with the advent of the enactment of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 and the various acts governing the regulation of establishments accommodating the mentally ill. Relationships evolved between the newly created Unions and the PLC and its successors, and the justices licensing and inspecting private asylums and forming the management committees of public asylums with the CL. In addition to these relationships between central and local authorities relationships evolved between the central authorities and between the local authorities. Examination of this range of relationships will also facilitate the identification of broad areas of congruence, similarity or difference between the concepts and assertions of Bartlett's work on 'the Poor Law of Lunacy' and the circumstances which existed in Surrey. However, such examination brings the researcher face to face with the problem of the sheer volume of records available at national and local level. Appendix C and its accompanying Annexe has been prepared with the dual purpose, firstly, of listing the available sources of poor law and associated records for the county and, secondly, enabling future researchers to identify particular locations or periods for in-depth study. The

preparation of the appendix has also helped to identify the limitations in the depth of research possible in this study, mentioned at the outset of this chapter, and how it is proposed to reach some workable compromise to minimise these limitations.

As noted in Chapter 5, between the end of October, 1835 and mid-June 1836 nineteen Poor Law Unions were established in Metropolitan and rural Surrey<sup>194</sup>.

Farnham Poor Law Union was not established until 1846. All available Minute Books containing records of the inaugural meetings of the Boards of Guardians have been examined<sup>195</sup>. The purpose of examining all Minute Books was to check on the election of members, the attendance of *ex officio* members (active justices residing within the area of the Union) and to gain some idea of the range of business undertaken by the boards in the first two years or so of their existence. From this examination it is possible to make comment on the composition of the boards and the activities which occupied them in their early years.

In all cases the area of the Union and the constituent parishes was largely decided by an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner – Charles Mott did most of this

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<sup>194</sup> The list of Unions is given on p 88 of Ch 5. However, the parish of St Mary, Newington had a Board of Guardians established by a Local Act and, as such, was able to claim exemption from the requirements of the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834, until 1867, a qualification the Board took seriously, largely ignoring the existence of the PLC. St Mary, Newington PLU and St George the Martyr PLU joined with St Saviour's PLU in 1869. Farnham was not unionised until 1846.

<sup>195</sup> For the rural Poor Law Unions the following records (reference number in brackets) have been examined - Minute Books of the meetings of Chertsey Board of Guardians (BG1/11/1), Dorking Board of Guardians (BG2/11/1), Epsom Board of Guardians (BG3/11/1), Godstone Board of Guardians (BG5/11/1), Guildford Board of Guardians (BG6/11/1), Hambledon Board of Guardians (BG7/11/1), Reigate Board of Guardians (BG9/11/1), Richmond Board of Guardians (BG10/11/1). The Minute Book of the first meeting of the Kingston Board of Guardians has not survived. However, a booklet entitled *Kingston Union – The Beginning and the End, 1836 – 1930* published by a local printer, Philpott of Surbiton, in 1930 (BG8/81/1) provides limited information on the first years of the Union. The Minute Book for the Croydon Board of Guardians has not been examined. For the Surrey Metropolitan Unions the following records (reference number in brackets) have been examined – Minute Books of the meetings of Bermondsey, St Mary Magdalen (BBG001), Rotherhithe Board of Guardians (BG020), St Olave's Board of Guardians (BBG022), Camberwell Board of Guardians (CaBG001), Lambeth Board of Guardians (LaBG1), St George the Martyr Board of Guardians (SoBG1 – this Minute Book [and SoBG3] are unfit for viewing and special dispensation is required to view it under the supervision of London Metropolitan Archives staff), St Saviour's Board of Guardians (SoBG39/1), Wandsworth & Clapham Board of Guardians (WaBG1). The Minute Books of meetings of the St Mary's, Newington Board of Guardians from 1836 – 1867 are to be found in the parish records P92/MRY.

work though he was helped in one or two rural areas by Col Charles A A'Court.

Meetings of rate-payers were held prior to the establishment of the Unions at which its constituent parishes were agreed and its role and tasks explained. The flavour of three of these preliminary meetings has been described in Chapter 5. Mott, using a mixture of persuasion, cajoling, shaming and, on occasions, threatening, succeeded in overseeing the election of members of the Boards of Guardians and arranging their first meeting (at which his presence is recorded for most, but not all meetings). The works of Brundage and Dunkley have been briefly referred to in Chapter 1 (p 21).

Brundage maintains that the position of the justices was strengthened by the creation of Poor Law Unions, two reasons for which were their ability as landowners to determine the size and shape of Unions, and their influence on the electoral system for membership of the Boards of Guardians. Dunkley challenges this view on the grounds that Brundage's assertion was based largely on research conducted in the County of Northamptonshire, a county with a significant number of landowners who were peers of the realm or those with sizeable commercial undertakings. In the case of Surrey, a contrast from Northamptonshire, Mott was never faced with any attempt by the justices to determine the size and shape of Union proposed. It is possible, though it cannot be shown, the plural system of election may have been abused.

Some of the Surrey justices were landowners entitled to a multi-vote and undoubtedly, particularly in the rural areas, candidates for election were in the employ of landowning justices. But if there was corruption it is not immediately obvious. It is possible, nonetheless, to make some comment on the way the Boards of Guardians conducted their affairs.

There were differences between the Metropolitan and rural Boards; the following general comments serve to illustrate these differences. For Metropolitan

Boards the number of *ex officio* members was a small proportion of the total membership. The reason for this may be simply that few Metropolitan justices actually resided in the parishes in which they were active. The importance of the residency qualification can be illustrated by the example of the Board of Guardians of St Olave's Poor Law Union<sup>196</sup>. There may, however, be deeper implications. The Webbs commented at length on the difficulty experienced in appointing magistrates in the Metropolis and boroughs, which led to appointment of men of lower social orders than those earlier appointed county magistrates<sup>197</sup>, a view presented more recently by Zangerl<sup>198</sup>. Besides a small number designated 'esquire' and others from the professional classes such as doctors, solicitors and 'clerks in holy orders' the elected members were dominated by shopkeepers and tradesmen. The Boards quickly

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<sup>196</sup> BBG022 – St Olave's Board of Guardians Minute Book. At the first meeting of the Board on 18 Feb 1836, at which Mott was in attendance, elected members from the three constituent parishes, St Olave's, St John's Horsleydown and St Thomas's were present. Only one *ex officio* member was listed as present (John Ledger of St Thomas's). However, a Mr Farncombe attended, claiming his right to do so as a magistrate resident in one of the parishes, saying that he intended to attend future meetings and vote on issues. Mott appeared to have got wind of what was to come and came armed with advice of the PLC which stated that an *ex officio* member was required to either reside in the parish himself or have servants ready to attend him so resident. Farncombe was not put off and remained at the meeting and those which immediately followed, an early one of which dealt with the selection of the Clerk to the Board, the Relieving Officer and the Medical Officer. For the latter two, Farncombe cast the vital vote, despite his doubtful status, and approval was sought from the PLC for the appointment of the Officers. By this time other members of the Board are beginning to find Farncombe's presence objectionable and challenged the validity of the appointments. The PLC offered no further advice, though it is apparent that Mott kept them informed of events. Farncombe was later joined by another magistrate, Mr Silva, who claimed similar rights to membership. The Board decided to take counsel's advice but became worried about spending Union funds on legal fees. Eventually, the Clerk was charged with getting the two magistrates to give details of their circumstances and put their case for membership. Both men refused, though Farncombe did speak to the Clerk. Farncombe and Silva were wharfingers with warehouses and counting houses sited in the parish to which they both attended regularly to conduct their business, but do not stay in the premises overnight (Farncombe further alleged that he was seeking a property in which to live). The Clerk, with admirable initiative, sought the legal advice (presumably free) from a Sir Thomas Follett who said that neither man qualified for membership and that at least two of the appointments with which Farncombe was involved were invalid. The matter was put to the Board but, somewhat mysteriously, unreported events took place outside the Board to resolve the issue and the appointments were ratified by the PLC. Neither man attended again. The whole episode occupied a great deal of Board time.

<sup>197</sup> S & B Webb, *English Local Government: The Parish and the County*, Vol 1, (Frank Cass, London, Reprinted Ed, 1963), Book II, Ch II, pp 319 - 359

<sup>198</sup> C H G Zangerl, 'The Social Composition of the County Magistracy in England and Wales, 1831 – 1887', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol 11, No 1 (Nov 1971), pp 113 – 125. Making use of a number of 'Returns of British Justices' published as Parliamentary Papers between 1831 and 1887 Zangerl points out the increasing number of 'middle-class' magistrates taking their place on the Bench of the county magistracy in the mid to late nineteenth-century.

established various sub-committees dealing with particular parishes or, more commonly, by function – e.g., finance, allowances and wages, workhouses. The range and quality of the records maintained reflect favourably the calibre of the Clerks appointed to serve the Boards. Several have both registers and copies of correspondence sent and received from the PLC,PLB,LGB and other government departments.

By contrast there was a high turn-out of *ex officio* members at each of the rural Board inaugural meetings though the attendance of *ex officio* members at both rural and Metropolitan Boards tended to fall off with time. Elected members included Surrey's limited number of nobility, 'esquires' and clerics but otherwise were almost wholly farmers. Some parishes failed to elect members and were rapidly reminded of their obligation to do so. Generally, the whole Board dealt with all its business, though one or two did set up *ad hoc* committees to deal with specific issues such as the refurbishing or enlargement of workhouse facilities. The range and quantity of records maintained was considerably less than their urban counterparts, and only two have some limited records of correspondence with central authorities.

One of the first tasks undertaken by the boards was the selection of a Chairman and Vice-Chairman. No fixed pattern of choice emerges – some boards appointed both offices from among the *ex officio* members, others chose to select an *ex officio* member as Chairman and an elected member as Vice-Chairman or *vice versa*. Initially, no boards chose to have both offices occupied by elected members, but did so later. Any elected member to hold office came from among such members who were among the higher social orders and holders of such offices tended to remain in them through two or more elections. Both types of board quickly sought to appoint Clerks, Relieving Officer(s), Medical Officer(s) and, where required, a Workhouse



Master and Matron (frequently man and wife), each appointment and salary needing to be approved by the PLC<sup>199</sup>. Later appointments included a school teacher and medical assistants for the workhouses. The Unions were divided into Relieving Districts and Medical Districts (the two did not often coincide), with the rural Boards, because of comparatively large area tending to have more districts of both types. They both set about rationalising their workhouse accommodation with the rural Boards usually deciding to enlarge and refurbish one existing property, the Metropolitan Boards, forced by sheer numbers, to retain more than one workhouse. New buildings, in general, were a later venture. Again, the Boards' decisions had to be ratified by the PLC.

There is one other general point which may seem trivial but is important. In the main, the minute books record the decisions of the Boards, indeed, as they were hand-written their brevity was understandable. Generally, copies of single documents were done by hand with letters either copied into a letter book or a letter copying book. If copies of documents were required for wider circulation they were produced by a printer. As a result, only rarely is there any record of the debate which took place before arriving at the decision, though occasionally, if the matter went to a vote, the number of votes cast is recorded without attribution.

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<sup>199</sup> LaBG1 – At the first meeting of the Board on 12 Jan, 1836, members decided to appoint a Clerk sufficiently well qualified to undertake the total range of its business and pay him £300 pa to do so (a very high salary for such office at the time). The Board eventually appointed a Clerk with a salary of £400 pa. At the first meeting of Chertsey Board of Guardians (BG1/11/1) they foresightedly identified that they had a considerable amount of work to do in the future and reflected their concern to the PLC. The PLC wrote to the Board on 26 June, 1836 saying that detailed business of the Union 'will be handed over to the general superintendence and control of the paid officers'. It must be a matter of doubt if such a policy was ever seriously contemplated least of all accepted by the Boards. The paid officers were never more than servants of the Boards employing them. However, the Boards were prepared to protect the interests of such officers and resisted attempts by the PLC to reduce their salaries. The Boards also protected the security of tenure of appointment. The Godstone Board of Guardians resisted attempts on two occasions when complaints were made, first by Mott (MH12/12315/14057a/1 Dec 1843) and later by Col Piggott (MH12/12315/23331/26 Aug 1846), about late or non-receipt of returns from the Godstone Clerk. The PLC tried to have the Clerk dismissed, but the Board refused to do so. The Clerk later resigned before he could be dismissed for a repeated offence in 1852!

The examination of all the Minute Books for the opening meetings of the Boards underlined the enormous task of complete research described above. Research into the relationship between central and local authorities will, for the remainder of the study, be confined to two Metropolitan Boards and two rural Boards. Further, the research will be limited to specific years rather than the continuous period 1834 – 1890. The Boards selected will, it is hoped, provide sufficient evidence of general application, though as Dunkley observes on the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834:

‘The records of individual poor law unions, however, reveal so many variations in administrative practices as to render invalid nearly all generalizations regarding the operation of the Act.’<sup>200</sup>

The boards selected are Lambeth (with a large population, a single parish Poor Law Union); St Saviour’s (though initially a Poor Law Union in its own right, it was joined by the Unions of St George the Martyr and St Mary Newington in 1869); Chertsey (a rural area in the north-west of the county); Godstone (a rural area in the south-east of the county).

The digressive paragraphs above have focused attention on the formation of the Unions, the similarities and differences between the Metropolitan and rural Boards, the problems of adequate research and the limitations of available records. Before returning to the narrative of events between 1845 – 1860 it is apposite to comment on what can be identified about the relationship between the local authorities involved in the administration of the care and treatment of insanity in this period – the Committee of Visitors of Surrey justices and the Boards of Guardians.

Valuable in this context has been the work of Bartlett whose research focuses on ‘how pauper lunacy was administered and how lunacy fits into the broader

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<sup>200</sup> P Dunkley, ‘The “Hungry Forties” and the New Poor Law: A Case Study’, *Historical Journal*, Vol XVII, No 2 (1974), p 329. Dunkley’s case study is concerned with the county of Durham which had few similarities with Surrey.

scheme of nineteenth-century Poor Law.’<sup>201</sup> Bartlett argues that asylums and the remainder of the Poor Law were not two systems operating in parallel but parts of the same system, emphasising the role of the Boards and officers of the Unions.<sup>202</sup>

Research related to this area has also been conducted by Smith and Forsythe, Melling and Adair<sup>203</sup>. Research of a Metropolitan area has been conducted by Murphy<sup>204</sup> and is of particular relevance to the study of Surrey. As Murphy observes on urban areas of study:

‘a world away from Melling’s leafy Devon and the Middle England where Bartlett’s, Smith’s and Wright are set.’<sup>205</sup>

However, the role of the visiting committees of the county asylums (since in the course of time there was more than one such committee) also needs to be taken into account in the systems and particularly the relationship between such committees and the Unions established in urban and rural settings.

The activities of the succession of committees set up by the Court of Quarter Sessions prior to and during the building of the county asylum have been described in Chapters 4 and 5. With the opening of the asylum these committees evolved into The Committee of Visitors of the Surrey Lunatic Asylum but it remained a committee of the Court reporting regularly to it including making an annual report. Minutes of its meetings have not survived, if indeed they were ever kept, and for a record of its activities reliance has to be placed on the entries in the Order Books of the Quarter

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<sup>201</sup> P Bartlett, *op cit*, Introduction, p 2

<sup>202</sup> *ibid*, p 47. In pp 47 – 51 goes on to discuss the role of the Boards and officers of the Union to support the argument.

<sup>203</sup> L. D Smith, *Cure, Comfort and Safe Custody*, (Leicester University Press, 1999), and ‘The county asylum in the mixed economy of care, 1808 – 1845’, eds J Melling and B Forsythe, *Insanity, Institutions and Society, 1800 – 1914*, (Routledge, London, 1999); B Forsythe, J Melling & R Adair, ‘The New Poor Law and the County Pauper Lunatic Asylum – The Devon Experience 1834 – 1884’, *Social History of Medicine*, Vol 9, No 3, (1996), pp 335 - 355

<sup>204</sup> E Murphy, ‘The New Poor Law Guardians and the Administration of Insanity in East London, 1834 – 1844’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, Vol 77, No 1, (2003), pp 45 - 74

<sup>205</sup> E Murphy, *ibid*, p 47

Sessions. Though medical matters were left largely to the medical staff and day to day administrative matters to the Clerk & Steward, the committee was effectively the management committee of the asylum, controlling staffing and equipment matters and, above all, finance and the provision of accommodation. It was to this committee that the reports on standards of operation of asylums were addressed by visiting commissioners to effect improvements.

Examination of the membership of the Committee of Visitors and the Boards of Guardians shows the differences in their social status depicted in Table 17.

Comm of V Name	Chertsey B of G Name	Godstone B of G Name	Lambeth B of G Name	St Saviour's B of G Name
Adams	Best ( <i>e o</i> )	Turner ( <i>e o</i> )	Shadbolt ( <i>e o</i> )	Farmer ( <i>e o</i> )
Baldwin	Dyer ( <i>e o</i> )	Kenrick (Cl, <i>e o</i> )	Prodger (Cl, <i>e o</i> )	Hawes ( <i>e o</i> )
Barclay	Currey (Bt, <i>e o</i> )	Wilbank ( <i>e o</i> )	Barnard ( <i>e o</i> )	Davis
Best	Fletcher (Bt, <i>e o</i> )	McMayne ( <i>e o</i> )	Rosseter	Westerton
Briscoe (MP)	Hall ( <i>e o</i> )	McNevan ( <i>e o</i> )	Thorowgood	Sells
Denison (MP)	Hatch (Cl, <i>e o</i> )	Stenning	Redhead	Blackham
Freshfield (MP)	Owen (Bt, <i>e o</i> )	Kitsey	Thomas	Partridge
Gosse	Snell (Cl, <i>e o</i> )	Shere (Cl)	Senior	Cooper
Goulburn (MP)	Sparkes ( <i>e o</i> )	Crowhurst	Hodgson	Mayhew
Hutton	Thornton (MP, <i>e o</i> )	Turton	Goodlake	Ash
Jeffery	Wightwick ( <i>e o</i> )	Strong	Grissell	Bowden
Johnson	Briscoe (MP, <i>e o</i> )	Pearson	Davidge	Davies
Kemble (MP)	Egerton (Pr, <i>e o</i> )	Mills	Evans	Webb
Nottidge	Fredrick (Bt, <i>e o</i> )	Brown	Rodgers	White
Palmer	Locke King ( <i>e o</i> )	Farleigh (Esq)	Wheatley	Bowditch
Penrhyn	Kynaston	Leveson Gower (Esq)	Keen	Pellat
Puckle	Palmer	Atkins	Edwards	Parr
Scard	Lucas	Dartnall	Nixon	Vick
Shadbolt	Colebrook		Braby	
Turner	Loveland			
Westcar	Hudson			
Wilson	Collyer			
	Steadman			
	Drewitt			
	Stilwell			
	North (Cl)			

Table 17. Status of members of the Committee of Visitors of the Surrey County Asylum (1841) and Boards of Guardians of Chertsey, Godstone, Lambeth and St Saviour's Poor Law Unions (c 1836). By definition the members of the Committee of Visitors were all justices, but five were also MPs. The Boards show the *ex officio* members (*e o*); all other members were elected, predominantly shopkeepers, tradesmen or farmers. Other social ranks are Baronets (Bt), Clerics (Cl) and Esquires (Esq). Sources: Quarter Sessions Order Books, QS2/1/62; Board of Guardians Minute Books, BG1/11/1, BG5/11/1, LaBG1, SoBG39/1.

Most of members of the Committee of Visitors had been members of Quarter Session

committees involved in investigations of the state of the county's pauper lunatics and the building of the Asylum. However, it seems likely that one or two individuals were invited to become members on the grounds of their known or perceived political influence. Those who were active justices in the county, if not actually sympathetic towards the proper care and treatment of lunatics, were well versed in the problems of provision of their accommodation. As justices they remained the determiners of the County Rate, a principal source of financing county asylums<sup>206</sup>. Several were known Evangelicals or had evangelical leanings. In sum, the Committee of Visitors was made up of members more likely to have been chosen for their status in the county society only some of whom were knowledgeable about, and committed to, improving the care and treatment of the insane.

Some of the differences between the urban and rural Boards of Guardians have been identified. Though there was some cross-connection between the Committee of Visitors as a result of dual membership of both committee and board (e.g., George Best, Chertsey Board of Guardians, William Shadbolt, Lambeth Board of Guardians), *ex officio* members of boards in Surrey, in common with the experience of many counties, soon ceased to be regular attenders at Board meetings. Such meetings were demanding of time, taking place weekly initially, but then fortnightly in summer and weekly in winter months. A large proportion of the time devoted to routine matters taken up by the Boards was discussion and decision on relief awarded to, or withheld from, individual paupers, decisions which justices had been accustomed to making on their own prior to the enactment of new poor law. Elected members were anxious to keep rates as low as possible. In some Unions, particularly those in rural locations, they were troubled by the low level of rates

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<sup>206</sup> After the Reform Act, 1832 and the Municipal Corporations Act, 1835, there were attempts made throughout the mid-nineteenth century to reform the government of counties with particular regard to determining the county rates by an elective body and thus, further reducing the powers of the justices.

determined by the small, thinly populated parishes and their late payment and the application of settlement laws at a time of increased growth and movement of the population. This problem of the parish remaining the determining unit of financial resource and the fact that such a unit of resource was smaller than the unit determining expenditure was to remain until the 1860s when a succession of legislative measures placed the Unions in financial control of their resources<sup>207</sup>.

Preceding paragraphs have identified some of the differences between and operating difficulties of the local authorities. Bartlett's assertion of the unity of the operation of lunacy and poor law administration needs, therefore, some qualification. He supports his assertion by stating that the laws were administered by the same people. Clearly, that is true up to a point, but it needs to be emphasised that there were real differences in the roles of local committees as outlined above. In sum, it would appear that the asylum committees were concerned with the treatment and care of lunatics, the majority of whom were paupers, whilst the boards were concerned with treatment and care of paupers, a minority of whom were lunatics. The relationship between the asylum committee(s) and the boards from the outset was not and never became close. There must have been some informal contact between the two local authorities either as a result of dual membership of committee and board, or because of the role of magistrates, some of whom were *ex officio* board members, in the process of certification of insane paupers but it is impossible to identify. Formal contact was maintained by correspondence. The Clerk to the Committee of Visitors wrote to the Chairmen but more often to the Clerks of the Boards of Guardians; Clerks of the Board of Guardians wrote initially to the Clerk of the Peace of the Court

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<sup>207</sup> The Irremovable Poor Act, 1861 made significant changes to earlier law on settlement and thus savings on poor relief; The Unions Assessment Committee Act, 1862 required the Unions to set in place new rate valuations and thus more uniform standards; finally the Union Chargeability Act, 1865 transferred the cost of poor relief from the parish to the Union.

of Quarter Sessions and only much later to the Clerks of the Committee of Visitors. The tone of the correspondence was almost without exception one of complaint. The asylum authority complained about the quality of the patients being sent in by the Unions – too late in diagnosis of illness, too old, or too many; the Boards complained about the shortage of available accommodation, the high cost, the low cure rate achieved.

In a number of preceding paragraphs the sources of information available to establish the relationship between the national and local authorities involved in the provision of resources for the care and treatment of the insane, and some of the characteristics of local authorities in particular, have been identified. Returning to the narrative of events, the issue which begins to concern both national and local authorities was the relentless increase in the number of those deemed to be insane.

The increase in the number of insane was of understandable concern to the CL and began to be regularly included its annual reports. Table 18 compares total population in England and Wales with the number of reported lunatics as a rate per 10,000 for selected years from 1844 – 1890 (years 1865 – 1890 are referred to in a later chapter). The ‘alleged increase in insanity’ (for almost invariably, the qualifying

Year	Population	Nos of Insane	Rate/10K	Source
1844	16745016	20893	12.7	MCL Report
1852	18209233	26352	14.5	7 <sup>th</sup> AR of CL
1855	18786914	30993	16.5	9 <sup>th</sup> AR of CL
1858	19228768	35347	18.4	12 <sup>th</sup> AR of CL
1859	19656701	36762	18.6	23 <sup>rd</sup> AR of CL
1860	19902713	38055	19.1	23 <sup>rd</sup> AR of CL
1865	20990946	45950	21.8	23 <sup>rd</sup> AR of CL
1870	22090163	54713	24.7	26 <sup>th</sup> AR of CL
1875	23944459	63793	26.6	30 <sup>th</sup> AR of CL
1880	25480162	71191	27.9	34 <sup>th</sup> AR of CL
1885	27499041	79704	29.0	40 <sup>th</sup> AR of CL
1890	29407649	86067	29.26	44 <sup>th</sup> AR of CL

Table 18. Population of England & Wales, Numbers of Insane, Rate per 10,000 of population for selected years from 1844 to 1890.

adjective preceded, and still largely precedes, the subject phrase, underlining the uncertainty about whether there was an increase or not) was the subject of

considerable argument and debate throughout the nineteenth<sup>208</sup> and early twentieth-centuries<sup>209</sup>. Hare presents the cases put by those who claimed the increase was more apparent than real (the nosocomialists) and those who claimed an increasing incidence of insanity. Hare concludes that firstly the arguments of the nosocomialists failed to recognise that the increase in the number of insane represented an increase in the prevalence rate, which they had represented by considering only the effect of previously unrecognised insanity, the accumulation of patients and the numbers of private patients; secondly, more accurate collection and consideration of admissions data would have led to the conclusion that between 1859 and 1900 there was a considerable increase in the number of admissions of new patients and, therefore, a considerable increase in the incidence of insanity. Finally, Hare's address concludes (which may have been its real purpose) with a hypothesis that one of the reasons for the increase in insanity was the increase in the incidence of schizophrenia caused by the effect of a specific environmental factor and that, by analogy, the incidence had the characteristics of an epidemic with a rapid increase and a gradual decline (as suggested by Robertson's Maudsley Lecture of 1926). Hare's address earned the sceptical criticism of Scull embodied in a lengthy alternative appraisal<sup>210</sup>. Scull, among other assertions, makes the startling one that the number of those insane expanded to fill the available accommodation.

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<sup>208</sup> R Porter, *op cit*, *Mind-forg'd Manacles*, p 161. As part of Porter's answer to the question 'Was madness increasing?' he quotes Morison's view contained in his *Outlines* in 1824 that 'insanity increases with civilization'.

<sup>209</sup> E Hare, in the 56<sup>th</sup> Maudsley Lecture to the Royal College of Psychiatrists, 19 November, 1982 (reproduced in *British Journal of Psychiatry*, Vol 142, (1983), pp 439 – 455) maintains that interest declined after the Maudsley Lecture of 1926, when George Robertson, presenting the statistics of insanity for Scotland from 1910 – 1924, was able to show that a decrease in the rate of insanity took place between those years. Hare goes on to claim that no further discussion on the topic took place for the next 50 years and that the question of whether or not there was an increase remained unanswered. More recent historical writing (of which Hare's paper forms part) has returned to the issue.

<sup>210</sup> A Scull, *op cit*, *The Most Solitary of Afflictions*, Ch 7, pp 334 – 374, a useful account and argument, coloured by Scull's views on lunacy reform, of the increase in insanity.



These two examples of the debate which has taken place on the alleged increase in insanity in the nineteenth-century have, of course, been written with the benefit of hindsight. It is appropriate to consider the issue from the point of view of those trying to make provision for the care and treatment of the insane at the time, particularly those at the local level. It must be a matter of doubt if the members of the Committee of Visitors or the Boards of Guardians saw their attempts to accommodate the insane as one of 'the effects of a mature capitalist market economy and the associated ever more thoroughgoing commercialization of existence'<sup>211</sup>. They were, doubtless, aware of the increasing numbers of insane, they might even have been aware that such numbers exceeded the population growth (as Table 18 shows from 1844 – 1860 the population increased by about 20%, numbers of insane almost doubled). They were certainly aware that there were more pauper than private lunatics, but were less concerned about the latter. As authorities in Surrey, they certainly never enjoyed the situation of accommodation exceeding the numbers of those insane and thus having to find insane patients to fill available accommodation<sup>212</sup>.

The enlarged accommodation of the county asylum in the late 1840s was rapidly filled and other problems arose. In 1850 one corner of the building began to settle out of the vertical and corrective action to shore it up permanently was taken. The water supply began to prove inadequate and an expert, a Mr Simpson, was called

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<sup>211</sup> A Scull, *op cit*, p 29.

<sup>212</sup> There are repeated expressions of concern from Boards of Guardians (particularly from Metropolitan Unions) to the Committee of Visitors about the need for accommodation in the county asylum. One well-argued example is from Lambeth in a letter to the Clerk of the Peace dated 29 June, 1847. The Board states that of a recent intake of 64 patients from private asylums only 4 were from Lambeth representing a sixteenth of the intake from a parish (Lambeth was a single parish Union) having a fifth of the total population of Surrey whilst a Union with a total population of 39,853 (as compared with Lambeth 115,893) had 12 patients transferred. The Board ask if the Court considered the intakes fair and equitable. (LaBG136/2 – Register of Letters). Other counties may have had spare capacity in their asylums. In LaBG14 – Minutes of Guardians Meetings an entry dated 15 December, 1869 records an offer from Derby County Asylum to provide accommodation for 13/- per week – not taken up.

in to propose a solution. He found that the existing pump was not capable of meeting increased demand as a result of higher patient numbers. Various alternatives were considered, collection from other springs on site (insufficient), supply augmented by water from the new gaol, Wandsworth Prison (impractical), sinking another well (expensive and for the time being shelved), purchase of an additional pump (relatively modest cost, so approved), temporary supply from Wandsworth Waterworks Co., (also agreed)<sup>213</sup>. The new pump and the enforced subsequent sinking of a new well failed to solve the problem and a permanent contract with the water company for a 40,000 gallon supply (£180 pa) was drawn up and pipelines laid to company mains (£250). It was an example of the failure of the almost obsessive desire for self-sufficiency. These new arrangements were to prove inadequate and by 1857 a new well was sunk and additional pumps installed at a cost £2000 authorised by the Court. By 1860, a further problem arose when perforations were found in the bore pipe requiring its replacement.

The annual reports in the 1850s contain repeated complaints from the asylum medical staff about the number of patients admitted 'in the last stages of infirmity' and their assertion that many of them could be cared for in 'a well regulated Union infirmary'. The Visiting Committee sent out a circular letter to 'Boards of Guardians, Union Medical Officers, Magistrates and Officiating Clergymen signing Orders for Reception' pleading for their care before seeking to admit patients. It had no effect and the asylum staff decided to try an experiment (formally approved by the Court and permitted by legislation in 1853<sup>214</sup>) by returning chronic patients to their respective workhouses. It was a serious attempt to both reduce the numbers

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<sup>213</sup> QS5/6/18 – Ninth Annual Report of Committee of Visitors of the County Lunatic Asylum for the year ending 31 December, 1850.

<sup>214</sup> 16 & 17 Vict, c 70 – Lunacy Regulation Act, 1853 concerned the regulation of Chancery Lunatics; 16 & 17 Vict, c 96 – Lunatics Care & Treatment Amendment Act, 1853 tightened further the

accommodated in the asylum and to improve the quality of care given to those deemed curable. Tables 19a and 19b show the numbers of patients discharged

Year	Male	Female
1848	2	1
1849	16	20
1850	22	11
1851	21	29
1852	26	29
1852	28	38

Table 19a – Numbers of patients returned to Union workhouses.

Readmitted	Male	Female
Once	74	84
Twice	20	14
Three times	5	10
Four times	2	1

Table 19b – Frequency of readmission of workhouse inmates to asylum.  
Source of Tables 19a and 19b – Twelfth Annual Report of the Committee of Visitors for the year ending 31 December, 1853.

to workhouses and the frequency of their readmission to the asylum thereafter. As can be deduced, the experiment was a failure and evoked the following comment from Diamond, Medical Officer of the Female Wards:

‘....the extremely trivial circumstances which induce the workhouse authorities to return patients here. It frequently happens that an inmate who is a little troublesome in the workhouse is threatened to be sent back to the asylum. This not only irritates the person, but they, knowing themselves to be more comfortable here than in the Union house, by their own conduct favour their removal. They are often returned to us as sane in their minds as the time of their discharge.’

As with the general problem of the increase in the numbers of insane and the shortage of accommodation, this particular operation never appears to have been discussed by the local authorities involved to see if some co-ordinated response could be evolved which would have gone some way to satisfy both their needs and they merely resorted to a waspish exchange of letters about the circumstances they were suffering. The

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certification and admission to care of lunatics; 16 & 17 Vict, c 97 – Lunatic Asylums Amendment Act 1853 tightened the regulations governing the conduct of asylums.

same lack of contact characterised relationships between national and local authorities. By this time the asylum was regularly inspected by the CL though workhouses were inspected rather less frequently. The inspecting commissioners were diligent and thorough, leaving a record of their visit in the Visitors' Book of the asylum. The inspection was followed up by a letter from the CL to the Court and eventually delivered to the Visiting Committee. An example is provided in what took place after such an inspection in December 1857<sup>215</sup>. It is an example of an obdurate local authority found wanting which responded to criticism by defending its patch and a national authority which did not press home its attack. Above all, nothing happened to bring a meeting of minds.

Meanwhile, in 1852, with more accommodation required the Committee of Visitors decided to build two more dormitories (for 40 male and 32 female patients) at a cost of £2,000. The need to gain approval of the Home Secretary was avoided by raising the necessary money by selling off the prisons in Brixton, Guildford and Kingston<sup>216</sup>. The building work was completed in 1854 but was only a short term palliative and for the second half of the 1850s there were several occasions variously

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<sup>215</sup> Four Commissioners signed a report after their inspection containing a number of critical comments. The report was followed by a letter from the CL dated 4 December, 1857 which added that the Commission had become aware (a Surrey parish complained direct to the CL) that a large number of Surrey lunatics were housed in Peckham House, Camberwell House and Hoxton and asking that when planned alterations were complete lunatics should be withdrawn from private asylums and admitted to the county asylum. Another seven days elapsed and a second letter from CL dated 11 December arrived asking for a reply to its first letter and commenting further on the high number of male deaths which had occurred (an earlier acrimonious exchange on a high suicide rate had evoked the memorable response from the Committee of Visitors – 'it is possible that some morbid atmospheric influence has existed peculiarly depressing the nervous system.') and sought comment from Resident Superintendent of the Ward. The letter ended, however, with a conciliatory offer for the Commissioners to meet the Committee. The Committee met on 26 December to consider the report and the letters. Clearly stung by their content, a response dated 11 January, 1858 was composed rebutting point by point the critical comment and asserting that the male death rate was in fact going down and that, in any case, the majority of the patients came from Metropolitan parishes with a life expectancy shorter than rural parish members. The Committee, however, did offer to meet the Commissioners. It was now the CL's turn to pretend to be offended and in its final shot it said it wished to remind the justices that 'none of their comments were made without due consideration, nor until their desirability and efficacy had been tried and tested in other establishments.' As on other occasions, nothing positive emerged from this exchange.

<sup>216</sup> QS5/6/20 – Eleventh Annual Report of the Committee of Visitors for the year ending 31 December, 1852

recorded with anger, concern or dismay by the Boards of Guardians<sup>217</sup>. Furthermore, the relationship between the Committee of Visitors and the CL had begun to deteriorate and, at a time when a more positive attitude on the part of both authorities might have helped to mitigate the problem of shortage in accommodation, were not helped by another event which was to have widespread repercussions.

On 9 April, 1856, a 65-year old pauper patient in the county asylum, Daniel Dolley, died suddenly. It would have been an unremarkable event, but the circumstances of his death that subsequently emerged as a result of inquiries and criminal proceedings<sup>218</sup> directly affected the relationship between the CL and the

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<sup>217</sup> LaBG136/3 – Register of Letters. Letter from Lambeth Board of Guardians to Committee of Visitors dated 13 March, 1855, complaining of shortage of accommodation; Letter from Lambeth Board of Guardians dated 11 July, 1855, to CL on shortage of accommodation for dangerous lunatics.

<sup>218</sup> ‘Surrey Lunatic Asylum – Copies of Correspondence between the Secretary of State for the Home Department, the Commissioners in Lunacy, and the Committee of Visitors of the Surrey Lunatic Asylum, respecting the Case of Mr Charles Snape, Medical Superintendent of the said Asylum’, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 3 March, 1857.’ This paper provides copies of the exchange of correspondence between the named department and authorities, and individuals, together with transcripts of evidence taken at the various inquiries and court proceedings. The facts are summarised as follows.

On the morning of 9 April, 1856, Dolley was involved in disturbance in a male ward, the fact of which was reported to Snape, making his customary rounds of the wards. Snape ordered Dolley to accompany him to the shower and when it became obvious to Dolley what was to follow, he struck Snape on the head. Snape ordered the attendants to put Dolley in the shower, telling the attendants to keep him therein for half an hour after which he was to be given a good dose of an emetic which contained tartarised antimony. Before leaving the ward Snape ordered the attendants to look in at Dolley in the course of the shower and this the attendants did four or five times. After 28 minutes Dolley was assisted from the shower, taken to a ward where he was dried and dressed before four tablespoons of the emetic mixture were administered. Ten to fifteen minutes later he died. A *post mortem* examination was conducted by Mr Warren Diamond, son of Dr Hugh Diamond who was present together with Mr Snape on 12 March. On examination of the heart Mr Snape was said to have found evidence of disease but this was not concurred by the other doctors. Snape’s view prevailed and, at the inquest held on the same day, death was attributed to a diseased heart, the findings formally reported by Snape to the CL on 14 April. Dr Diamond’s doubts about the condition of the heart, however, apparently persisted and in the evening of the 12 April he asked his son to remove the heart from the body, which was done. Dr Diamond later showed the heart to Messrs Hancock and Paget, surgeons at Charing Cross and St Bartholomew’s Hospitals respectively. Neither surgeons could find any significant sign of disease. Dr Diamond kept the heart in his possession until 19 April when because of its unsavoury condition, he threw it on the fire burning in his house.

Prior to these events, however, on 12 April a letter, dated 11 April, was received at the CL, not attributed by name but purporting to come from attendants at the asylum. The letter suggested the inquest had not disclosed all the material facts surrounding the death of Dolley. On receipt of the letter the Commissioners decided to act in accordance with s 100 of the Lunatics Act, 1845, allowing them to hold inquiries. An inquiry was mounted on 17 April to which Dr Diamond was summoned, together with the attendants present in the ward at the time of the death, but not Mr Snape. Notes of the evidence taken were forwarded by the Commissioners to the Committee of Visitors on 19 April and a reply from that committee, dated 23 April, recorded its regret at the way such evidence had been

Committee of Visitors and, indirectly, the treatment of the insane. The circumstances were relayed to the Home Secretary, became the topic for comment in the press and the subject of debate conducted through the pages of the medical professional

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obtained, that copies of the transcripts had been given to Snape and that for the time being the committee would take no further action. The CL convened a further enquiry which took place on 30 April, attended by Messrs Hancock and Paget. Both confirmed the conclusions they had arrived at on examination of the heart, and Hancock went further in asserting that the giving of a prolonged shower and the administration of such a large dose of emetic was extremely dangerous. The outcomes of both inquiries were put before legal advisors whose recommendation on 7 May was that a charge of manslaughter should be laid upon Snape. On 13 May the Commissioners ordered an examination of the bath to be conducted by two civil engineers, the results of which indicated that Dolley had subjected to immersion of 618 gallons of water and that such a volume falling into the space of the shower box was likely to result in a reduced supply of air. Subsequent to this examination and before Snape's trial, the bath was subject to further examination and/or experimentation by Mr Hancock, Dr J Elliotson and Dr H Bence Jones. Elliotson subjected himself to similar immersion experienced by Dolley for 8 mins 40 seconds and found that it was not refreshing but exhausting. Bence Jones's experiments were more thorough. He first experimented at St George's Hospital before testing the shower at Wandsworth. He spent under 10 minutes under the shower but monitored his heartbeat at intervals. Furthermore, he tested the effect of water temperature, spending time under the shower, first at 70°F and then at 50°F (closer to 45°F which it was estimated Dolley suffered). Bence Jones tests underlined the adverse effects on the pulse rate and body temperature but all agreed on the danger of combining this physical ordeal with the administration of a large dose of emetic.

Snape was first arraigned at Bow Street Police Court on 16 June before Mr Henry, Magistrate, on a charge of the manslaughter of Daniel Dolley. Witnesses examined included the attendants, the civil engineers who examined the shower, Dr Hugh Diamond, Mr Warren Diamond, Mr J Paget, Mr H Hancock. As a result Snape was committed for trial at the Central Criminal Court. After some delay the trial began before a grand jury on the 15 September. After hearing a few witnesses, on the afternoon of the following day, the grand jury returned a verdict of 'Not found'.

It is clear from the CL's report to the Home Secretary that this outcome took the Commissioners by surprise. They emphasised that their sole purpose in bringing the case to trial was not to question Snape's professional ability and he had simply made a mistake, but because they could not conclude that what Snape had done was not *bona fide* medical treatment, rather he had so responded after he had received a blow on the head and was, therefore, punishing Dolley. Sir Frederick Thesiger had been briefed for the prosecution and had the trial proceeded as expected would have called upon the testimony of such experts as Drs Charles Hood, Henry Stevens, William Lawrence, John Conolly, Forbes Winslow and James Elliotson, all of whom would have said that the practice of giving a prolonged cold shower followed by a large dose of emetic was, at worst, likely to lead to fatal consequences, and, at least, was highly dangerous. Such evidence was, of course, never heard. The CL could have sought that Snape be charged a second time but chose not to do on the grounds that it was felt they had done their duty in bringing the case into the public domain leading to the charge upon Snape.

No further action appears to have been taken by the CL and there was no immediate communication with the Committee of Visitors. Indeed the CL claim that they had to depend on articles which appeared in the *Lancet* and *Medical Times* on the 29 November to learn that Committee of Visitors had set up a local inquiry in which they took the views of six men, three which they selected (Dr Addison, Dr Sutherland, Dr Todd) and three chosen by Snape (Dr Babington, Dr Quain, Mr Bowman). The six men to a greater or lesser degree supported Snape in his action. As a result Snape was immediately reinstated (having been suspended on 10 May). The final act in the account is a letter written by the Committee of Visitors to the CL dated 6 February, 1857 which adopts an aggrieved and highly critical tone, taking pains to comment at length on perceived shortcomings of the action taken by the Commission.

Snape's reinstatement was accompanied by some mild points of criticism by the Committee of Visitors. He remained in post until 1859. Dr Diamond was severely criticised and resigned in 1858. How the two men worked together thereafter is not disclosed. Regulations on the administration of showers and emetics and the maintenance of medical records were tightened.

journals. The incident is worth recording for in many ways it encapsulates much of what was wrong about nineteenth-century care and treatment of lunatics. The law which governed the powers and duties of the central and local authorities permitted some ambiguity in interpretation. The CL was prone to use the law to suit its own convenience and its resultant actions were seen as highhanded and, therefore, resented by the local authorities. The way in which the CL conducted its initial inquiries on 17 April and the secretive investigations thereafter culminating in the decision to charge Snape was bound to lead to reaction subsequently evinced by the Committee of Visitors. Then, having sought legal advice, the CL failed to make clear the precise reason for charging Snape. The real concern that the CL felt that Snape's actions were the result of anger and his motive for doing what he did was punishment only seemed to appear post trial. The inference allowed to develop was that Snape had been found wanting in the exercise of his professional skills. This aroused the sympathy of many of his fellow professionals. Rebutting this charge formed the basis of Snape's subsequent defence and justification for his actions with which he persisted long after the trial. It has to be conceded, however, that the grand jury's finding reached after minimal consideration of evidence remains inexplicable. On the other hand, the Committee of Visitors were quick to leap onto their high horse and once having done so, sat back and awaited developments. They were slow in taking any action against Snape – he was not suspended for a month after the incident. Their action after the trial was odd (the 'six man jury') and smacks of being contrived to obtain the result they wanted. With Snape cleared of any charges they were able to indulge in a lengthy, self-righteous criticism of the CL which did nothing more than widen the gap between the two authorities. Snape's subsequent treatment after the inquiry contrasts with the severe criticism levelled at Diamond who, clearly, acted unwisely if not

unprofessionally. The incident underlines the limited range and varied quality of treatment provided by the medical professionals concerned with insanity<sup>219</sup>. Snape continued to advocate the use of the shower bath for a prolonged period as a legitimate therapeutic treatment. He even managed to produce, miraculously, records of previous alleged successful results from such immersions of between 15 and 20 minutes. It remains a matter of conjecture what would have been the outcome if Dolley had not been a pauper.

The shortage of accommodation led the Committee of Visitors to stop admissions on several occasions to the annoyance of the Unions who were forced to find alternative sources. Camberwell, Hoxton and Peckham were all re-utilised and some patients were sent to Fisherton House near Salisbury. In 1858 the committee established an *ad hoc* sub-committee to ascertain the numbers requiring accommodation and where it might best be provided. It eventually reported that there was a need to accommodate a further 660 patients, all males. Alternative solutions such as joining with another county or borough (Middlesex was the only likely choice and its second county asylum, Colney Hatch was opened in 1851) were considered but discarded. It came down to three alternatives: further alteration and enlargement within the existing site, acquisition of more land adjacent to the existing site and new building, or a new asylum at another location. Throughout 1859 and 1860 various plans were prepared by the Committee of Visitors and submitted to the CL only to be

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<sup>219</sup> Further Report of Commission on Lunacy dated 24 June, 1847 contains Appendix L which is a response to a request for information on the treatment provided to the insane. Replies were received from the 'medical men' in public and private asylums. Sir Alexander Morison replied on the practices at Wandworth and Bethlem and Holland, the Medical Superintendent, at Wandworth. Treatments for mania, melancholia, epilepsy and paralysis (there was little difference in the treatment for a particular case) included shaving the head, leeches, blistering, laxative medicines such as 'jalap, rhubarb, senna, calomel, salts of magnesium, croton oil, and castor oil, nauseating medicines such as tartrate of antimony, sedatives such as morphia, camphor and nitre(?). Warm baths, shower baths and water beds were also widely used. This note should not be interpreted as support of the 'anti-psychiatry' school of thought offered by some modern historians of mental health, for a similar limited range of treatments could doubtless be found in other fields of medicine at that time.



rejected. The committee stuck to its preferred option of building on the existing site despite some opposition from the Chertsey Union. The CL, with equal firmness, was against such a proposal. Its views on asylums accommodating large numbers of patients had been made clear in its dealings with Middlesex and the building of a second asylum in that county. The CL made its preference apparent in suggesting that a new asylum be built at a new site on land which could be purchased more cheaply than in the Wandsworth area<sup>220</sup>. Resolution of this problem was to occupy the committee for several more years and the whole process was delayed by the poor relations which existed between the CL and the Committee of Visitors.

The failure of the PLC and its successor the PLB to introduce the classification of paupers meant the mixed general workhouse remained the norm for Unions until 1860s, though many, including several in Surrey, had substantially improved the quality of their workhouses by alteration, refurbishment or new buildings. Lunatics and idiots were still to be found mixed with the able-bodied or elderly inmates and despite the efforts of the CL and PLB some of these lunatics were a danger to themselves or others. Boards of Guardians were still reluctant to incur the

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<sup>220</sup> QS5/6/26 – 28 – Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Annual Reports of the Committee of Visitors to the Surrey County Lunatic Asylum. In early 1858 an opportunity to acquire three parcels of land (two to buy, one to lease) at Wandsworth totalling 47 acres was rejected on the grounds of expense, and effort by the *ad hoc* committee concentrated on developing within the existing site. Planning was briefly delayed because, with Diamond's resignation, the opportunity was taken to reorganise the medical staff structure. Dr J Meyer, appointed as Chief Resident Physician, replaced R Holland and was given responsibility for the 'total' management of the asylum (but under the Committee of Visitors, needless to say) and given three subordinate resident medical officers to assist him (Meyer, already a respected figure in the treatment of mental health, went on to become the first superintendent of Broadmoor Asylum). An adverse report in December 1858 by commissioners inspecting the asylum, which included a reference to overcrowding and the need to purchase 'a considerable quantity of land' was sufficient to goad the committee into another rebuttal. Preparation of plans for accommodation within the existing site at a cost of £58,000 went ahead despite protests from Chertsey Union on the grounds of expense. In May, 1859, the CL enquired, archly, if proposals for enlarging the site had been abandoned and if the proposal was now for enlargement within the existing site. On confirmation from the committee that that it was so, the CL wrote to say the Secretary of State would not approve such a proposal on the grounds that it would not meet the county's needs (reasons given are shortcomings in, and inadequacy of, accommodation proposed). Revised proposals were rejected by the CL but it offered to meet the committee's architect. After meeting he revised the plans in accordance with suggestions made to him. The CL once again rejected the proposals and by the end of 1860 agreement had still not been reached, though the committee then began to look at acquiring land at an alternative site.

high costs of accommodation in county or private asylums. In Surrey's case, though the county asylum managed to reduce its weekly charges to 7/- per week for a short period (before it increased again to between 9 – 10/- per week in the mid 1850s) the Guardians' first instinct was to keep costs down and, whenever possible, retain their lunatics in their workhouses. Those that they had been forced to send to private asylums (chiefly Hoxton, Bethnal Green, Peckham House and later Camberwell House), were transferred to the county asylum when it opened or back to the workhouse. The condition of lunatics in workhouses was a continual source of concern to the CL, though they and the PLB gave the outward signs of co-operation and unity on the need to accommodate lunatics if not in the asylum, at least in well run separate wards in the workhouses. The shortage of asylum accommodation, however, forced the CL to take a more moderate view on returning chronic and harmless cases back to the workhouse.

Inspection of some workhouses (other than by Assistant Poor Law Commissioners) had formed part of the inspections carried out by the MCL between 1842 – 1844. With the establishment of the CL in 1845 indications begin to appear in the Commission's Annual Reports of the inspection of workhouses, but it was not until 1851 that these inspections appear to have been undertaken in a co-ordinated way. Even so, the inspection of workhouses could not be conducted annually in general (there were instances in Surrey of 5 years between inspections)<sup>221</sup>. Lord Ashley preferred to maintain a small body of commissioners who were already

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<sup>221</sup> Sixth Annual Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy to the Lord Chancellor, 1851. Inspection of workhouses of the following Unions - Bermondsey, Chertsey, Croydon, Dorking, Epsom, Farnham, Godstone, Guildford, Kingston, St Olave's, Reigate, Richmond, Wandsworth & Clapham. Ninth Annual Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy, 1854. Inspection of the workhouses of the following Unions – Chertsey, Croydon, Dorking, Epsom, Guildford, Kingston, Lambeth, Richmond. Eleventh Annual Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy, 1857. Inspection of the workhouses of the following Unions – Bermondsey, St George the Martyr, St Mary Newington, Lambeth, St Olave's, Rotherhithe, St Saviour's, Wandsworth & Clapham.

carrying out a programme of inspection of county asylums, hospitals and private asylums. Inspections of workhouses were carried out by a single commissioner (occasionally two) and a brief note recorded in the Visitors' Book. The bureaucratic methods of working of both the CL and PLB required that a letter from the former went to the latter on the findings of the inspection, receipt of which prompted a letter from the PLB seeking comment from the Board of Guardians from the Union involved. Any resultant comments then had to undergo a reversal of the procedure. No direct feedback seems to have been given to workhouse staff and there was no direct communication by the inspecting commissioner(s) with the Board of Guardians. Table 20 provides a snapshot of the numbers accommodated in the county asylum, private asylums and workhouses in the year ending 31 March, 1859.

Union	CA	PA	WH	Total
Bermondsey	57	2	13	72
Camberwell	40	8	47	95
Chartsey	22	14	1	37
Croydon	34	2	14	50
Dorking	17	1	15	33
Epsom	30	2	24	56
Farnham	18	-	1	19
St George the Martyr	65	4	22	91
Godstone	9	-	-	9
Guildford	20	-	14	34
Hambledon	14	-	9	23
Kingston	26	10	22	58
Lambeth	176	15	66	255
St Mary Newington	68	5	63	136
St Olave's	28	-	8	36
Reigate	16	-	5	21
Rotherhithe	41	7	5	53
Richmond	19	2	13	34
St Saviour's	47	1	29	77
Wandsworth & Clapham	64	6	23	93
Total	811	79	394	1284

Table 20. Numbers of lunatics accommodated in the county asylum, private asylums and workhouses, abstracted from Thirteenth Annual Report of Commission in Lunacy, for the year ending 31 March, 1859.

The table shows just over 30% of the lunatics were accommodated in workhouses; the Metropolitan Unions made a heavy demand on the county asylum amounting to 72% of patient numbers; and private asylums (Hoxton, Bethnal Green, Peckham House, and Camberwell House) were a necessary resource to some Unions both rural

and urban. The continued use of the workhouses to accommodate lunatics is the subject of lengthy comment in the same annual report:

‘A Principle Cause of the Evils described [on] the present unsatisfactory state of Lunatic Patients in workhouses in so far as this has arisen from the reception in such houses of inmates whose proper place was a County or Borough Asylum. The congregation and detention of large numbers of Lunatics in the Union workhouses has doubtless been owing, in great measure, to the quantity of chronic cases which now fill the County Asylums converting them into refuges for incurables, instead of Hospitals for the care of disease.’<sup>222</sup>

The inspections of private asylums in the metropolis were conducted regularly and with more rigour after 1845. The same could not be said of the inspection of rural private asylums, though Visiting Justices were appointed each year and Sir Alexander Morison continued to act as Visiting Physician<sup>223</sup>. Table 8 (Ch 3) listed private asylums in operation until 1845. Table 21 lists private asylums which received licences after 1845 and the duration of their operation. Camberwell House together with Peckham House were the main providers of pauper lunatic accommodation in Surrey (though Surrey Unions and parishes used other private asylums such as Hoxton and Bethnal Green during the long period when there was insufficient accommodation in the county asylum) but both also admitted private patients. The CL inspections offered frequent criticism of Camberwell House

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<sup>222</sup> Thirteenth Annual Report of the Commission in Lunacy, 1859. The quotation forms part of a supplement to the report under the headings ‘Increase in Lunatics in Workhouses’, ‘Characters and Forms of Insanity most prevalent in Workhouses’, ‘Design and Construction of Union Buildings’, ‘Workhouses in Rural Districts’, ‘Workhouses in Large Towns’, ‘Intermixture, separation and supervision in Workhouses’. These critical comments seemed to be aimed at the PLB for the CL was well aware that Surrey, for example, was in difficulties over accommodation provision. In the following year it gave a general order that paupers were not to be accepted by private asylums with the exception of Surrey and Middlesex without its permission.

<sup>223</sup> QS5/5/6 – Visitors Minute Book, 1836 – 1862. Minutes became brief almost to the point of superficiality with only occasional references to the welfare of patients or inadequacies of facilities. From 1852 the inspection by justices was supplemented by more rigorous inspection by the CL taking the opportunity to inspect rural private asylums whilst in the area inspecting workhouses.

Name of Asylum	Opened/Closed	Remarks
Church Street, Epsom	1845 – 1890*	Private patients only
Camberwell House (M)	1846 – 1890*	Mainly pauper but some private patients
York House (M)	1846 - 1856	Private patients only
Doddington Retreat (M)	1847 - 1847	Private patients- open for less than a year
Effra Hall (M)	1848 - 1875	Private patients only
Vine Cottage (M)	1851 - 1853	Private patients only
Timberham House, Charlwood	1856 - 1861	Private patients only
Silverton House (M)	1868 – 1890*	Private patients only
Knowle Road (M)	1872 - 1887	Private patients only
Dudley Villa (M)	1875 - 1876	Private patients only
Ivy Lodge (M)	1876 – 1890*	Private patients only
Canbury House	1879 - 1880	Private patients only
The Hugenots (M)	1880 – 1890*	Private patients only
Woodcote End, Epsom	1880 - 1882	Private patients only
Croshams, Sutton	1881 - 1889	Private patients only
Sutherland House, Surbiton	1885 – 1890*	Private patients only
Canbury House	1886 – 1890*	Private patients only
Chalk Pit House, Sutton	1886 – 1890*	Private patients only

Table 21. Private asylums opening between 1845 and 1890. Those marked (M) are in Metropolitan Surrey. The mark \* indicates that the asylum remained in existence after the Local Government boundary changes in 1889. Source: compiled from Quarter Session Reports and the Annual Reports of the Commissioners in Lunacy.

and Peckham House, regularly commenting on inmates' diet, inadequacy of staff numbers, shortcomings of buildings and facilities feature regularly. The CL stopped short of withdrawing licences, though this sanction was threatened, as the CL were aware that with the acute shortage of accommodation in county asylums they could not afford to close them down. Some of the private asylums for private patients only had very small numbers of inmates e.g., Knowle House and Woodcote End. Effra Hall was licensed to Dr Warren Hastings Diamond, son of Dr Hugh Diamond, who, following his resignation from Surrey County Asylum, opened Twickenham House in Middlesex. Effra Hall's patients were middle class females with the better off and least fractious accommodated in the main house, the less well off and/or troublesome in a smaller house in the garden. Timberham House, on the other hand, catered only for male patients. It has to be said that the total number of private patients accommodated in both rural and urban private asylums in Surrey was an insignificant proportion of the total numbers of insane.

The history of Bethlem Hospital has been well covered by several authors. Perhaps the most definitive is the magisterial joint work of Andrews, Briggs, Porter,

Tucker and Waddington<sup>224</sup>. Alldridge has done her best to debunk some of the popular myths associated with its operation<sup>225</sup>. Inclusion of Bethlem in this study, though not under Surrey control, is justified because after 1815 it was sited in the county at St George's Fields, and provides another example of the way in which the CL operated. After its involvement in the Selection Committee inquiries of 1814 – 15, the hospital stayed out of the limelight. With the establishment of the Commission in Lunacy, Lord Ashley renewed his effort to bring the hospital within the compass of legislation and thus subject to inspection. The hospital, or more accurately its Governors, were equally determined to remain independent of the CL. The Governors had powerful parliamentary representation, their number included the Surrey justices and MPs, Briscoe, Cubbitt and Kemble, and they were able to resist any attempts to include Bethlem in the reformed legislation, though an inspection could be undertaken on the order of the Home Secretary. In 1851 the CL received a complaint about the treatment of a Miss M and in the course of the Commission's internal investigation learned of a second case. Armed with these Shaftesbury<sup>226</sup> secured an Order of the Home Secretary on 28 June permitting two or more commissioners to conduct an inspection. Whether deliberately or not, the letter informing the hospital of the existence of the order arrived the day after the four commissioners arrived to carry out the inspection – an inspection which rapidly turned into an inquiry. The inquiry is fully described in a Parliamentary Paper<sup>227</sup>.

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<sup>224</sup> J Andrews, A Briggs, R Porter, P Tucker, K Waddington, *The History of Bethlem*, (Routledge, London, 1997). Relevant for this study is Part III covering the period 1783 – 1900 in Chs 20 – 27.

<sup>225</sup> P Alldridge, 'Bedlam – Fact or Fantasy' in Eds, W F Bynum, R Porter, M Shepherd, *The Anatomy of Madness*, Vol II, (Tavistock, London, 1985), pp 17 – 33.

<sup>226</sup> Lord Ashley succeeded to the title on the death of his father, the 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Shaftesbury, on 2 June, 1851.

<sup>227</sup> PP 1852 – 53 (75) XLIX, 125 - The Report and Evidence of the Commissioners in Lunacy to the Home Office on the State and Management of Bethlem Hospital with Observations of the Governors. The Commissioners 'saw all or a greater number of patients, (carried out) a general inspection of wards, rooms and exercise grounds.' The report describes the management structure of the hospital which included the Governors, the Management Committee and its Sub-Committee, the principal

Its main outcome was the inclusion thereafter of Bethlem within the scope of the CL and, therefore, its regular inspection. Morison, on giving up his hard-won position, was awarded a pension of £140 per annum, a sum repeated when, in 1855, he resigned as Visiting Physician to the Surrey County Asylum.

One further hospital was established in Surrey in the period 1845 – 1860. Its arrival brought together under one roof an initiative which attempted to go some way to redress the imbalance which existed in both lunacy reform and treatment developed in the early and mid-century period, for it was concerned with the mentally disabled as opposed to the mentally ill and, specifically, was intended to help children. It came about as the result of an earlier meeting of minds of the Reverend Andrew Reed, a Non-conformist, who had set up orphanages for children, and Dr John Conolly, whose reputation at Hanwell had earned him considerable influence with wealthy

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officers and their duties, the President, Treasurer, 2 Physicians (Dr Edward T Munro, Sir Alexander Morison), Consultant Surgeon, Resident Apothecary, Steward and Matron, and the financial management of this charitable hospital. The commissioners were accompanied throughout by senior members of staff and had no opportunity to talk to patients (about 210 ‘curable’, 80 ‘incurable’ and just over 100 ‘criminal’). Nonetheless, they uncovered examples of poor administration, lax supervision, unsatisfactory living conditions and harsh treatment and no provision for the bodily sick, about which more emerged as the inspection changed character. The report goes on ‘Our application for an order arose from the case of Miss AM (later identified as Miss Ann Morley), and information laid before us, together with certain matters of complaint... further evidence when it became known (?) our enquiry was pending.’ This referred to a complaint by a Mr Hyson about the premature death of his daughter after discharge from the hospital, harsh treatment to a Mrs EW, Miss Isabella Taylor (found ‘not fit to answer’) and a Mr HH (deceased), a patient for 5 weeks. The inspection then took on the character of an inquiry in the course of which 26 witnesses were examined. The inquiry sessions were chaired by Shaftesbury and there was clear use of leading questions, especially of witnesses likely to be hostile to the hospital. Of particular interest was the examination of the two physicians, Munro and Morison. Munro emerges as arrogant and with little interest in the inmates: Morison, though diligent in his attendance, was more interested in his treatment than the patients to whom it was offered and someone who took little notice of the conditions under which the patients laboured.

The visit resulted in the production of the critical report which, by somewhat dubious means, was prevented from being seen by those criticised for some time resulting in a delay to the hospital’s response from its Governors. When the response came its tone was of hurt pride and indignation asserting that the CL had exceeded its powers. The reply was summed up in the words ‘Few things are more easy than to excite a cry of cruelty against the management of a lunatic asylum and few more difficult to disprove.....the very defective means of knowledge possessed by many of the witnesses upon whose evidence the Commissioners rely..... evidence should have been scrutinized with somewhat of that caution and doubt which the Commissioners bestowed on all evidence of a different tendency.’ Neither these words, nor the more laconic response of Munro, and the spirited and angry rebuttal of Morison had any effect. Both men resigned in 1853 to be replaced by a Resident Physician, Charles Hood, who was to see improvements made in the running of the hospital and the removal of criminal lunatics to a separate asylum, Broadmoor.

See also J Andrews *et al*, *op cit*, Ch 25, pp 466 – 479.

philanthropists. Between them the two men were responsible for setting up a charity which, in late 1847, acquired Park House in the north of London at Highgate to provide care, treatment and some kind of training and education for mentally handicapped children. This was not a facility intended for the poor and early in its existence the charity set up the rules by which admittance to the hospital could be gained, by an elective process. Park House quickly filled and in 1849 a second building was leased, Essex Hall, in Colchester. Reed had kept the CL informed of his progress and intentions but the commission felt unable either to support or criticise its operation falling, as it was perceived, outside its ambit. By the early 1850s the charity was running into financial difficulties and differences among the members of the trust had arisen about whether the venture was a national facility or exclusive to the eastern counties. Reed pursued the acquisition of an alternative site and a suitable one was found at Earlswood, Redhill, upon which the foundation stone of a new asylum was laid in 1853. Financial troubles persisted and Reed took the risky course of transferring all the patients from Park House and Essex Hall (it went on to become the Eastern Counties Asylum for Idiots and Imbeciles) even though the building was incomplete. It was at this time that the CL began to show active concern. The move to Earlswood had been made without the commission's knowledge and falling short of closure, the commission commented critically on the operation of the hospital in several of its Annual Reports<sup>228</sup>. With time, however, the financial situation of the hospital improved. More important was the appointment of Dr John Langdon Down as its Medical Superintendent. He was to go on to make a significant

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<sup>228</sup> Eleventh and Twelfth Annual Reports of the Commissioners in Lunacy, 1857 and 1859. The reports express concern about the inadequacies of buildings facilities and the inappropriateness of the regimes of education and training provided for the patients.



contribution to the nineteenth-century to care and treatment of idiots<sup>229</sup>.

In the concluding years of the period 1845 – 1860, a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed ‘to inquire into the Operation of the Acts of Parliament and Regulations for the Care and Treatment of Lunatics and their Property.’ The committee was appointed in 1859 as a result of a petition of parliament by Mr Tite (later Sir William Tite, Architect and MP for Bath, 1855 – 1873) concerned with wrongful incarceration (Tite had been lobbied by the Alleged Lunatics’ Friend Society) and included two Surrey MPs, John Briscoe and Henry Drummond. As can be seen, the committee’s brief was wide-ranging and its work continued over two parliamentary sessions reported in four Parliamentary Papers<sup>230</sup>.

Despite the considerable work undertaken by the committee there was no immediate

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<sup>229</sup> The development of more enlightened treatment of those hitherto neglected and labelled ‘idiots and imbeciles’ has been described in D Wright, *op cit*, *Mental Disability*. In a balanced assessment Wright is cautious about claiming success for the Earlswood experience in general and in particular the career of Langdon Down though whilst at Earlswood his work was undoubtedly of importance.

<sup>230</sup> PP 1859 III 75, PP 1859 VII 501, PP 1859 XIV 529 and PP 1860 XXII 349. The committee was chaired not by Tite, as was expected, but by Sir George Grey. In the course of its inquiries it examined 23 witnesses including such luminaries as Lord Shaftesbury, John Bright, Robert Lutwidge, Commissioners and former Secretaries of the CL, Drs Southey, Conolly, Gaskell, Hood, A J Sutherland and Bucknill, Admiral Samaurez, Gilbert Bolden and J T Percival, all of the Alleged Lunatics’ Friend Society. Shaftesbury was the first witness examined (though he was recalled) giving a review of the state of lunacy reform, underlining the difficulties that had to be overcome to secure accurate information from asylums and local authorities. He gave his customary tirade on the causes of insanity (largely drink), the profit motive of proprietors of private asylums. A poor showing was made by John E Johnson, a Surrey JP and Chairman of Quarter Sessions, claiming he had no knowledge of workhouses, that it was not the duty of justices to visit workhouses or paupers in private asylums, that justices relied solely on the Medical Officers of (Union) Districts to determine whether lunatics were dangerous or could be cared for in workhouses. His apparent ignorance of the law and indifference to any other provision for lunatics beyond the overcrowded County asylum painted an eloquent and disheartening picture of the relationship between the justices and the Unions. Sutherland’s testimony revealed much about the situation of the single patients and was followed by testimony from Samaurez, Bolden and Percival (a long metaphysical diatribe which clearly irritated the Select Committee). Buckhill gave an informed response to the issue of the poor cure rate, producing figures for the different counties (Surrey in the bottom half at 35.3% but above Kent at 31.5% and Middlesex (Hanwell) at 28.6%). Shaftesbury, recalled, had the following telling comment which revealed much of his feelings about the relationship of the CL with the PLB ‘I do not think the poor law inspectors have ever brought anything to our knowledge; anything relating to the state of lunatics.’ After so much investigative work which revealed a great deal about the state of lunatics and the effectiveness of the lunacy reform, though a draft Bill was included in the final report of the Select Committee, nothing came of it immediately and it was not until 1862 that the Lunatics Law Amendment Act was passed.

pay off and legislation affecting lunacy reform was not passed until 1862. The committee did, however, arouse interest in a neglected number of those insane, namely the single patient. It is to them that some attention is focused in part of the following chapter as it turns towards consideration of the last three decades of the period of study.

## Chapter 7 – Unending Problems of the Provision of Resources

So far this study of the provision of care and treatment of the insane has been concerned with increasingly large county asylums, hospitals, licensed houses and workhouses. The earliest, most persistent and least documented provision was that made for the single insane person – what became generally termed in the nineteenth century, the single lunatic. Reliable records of the number of single lunatics do not exist – a source of considerable frustration and concern to the central authority charged with monitoring the provision of resources for mental health, the CL (and to the modern researcher). One limited source of records stems from the State's involvement and interest in mental health, arising not from concern about care and treatment but concern about the safeguard of property – a sufficient amount of property to warrant the provision of the protection of the Crown as a temporary landlord in certain circumstances. Under a statute of imprecise date but generally attributed to 1324, the Crown could take into guardianship persons deemed to be lunatics or idiots, and their property<sup>231</sup>; it had nothing to do with committal to an asylum and recourse to it was only sought by those who could afford the inquiries and any attendant expenses, i.e., the relatively well-to-do. Records of small number of lunatics found by inquiries are contained in Chancery records<sup>232</sup>.

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<sup>231</sup> 17 Edward II, c 9 & 10, - *Statute de Prerogativa Regis*, 1324. The act defines lunatics as persons 'sometimes of good and sound memory and understanding and sometimes not' and idiots as 'natural fools from birth'. Until 1890 the rights of guardianship embodied in this act were exercised by the Lord Chancellor (apart from a period 1540 – 1646 when the Court of Wards so acted). Before 1853, on receipt of a petition from relatives (or creditors, solicitors, executors of wills and trusts) the Lord Chancellor set up a commission *de lunatico inquirendo*. Before 1842 these commissions were addressed to suitable local important people who held the inquisitions before a jury. The Lunatics Property Act, 1842 enabled the inquisitions to be held before Commissioners in Lunacy (under the Lunatics Act, 1845, this title was changed to Masters in Lunacy). The Lunacy Regulation Act, 1853, eased the conditions of setting up an inquiry commission but did not otherwise change the procedure. From 1833, those persons designated 'Chancery Lunatics' as a result of inquiries were subject to visits from the Lord Chancellor's Vistors.

<sup>232</sup> Petty Bag Office: Commissions and Inquisitions of Lunacy, C211 (held at the National Archives. This reference has been given only cursory examination)

Chancery Lunatics, once so designated, were likely either to continue living at home with their relatives, often under some form of restraint, or to be placed in lodgings, but some were admitted to licensed houses, and even, occasionally, to public asylums. They had, at least, the dubious advantage that their status was known and recorded. For other lunatics and idiots, rich and poor alike, confinement as a single lunatic as opposed to admission to an asylum, hospital, licensed house or workhouse was always a possibility, though more likely to be the lot of a non-pauper particularly after the onset of poor law and lunacy reform legislation in the nineteenth-century. Prior to these reforms, by and large, provided the lunatics or idiots remained harmless, they remained at liberty within their home and/or community. If they became dangerous to themselves or others, or their behaviour became unacceptable within the society in which they lived, the response was almost invariably to place them under some form of restraint – confinement in their homes at least, or under some form of physical restraint at worst. There they were supposedly looked after by relatives, or, as was often the case with the well-to-do, people hired to do so. Alternatively, they were boarded out with someone willing (and usually paid) to accept them. They were sometimes sent to a house of correction, a gaol, or, more often, a workhouse. However imperfect the legislation, or the quality of care and treatment provided, the lot of the pauper lunatic was to be admitted to some collective resource such as an asylum, licensed house or workhouse. Single lunatics predominantly, therefore, were more likely to be found among the well-to-do classes – the aristocracy, the gentry, the successful professional, commercial, and industrial families. Distinctions began to be drawn as to where they were accommodated – at home or in ‘single houses’, and whether or not that accommodation was offered for profit or not. Recognition of the status of a single lunatic was slow to emerge in the

content of reforming lunacy legislation, and erratic in its application. The regulation of single lunatics involved two branches of the Lord Chancellor's office, the CL and the Masters in Lunacy<sup>233</sup> and this, taken with legislative shortcomings, meant that it was never thorough or complete.

Ashley's concern about single lunatics was reflected in his speech introducing the Bill to what became the Lunatics Act, 1845. When reviewing the range of legislation, he said of single lunatics:

'I have said before, and I say again, that should it please God to afflict me with such a visitation [insanity], I would greatly prefer the treatment of paupers at an establishment like that of Surrey Asylum to the treatment of the rich at any one of these receptacles.'<sup>234</sup>

Accounts of the visits by one or two Commissioners to single houses, some in harrowing detail, of the conditions exposed began to appear regularly in the annual reports of the CL to the Lord Chancellor. Cases of the 'misdemeanours' (the legal term given by the CL to wrongdoing as opposed to criminal acts) of attendants of single lunatics began to be reported<sup>235</sup>. Ashley's efforts to establish

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<sup>233</sup> The Madhouse Act, 1828, Section 40 and The Madhouse Act, Section 46 stated that orders and certificates for the reception of a single lunatic were required except when such reception was in the home of a relative (or guardian, 1832 Act) and not for profit. It is fair to assume that this requirement was not always met. It was repeated in The Lunacy Act, 1845. However the 1828 Act also required the notification of the reception to be forwarded to the London clerk within 5 days, amended by the 1832 Act to 12 calendar months. This requirement was certainly not always followed and, as amended, was avoided by moving the patient to another establishment before the 12 months expired. The 1828 Act required the compilation of a 'Private Register' of single patients notified, but this was abolished by the 1832 Act. There were other anomalies in the laws governing the regulation of single lunatics but the above examples provide an illustration of the unsatisfactory state of affairs.

As stated in footnote 231 above, from 1833, Chancery Lunatics were subject to inspection by the Lord Chancellor's Visitors, but concern and some resentment developed between these Visitors and Commissioners of the MCL and later the CL over access to single lunatics. Though theoretically the latter could gain access to such lunatics by application to the Lord Chancellor no evidence has been found that this was ever sought and the situation evolved by which the CL's inspection of single lunatics was confined to those in single houses kept for profit. In fact, therefore, not all known single lunatics were visited to say nothing of those who were never declared.

<sup>234</sup> *Hansard*, Vol 81, Cols 180 – 202 (covering the period 4/6 – 3/7, 1845). His reference to Surrey Asylum followed a recent visit to it and to Hanwell. Both asylums impressed him – his favourable views on both did not last!

<sup>235</sup> Seventh Annual Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy, pp 30 –31. Two cases brought before Shaftesbury, the first involving 'The House of Robert Baker of Lambeth' Baker, a former attendant at

the number of single lunatics (and thus subject to regular inspection) were hampered not only by the inherent desire of their relatives to keep their existence secret<sup>236</sup>, but also by the fact that otherwise respected figures such as local magistrates and clerics were not averse to taking such lunatics as lodgers<sup>237</sup>. More subversive was the extensive network of doctors in the London area<sup>238</sup> who were prepared to treat individual cases of insanity. Several were proprietors of private asylums (but also included Morison who at no time owned such an establishment) who employed attendants they could command to look after single lunatics in their own or others' houses. These doctors and attendants worked together in finding potential patients (many of whom were not registered). The case of Frederick Horne, already quoted, was such a relationship. Horne would get to hear of a need for accommodation and both recommend Morison to provide medical care and to inform him of the potential patient. Morison, in turn, would call upon the services of Horne, or other attendants he knew of, to look after a patient he, Morison, had taken on<sup>239</sup>. Morison also operated a 'call' system by which he could rapidly get hold of attendants, both male

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Bethlem, was found to have a male lunatic (and another man, a former patient at Bethlem but not, at the time of the visit, insane.) who had been in his charge for 2 months. Baker made a living attending patients usually in their own homes but this patient had been sent to him 'pending his Removal to an Asylum'. He had been 'attended' by Sir Alexander Morison. Shortly after the visit he was removed from Baker's house. Baker was dismissed with a reprimand and caution. The second case involved another ex-Bethlem attendant, Frederick Horne, who had had a long term arrangement with Morison for the care of single lunatics (see later note). He regularly advertised his services in the *Medical Directory* (as did other ex-attendants). A long chapter of the care of unregistered single lunatics came to light as a result of two unsuccessful applications by Horne for a licence for his house. He was fined and cautioned.

<sup>236</sup> E Hodder, *op cit*, p 517. The ambivalence of Ashley about concealing the existence of a mentally ill family member is illustrated by the fact that he sent his own son, Maurice, who suffered from epilepsy, to a house in Lausanne for several years until his death in 1855.

<sup>237</sup> There are several references to such prominent members of local society providing accommodation for single lunatics to be found in Morison's diaries. Three examples were the Surrey JPs, H T Hope (MD 7 August, 1840), R Short (MD 31 July, 1840) and the Rev Trimmer, also a Middlesex JP (MD 11 November, 1842).

<sup>238</sup> Such a large network does not appear to have operated outside London. London had many more private asylums than the provinces.

<sup>239</sup> In addition to references in Morison's diaries another authoritative source was CL Minutes of which the following are two examples. MH50/5, 12 May, 1852 gives details of the relationship between Morison and Baker culminating in the latter's summons before the Commission. MH50/3, 26 May, 1852 describes the circumstances of the relationship between Morison and Nathaniel Nichols (employee of Bethlem) which led to both being summoned before the CL.

and female, to look after his own or others' patients. These attendants were poached from Bethlem and Surrey County Asylums and their retention was ensured by payment well in excess of what these establishments were paying them<sup>240</sup>. Perhaps the most revealing disclosure on the operation of this network came in the course of the examination of witnesses at the 1859–60 Select Committee (see Ch 6) and highlights the difficulties faced by the CL in its attempt to regulate the care and treatment of single lunatics<sup>241</sup>. The 1845 Act enabled Ashley to set up a Private Committee with the CL charged with collecting information on the extent of single lunatic provision and carrying out visits to those seen to be within the commission's purview<sup>242</sup>. It failed to make much impact, neither gaining much information nor exerting much influence nor control of the single patient situation and ceased to function with the passing of the Lunatics Care & Treatment Amendment Act, 1853<sup>243</sup>. Though the CL's role in the single lunatic issue gradually became stronger it never

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<sup>240</sup> A female attendant from Surrey Asylum, where she earned 7/8d per week, was paid 12/6d per week to work for Morison. She complained, saying that she was paid 17/6d per week for similar work at Hoxton! (MD 2 April and 10 May, 1846). Another female attendant (ex-Surrey) was paid 16/- per week at 'Mr Dicken's lodgings' (MD31 October, 1845)

<sup>241</sup> In the course of questioning Dr A J Sutherland on his role at a private asylum, the Select Committee elicited information on the operation of a network of doctors treating single lunatics. Sutherland was the co-owner of Blacklands House, Chelsea, with his father, Dr A R Sutherland (AR Sutherland was a contemporary of Morison – both father and son were well known to him) and, like his father before him, was Physician of St Luke's Hospital. Sutherland Jnr admitted to having dealt with 185 single lunatic patients (he estimated a cure rate of about 55%). A number of doctors were similarly involved and operated 'a regular trade in the supply of attendants'. Attendants were paid a retainer by the doctors to be available when required (50 guineas per annum), but when employed any fees earned were shared with the doctor treating the patient (two thirds of the fees to the doctor). The fees were paid by the patient's relatives or friends. If the attendant did not have accommodation of his own he would also pay a proprietor of a private asylum for what was required. He acknowledged the existence of an association of attendants at Lissom Grove (and there were other agencies concerned with finding employment for attendants in private asylums or single houses). Sutherland said that he used 25 – 30 different houses. Not all the patients were certified – there were instances of close relatives, wives, husbands, sisters, brothers being confined with no protection from the law. Mechanical restraint was used at times – it was required if patients were kept in small rooms (as often happened) or at night because attendants did not always remain with the patients overnight.

<sup>242</sup> Ashley, Dr Thomas Turner, and James Mylne (a barrister) with R Lutwidge as its Secretary.

<sup>243</sup> The Private Committee attempted to obtain information by circulars to the medical profession (MH50/236 – Circular Letters Book No 1 (1845 – 1860), Circulars 3 &5) with no significant result. The CL failed to enforce some administrative requirements of the law on doctors caring for single patients. Ashley, at times contradictory in public action and utterance and private thought or action, seemed unwilling to embarrass his moneyed peers (e.g., see fn 236 above and doubtless he would have been aware that Sir Robert Peel's brother was being cared for by Dr Forbes Winslow).

entirely succeeded – it was never able to be certain of the size of the problem in terms of numbers of patients or their disposition.

The attempt to enlarge or add to the buildings of the Surrey County Asylum at the Wandsworth site was given up in 1860. A 150-acre site was found at Knaphill, about 4 miles west of Woking with a rapidity which suggests the Court had been looking for land for some time. The site was purchased at a cost of £10,500 - much cheaper than land in the Wandsworth area<sup>244</sup>. Plans for a second asylum for 660 patients (reduced to 650 when built) were quickly prepared and approved by the Secretary of State, the costs estimated to be £80,000<sup>245</sup>. Tenders were invited to build the asylum and 12 were received though none accepted. Instead, the task was given to Messrs Holland & Hannen who claimed they would complete the work in two years. The Special Committee were frequent visitors to the site – somewhat surprisingly making on-the-spot decisions to alter the plans<sup>246</sup>. Work proceeded at pace in summer with 287 men employed on site, but was considerably delayed in the winter which, though not classified as severe, was sufficiently cold to slow work

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<sup>244</sup> The first Annual Report of the Committee of Visitors to the Brookwood Asylum speaks of a 'laborious and prolonged enquiry for land'. The land eventually purchased was in Surrey's most infertile area and classified as 'waste'. In a prudent move the Court immediately redeemed the land tax thereon before it increased in value by the addition of buildings. (QS2/1/72 – 73 and 3043/1/1/1/1 – Annual Reports of Committee of Visitors to Brookwood Asylum)

<sup>245</sup> QS2/1/75 – At the General Session of the Court on 14 October, 1862, the letter of approval from the CL dated 2 October, 1862, was presented and the Court immediately put in hand a search to raise the money on the financial market by mortgaging the County Rate. The Court 'confer with' the CL over the choice of architect eventually commissioning Mr C H Howell, County Surveyor. Howell went to considerable lengths to obtain knowledge for his task – he visited county asylums in Devon, Bristol, Rainhill and Prestwich, Cheshire and Cambridge, the large private asylum, Fisherton House, Salisbury, and Grove Hall, Middlesex. He also went to France to visit asylums in Paris, Quartremaine, Rouen and Claremont. A Special Committee was appointed chaired by Hon Francis Scott, including George Best (*ex officio* member of Chertsey Board of Guardians), Edward Bray (one of the county's influential landowners), Leicester Penrhyn (former Chairman of the Richmond Board of Guardians), J E Johnson (who took part without distinction as a witness in 1859/60 Select Committee) and Lord Lovaine (the future 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Northumberland). Scott had left Parliament in 1859 having represented a number of Scottish constituencies, and was Chairman of the Guildford Board of Guardians. The Court was doubtless influenced by a favourable report on the site prepared by a surveyor, a Mr Donaldson, though conscious of the need for a secure and adequate water supply, a contractor 'known to the justices', James Johnson of Weybridge, was hired to sink a well on the site.

<sup>246</sup> It was reported to the Court that the committee had decided to alter the angle at which the wings of the building were set in relation to its main part; the eventual site for the Resident Medical Officer was apparently decided during a visit of the committee.



down. Summer droughts gave an early indication that the water supply problem had not been resolved.

Of passing interest is the choice of the site in what was a rural area of the county. Many of the earlier (pre-1845) asylums had been constructed closer to the urban conurbations – indeed, it had been one of the stipulations of the building at Wandsworth that it had fallen within 10 miles of London. With urban development these same early asylums had been surrounded by new housing. As far back as 1847 the CL had produced guidelines for new building<sup>247</sup>, including adequate water supply and access of visitors by public transport. In this respect the choice of Brookwood was a good one for it was within a mile of a station built on the main line of the London & South Western Railway. The station had been built in order to serve Brookwood Cemetery<sup>248</sup> and when the asylum was eventually opened reduced rail fares were negotiated enabling the poor to visit their relatives and friends cheaply and easily.

At the same session of the Court on 14 October, 1862, there was an interesting example of the delicate relationship which existed between the CL and Committee of Visitors. During a recent inspection of the asylum at Wandsworth ‘it had come to the notice of the Commissioners that there was about 30 acres of land in the vicinity of the asylum for sale’. Their report stated that ‘the purchase of this desirable amenity should not be lost sight of’ by the Court. The Court, conscious no

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<sup>247</sup> Further Report of the Commission in Lunacy to the Lord Chancellor. 1847. Appendix E – ‘Rules to be observed with respect to the selection of a site of an Asylum, additional Asylum, or accommodation for Pauper Lunatics’ contain advice on soil conditions, elevation, locality, absence from disturbance, amenities and water supply.

<sup>248</sup> Some 2000 acres of land was sold by Lord Onslow (a major Surrey landowner) to the London Mausoleum & Necropolis Company (later known as the London Necropolis Company or LNC) 500 acres of which had been developed for what was, at the time, the world’s biggest cemetery designed and opened in 1854. It was intended for the ever-increasing need for graves, space for which could no longer be found in London. The cemetery was intended as (and still is) a multi-national, multi-religion resource. Trains from a special station close to Waterloo Station brought the deceased and/or mourners by special trains (with their own distinct livery) to the site and to sidings within it. As an amenity for Brookwood Asylum it could hardly have been more convenient,

doubt of its recent *contretemps* about enlarging the site, was not about to be rushed into anything. Another Special Committee was appointed to see what was at stake. It turned out that the land, the property of the late Mr McKellar, consisted of four separate but adjacent parcels of land comprising 42 acres in all and was up for sale for £12,000. The committee's investigation found out that a developer was interested in the site for building new houses, and they saw such a prospect as a threat to the privacy of the asylum ('essential to patient recovery'). After some vacillation the Court purchased the land on 5 January, 1863, thereafter regarding the added land as a great boost to the amenities of the site (recreation and vegetable crops) and also as a resource to call upon for future expansion should the need arise (they did not have long to wait).

Though a start had been made on the building of a new asylum, the mid-1860's were a troubled period. In 1862 Dr J Meyer left to become the Medical Superintendent at the newly established Asylum for Criminal Lunatics, Broadmoor, having received due commendation from the Court. He was replaced by an internal candidate, J Strange Biggs. Sir Alexander Morison, his formal connection with asylum long over, and in increasing ill-health, resigned as Visiting Physician to Surrey Asylums<sup>249</sup>. The numbers of pauper lunatics requiring accommodation continued to rise and despite small additions or alterations to accommodation arrangements in 1862, 1864 and 1867, and some attempt to return chronic patients to workhouses yet again (by this time some Unions had set aside special wards for the insane, e.g., Lambeth, Camberwell, St George the Martyr)<sup>250</sup>, the situation had

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<sup>249</sup> Morison's departure was noted by the Court with a formal address which paid tribute to his long service ('50 years and upwards') and his diligence ('absent on one single occasion when he was abroad'). The records do not accord with this generous assertion.

<sup>250</sup> QS2/1/77 – 79. At the start of 1865 the numbers at Wandsworth had risen to 1037 (but see later table). On 3 January, 1865, Strange Biggs in a routine report to the Court commented about the constant readmission of patients. He said that they were found fit enough for discharge but on

become desperate. An attempt to resolve the problem of London's sick, aged and insane poor was about to be made by major legislation.

As has been discussed in Ch 6 the emergence of the general mixed workhouse in which all classes of paupers were housed became the norm after the introduction of the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834. True, some Unions had built new workhouses and many had enlarged and refurbished their pre-1834 establishments. Some had introduced rudimentary classification which included lunatic wards and separate accommodation for children. It is also true that, given still the likelihood of seasonal fluctuations in employment, the general trend was a reduction in the number of able-bodied paupers receiving outdoor relief. But there was a marked increase in the proportion of paupers receiving indoor relief to the total number of paupers, the majority of whom were sick and aged and a growing number who were classified as chronically insane. Many workhouses were severely overcrowded, and the accompanying provision of medical services permitted and/or provided by the central and local authorities was inadequate for the growing needs imposed upon them. There were insufficient hospitals in the voluntary sector to provide care and treatment even if the poor law authorities had been willing to pay for it. The situation in London was particularly severe.

Two examples will serve to illustrate the conditions in many workhouses disclosed by inspection in the second half of the 1850's, firstly, by action undertaken by the PLB, and, secondly, as the result of action by one of several pressure groups seeking to improve such conditions. In 1856, Dr Henry Bence Jones of St George's

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returning to the home locality were quickly overcome by the conditions of poverty with which they could not cope because they had nothing to relieve the condition. Symptoms of depression, which was the reason for their admission in the first place, reappeared and they were readmitted beginning the cycle again. He made a plea for a small allowance to set them on their feet; the asylum did what it could by a payment from the asylum's Benevolent Fund but it was not enough. Needless to say no notice was taken of his suggestion.

Hospital, at the behest of the PLB, was asked to inspect St Pancras workhouse which revealed that the infirmary wards were overcrowded, lacked adequate ventilation and basic sanitation resulting in a high incidence of dysentery and stomach ulcers.

Applicants for outdoor relief were kept waiting in underground pens subjected to foul air and poor ventilation resulting in incidence of typhus, one of which had been a Relieving Officer. The rooms used to accommodate lunatics were unwholesome and unsuitable for the purpose. Bence Jones's report raised a storm of publicity. Among its front-runners was the *Lancet*, the involvement of which was to continue<sup>251</sup>. The second example arose in 1857 from the disclosures of Miss Louisa Twining, a founder member of the Workhouse Visiting Society, following her visits to the Strand workhouse over a four-year period. She described the overcrowding, poor ventilation and foul air, inadequate diet, the cruelty of the workhouse staff and poor relationship between the Workhouse Master and its Medical Officer.

Adverse public opinion and pressure from reforming groups and individuals led to a series of actions summarised as follows. First a parliamentary Select Committee under the chairmanship of Charles Villiers, President of the Poor Law Board, was appointed in 1861 to study poor relief throughout the country. Its report, published in 1864, inconclusive and somewhat complacent, was seized upon by Florence Nightingale<sup>252</sup>, who was concerned with nursing reform. She had been involved with the introduction of trained nurses into a Liverpool infirmary but had turned her attention to condition of the sick poor in London's workhouses. Contact with Villiers in early February, 1865, led her, with the willing help of a Poor Law Inspector, H B Farnall, to develop a questionnaire inquiring into the workhouses and

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<sup>251</sup> R Hodgkinson, *The Origins of the National Health Service*, (Wellcome Institute, London, 1967), pp 455 – 456.

<sup>252</sup> G M Ayers, *England's First State Hospitals, 1867 – 1930*, (Wellcome Institute, London, 1971), pp 6 – 11, 22 and 26.

sick wards of Metropolitan Unions. Later, in July, a 'commission', appointed by the *Lancet* comprising Drs Hare, Anstie and Carr carried out visits to all but one of the workhouses in London. The visits uncovered a picture of inadequate buildings poorly ventilated (close to at least three workhouses noxious trades were carried out for which the Guardians received fees), bad sanitation, poor internal supervision, wide use of untrained staff, and negligent management. Visiting Committees appointed by the Guardians either carried out their inspections superficially or, sometimes, not at all. The commissioners suggested that the existence of Local Acts was likely to lead to poor management. Their reports were published regularly in the *Lancet* in 1865 - 66<sup>253</sup>. Meanwhile, Miss Nightingale continued her efforts and using the data from her questionnaires produced her recommendations for reform in a book 'A, B, C of Workhouse Reform' which she gave to Villiers. Though he promised to press for legislative reform, instead he set up another inquiry headed by Farnall and Dr Edward Smith (the first doctor to be appointed as a Poor Law Inspector) into London's workhouses. Their findings were similar to the *Lancet* commission, but progress on reform was temporarily held up by a change of government – and with it a change of personalities. Villiers was replaced by Gathorne Gathorne-Hardy, barrister and able politician, who politely resisted Miss Nightingale's pressure for reform (despite the fact that she had by that time enlisted the support of Edwin Chadwick). Instead, he appointed another inquiry team which included Dr W O Markham and Mr Ulvedale Corbett (a respected Poor Law Inspector) whose findings did no more than confirm all that had been found out before. In February 1867, Gathorne-Hardy introduced the Metropolitan Poor Bill in the House of Commons.

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<sup>253</sup> *Lancet*, 1865, Vol I, pp 71, 410, 547, 666; Vol II, pp 14, 71 – 72, 73, 131, 184, 240, 296, 355, 513, 575, 711; 1866, Vol I, pp 104, 178, 376, 639; Vol II, pp 45, 169, 214, 242, 343, 361, 446. Among the worst was St George the Martyr. Some criticism was made of Lambeth, Camberwell and Bermondsey, but St Mary Newington and Wandsworth & Clapham escaped with only light censure.

The Metropolitan Poor Act, 1867<sup>254</sup> received Royal Assent on 29 March, 1867. Its passage through parliament was achieved relatively smoothly and rapidly. The accounts of the debates in the House of Commons during its passage show that Gathorne-Hardy was knowledgeable, confident, both persuasive and authoritative as required, and sensitive to how much he could achieve<sup>255</sup>. He portrayed the Act as an extension of existing poor laws in that:

1. it acknowledged the existence of the destitute sick and aged as a different class from the able-bodied poor.
2. it would require a return to original intentions of 1834 act of classification and accommodation in separate establishments rather than allowing the sick and aged to occupy accommodation originally intended as a deterrent to the able-bodied.
3. it would help to reduce overcrowding in workhouses and improve the care of the sick and aged.
4. it was intended to provide fever and isolation hospitals in addition to workhouse infirmaries, and 'auxiliary asylums'<sup>256</sup>.
5. it would provide medical treatment for the able-bodied poor.
6. its cost would be met by a small addition to the rates but operated by a common fund.

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<sup>254</sup> 30 & 31 Vict, c 6. Essentially an extension of the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834, its preamble underlines its range and purpose – 'An Act for the Establishment in the Metropolis of Asylums for the Sick, Insane, and other Classes of the Poor, and of Dispensaries; and for the Distribution over the Metropolis of Portions of the Charge for Poor Relief; and for Other Purposes relating to Poor Relief in the Metropolis'. It was to apply to London (the Metropolis, as defined by the Metropolis Management Act, 1855), it was concerned about setting up hospitals for the sick as well as asylums for the insane, and the provision of medical care for the able-bodied, to paid for from a common fund.

<sup>255</sup> *Hansard*, Vol 185 (third series) 1867. The debates are reported in cols 151 – 58, 160, 162, 163, 164 – 165, 168 – 172, 173, 753, 773, 774 – 775, 776, 777, 778, 1608, 1609, 1610, 1611 – 1613, 1674, 1686 1862, 1864, 1865 and Appendix.

<sup>256</sup> The concept of auxiliary asylums was not new. The CL in its concern to retain the county asylums as curative centres had hinted as much in the past – the last time by Shaftesbury at the 1859- 1869 Select Committee.

7. it would do away with local acts which had inhibited the application of the poor laws.

Sadly, despite its able introduction and the worthiness of its content, it had little more than a momentary effect on the provision of resources for the care and treatment of Surrey's insane. There was a short period when the balance of provision in the county asylums and private asylums was disturbed by the building of the Metropolitan Asylum Board's (MAB) asylum at Caterham. The county asylums soon continued to overfill<sup>257</sup>, requiring more alterations and additions, whilst Caterham quickly filled.

In May 1867, a Joint Committee formed from the Committees of Visitors of Wandsworth and Brookwood met to determine the numbers of lunatics that should be admitted from each Union or parish<sup>258</sup>. It was agreed that Brookwood would receive the following:

- Ash Incorporation - all
- Chertsey – all
- Dorking – all
- Farnham – all
- Guildford – all
- Hambledon – all
- Windsor – all (Berkshire)
- Lunatics chargeable to the county – all
- Bermondsey – not exceeding 30
- Camberwell – not exceeding 25
- Lambeth – not exceeding 100
- St Mary Newington – not exceeding 50
- Rotherhithe – not exceeding 20
- St George the Martyr – not exceeding 20
- St Olave's – not exceeding 15
- St Saviour's – not exceeding 20

The asylum at Wandsworth for all others.

Prior to the opening of the asylum the Committee of Visitors was selected and key appointments made<sup>259</sup>. The accounts for the building showed that the budgeted

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<sup>257</sup> QS2/1/80 – As early as 7 April, 1862, the Court admitted that even with completion of Brookwood there would still be a shortfall in accommodation.

<sup>258</sup> QS5/1/3 – Committee formed of members of committees of Wandsworth and Brookwood Asylums to determine the Unions from which Brookwood Asylum should receive patients. May 1867. Minutes of meeting.

<sup>259</sup> 3043/1/1/1/1 – First Annual Report of the Committee of Visitors of the Surrey County Asylum, Brookwood for the year ending 31 December, 1867. Committee members: Hon Francis Scott,

amounts were largely achieved at a considerably lower unit cost than the national average<sup>260</sup>.

After further delays caused by the inadequacy and uncertainty of the water supply, Brookwood opened on 17 June, 1867<sup>261</sup>. In his section of the Annual Report Brushfield, the Medical Superintendent, comments on the first intake of 328 patients<sup>262</sup>:

‘It has been repeatedly urged by Asylum Superintendents that the probability of recovery lessens in geometrical progression each succeeding day that proper treatment is delayed....in asylums. Filling public asylums with chronic cases fills up space to the exclusion of the curable. Instead of retaining the high office of Hospitals for early treatment, they degenerate into depots of incurables.’<sup>263</sup>

Brookwood’s weekly charge on opening was 12/-, more expensive than Wandsworth

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Chairman, Duke of Northumberland, Lord Hylton, Hon Peter Locke King, Hon William Broderick, Francis Henry Beaumont, George Best, John Ivatt Briscoe, Major Charles W Calvert, Allen Chandler, William Hardman, John E Johnson, Major-General John Arthur Lambert, Duncan MacDonald, Lt Col Frederick Marshall, Arthur Stirling Mathison, Robert Hay Murray, Major Pitcairn Onslow, Thomas Willmer Pollock. Dr Thomas Nadauld Brushfield (formerly Medical Superintendent, Cheshire County Asylum) was appointed Residential Medical Superintendent, Josiah Cartledge, Clerk to the Visitors, Walter Cappe, Clerk & Steward, Housekeeper, Mrs White, Head Male Attendant, J C Turner, Head Female Attendant, Miss Flint

<sup>260</sup> *ibid* – Total costs of £104855 were £1855 in excess of budget. Unit cost was £161 per patient as opposed to the national average (for 13 most recently built asylums) of £210 per patient. This should be compared with the unit cost of building Caterham asylum (£91 per patient) where cheapness was the aim.

<sup>261</sup> The three wells sunk to provide water for the asylum proved to be uncertain and inadequate for the expected demand. Mr R Rawlinson, a civil engineer employed by the Local Government Act Office, was engaged to make suggestions for improvement. Rawlinson recommended the construction of a storage lake filled with water from a nearby stream and this was quickly done providing a stored capacity of 400,000 gallons. He also sought the aid of a Professor J Thomas Way, a water supply expert, who analysed the mineral salts present in the existing arrangements (apparently acceptable) and recommended the use of treated canal water from the adjacent Basingstoke Canal. The suggestion was not immediately taken up. 3043/1/1/1/1 – First Annual Report of the Committee of Visitors.

<sup>262</sup> *ibid* – 130 patients were transferred from Wandsworth, 2 from Sussex County Asylum (Sussex eventually gave up its resistance to building an asylum – its first was opened in 1859 at Haywards Heath), 2 from Hanwell, 4 from Camberwell House, 57 from Bethnal Green, 33 from Hoxton, 15 from Peckham House, 1 from Fisherton House, 1 from Bethlem and 83 from Workhouses or with friends and relatives (328 total allegedly). Of these he identified the Unions from whence they came totalling 285 – 2 from Ash, 11 from Bermondsey, 27 from Chertsey, 19 from Dorking, 24 from Farnham, 48 from Guildford, 21 from Hambledon, 42 from Lambeth, 49 from St Mary Newington, 3 from Rotherhithe, 10 from St George the Martyr, 15 from St Saviour’s, 1 from St Olave’s, 12 from Windsor, 1 from Godstone. The discrepancy between admission numbers (328) and origin numbers (285) is made up by the addition of 43 patients chargeable to the County.

<sup>263</sup> *ibid* – whilst the mathematical certainty of progressive likelihood of failure to cure can have no basis, the second sentence sums up the situation in which asylum medical staff found themselves.



which had risen to 10/-, invoking some protests from the Unions.

With Surrey's second county asylum in operation, albeit experiencing some 'teething troubles', particularly those concerned with an adequate supply of water, attention is now briefly turned to the implementation of the Metropolitan Poor Act, 1867, so far as it affected Surrey. However, attention will be confined to the implementation of those parts of the act concerned with the provision of resources for the care and treatment of lunatics<sup>264</sup>. Though located in Surrey in the instance of Caterham Asylum, MAB provision, though intended in part for Surrey inhabitants, was not under the control of any Surrey authority. Indeed, relationships between the MAB and the Surrey Court of Quarter Sessions got off to a bad start when not one of the justices was invited to become a member of the managing committee of the new asylum.

The first meeting of the MAB<sup>265</sup> took place on 22 June, 1867, at Springfield Gardens, the headquarters of the Metropolitan Board of Works. The Board comprised 60 members (45 elected members representing the 39 Unions and Parishes of London and 15 nominated by the PLB) and elected Dr William Brewer as its Chairman. Among the early tasks of the Board was to choose the sites for its hospitals and asylums; the hospitals needed to be within easy reach of their potential patients in London, but by contrast the asylums were sited in the surrounding country – one to north and one to the south of the Thames. A 128-acre site at Caterham, high up on the North Downs, was selected for the southern location. No doubt the cheapness of

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<sup>264</sup> In so doing it ignores the enormous task taken on by the MAB in the provision of fever, isolation of infective diseases hospitals, ambulance services, and the training of young people, activities which were not only important but were factors in the, at times, uneasy relationship between the PLB and the MAB. Furthermore, the act created six Metropolitan Asylum Districts with the Board at their head (this organizational sub-division did not survive) each charged with providing resources for the care and treatment of the sick and insane poor. The MAB's business is reported in Minute Books which bear on their spines the words 'Metropolitan Asylum District' (the acronym for this body was, it is hoped, an example of unconscious Victorian humour) to which the Managing Committee of Caterham Asylum (MCCA) reported.

<sup>265</sup> G M Ayers, *op cit*, *England's First State Hospitals*, Ch 3 and 4, pp 31 – 48.

cheapness of the land (£45 per acre) was a major factor in the choice of site, but it was also a healthy one and being south of London (with prevailing winds in the south to west quarter) free of smoke and smell of the capital. Caterham, though still a predominantly rural community, had another advantage – a railway line, opened in 1856. Originally intended for the transport of stone from nearby quarries and mines, it had become a means of journeying to London for a small number of well-to-do professional and business men whose new large houses had been built in the valley to the east of the site, close to the railway station. The arrival of these new inhabitants had attracted a number of shopkeepers and tradesmen to the area and the population had increased significantly since the railway's arrival. The building of the asylum attracted a mixed response from local people. Some were resistant, but the majority saw the benefits to the local economy with more trade and new residential building.

The MAB selected a building design by John Giles, Architect, for the Caterham and Leavesdon Asylums (Leavesdon in Hertfordshire was the site chosen for the northern asylum), stipulating that so far as the sites allowed, the buildings were to be identical. John Thomas Chappel, a builder from Steyning, Sussex, eventually, was awarded the contract to build the asylum material, for which was transported by a tramway spur from the main London to Brighton railway line and from a siding at the village of neighbouring Warlingham on huge carts towed by a steam traction engine. It was originally intended to have water supplied by the Caterham Spring Water Company but the quotation for the service was considered to be too high and it was decided to sink a well. The task eventually fell to Thomas Docwra & Son, a specialist well-sinking company, which after some initial difficulty and delay, proved so successful that the water supply discovered was not only sufficient to meet the asylum's needs but also to supply the Brigade of Guards Depot opened on the next-

door site in 1877. As first designed the asylum consisted of twelve 3-storey ward blocks, an infirmary, administration block, chapel, farm and gas-works (the latter also built by Docwra). Despite three fairly severe winters the building proceeded to time and the asylum was opened on 29 September, 1870 (though not all the building was finished and at the time the water supply was not entirely reliable). Dr James Adams was the asylum's first Medical Superintendent, assisted by Dr George Stanley Elliott, and George White (ex-Master of St Mary Newington Workhouse) the Steward<sup>266</sup>.

With the commencement of admissions, patient numbers grew rapidly, though there were occasions in the first year of operation when admissions had to be stopped when the water supply failed<sup>267</sup>. Some of the early admissions included younger men who, whilst suffering from mental illness, were physically strong and thus useful for employment as labourers in making roads and planting crops. Thereafter, admissions of the elderly were the more common; these elderly patients were frequently in a very frail state requiring care in the infirmary, the size of which proved inadequate necessitating the conversion of two standard wards for temporary use as infirmaries. By contrast, a small number of children were also admitted but the practice ended in 1873 when alternative temporary accommodation in Hampstead was used pending the opening of the Darenth Training Colony in Kent in 1878. The

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<sup>266</sup> A fruitful source of information on the operation of Caterham Asylum are the Minutes of the Meeting of Managers of the Metropolitan Asylum District, i.e., the MAB. Meetings took place every two weeks, the Board receiving reports from all the MAB hospitals and asylums, including correspondence with the PLB, accounts, staff matters, patient numbers, diets, etc., contained in bound annual volumes from 1867 – 1930. MAB Minutes, Vol IV, 1870 to 1871- All staff appointments were ratified by the PLB. As an example of the control which the PLB exerted over the MAB, the former insisted that White's title be 'House Superintendent' and not the traditional 'Steward' (letter from PLB dated 8 October, 1870, recorded at MAB meeting on the same date). White, nevertheless, was nearly always referred to as the Steward in correspondence from the asylum, and referred to as such in the asylum and locally. Other key appointments were William Crickmay, Resident Engineer (who had the unenviable task of making the systems and machinery operational in the first year or so in the life of the asylum), Miss E E Mosely, Matron, Rev J Ground, Chaplain, and Mr W H Pratten, Clerk.

<sup>267</sup> MAB Minutes, Vol IV, p 204 – the first Caterham Asylum Return of Patient Admissions up to and including 3 November, 1870 gave a total of 276 admissions. Within a fortnight the number had risen to 322. At the end of November admissions were suspended for a month because of water supply difficulties. By 18 March, 1871 the number in the asylum had risen to 1136 (467 Males, 669 Females).

sources of patient admissions did not match the expectations of the Surrey authorities<sup>268</sup>, and the easing in the pressure for accommodation at Wandsworth, in particular, and to a lesser extent Brookwood, was not as marked as had been hoped. By June, 1872, patient numbers had risen to 1672 and Caterham Asylum Management Committee sought and obtained approval for the construction of a new accommodation block. It was completed at the end of 1873 providing accommodation for a further 210 patients, raising the total capacity of the asylum to 1900. It was still not enough and another new block was opened in 1875 bringing the total capacity to well over 2000.

#### The pressure for more accommodation at the county asylums continued

Year	Wandsworth	Brookwood	Lic'd Houses	Workhouses	With friends	Total
1865	918	-	430	504	107	1959
1866	915	-	516	490	104	1833 (2025)
1867	915	-	434	574	110	2115 (2033)
1868	910	308	338	553	117	2326 (2226)
1869	914	314	278	550	118	2378 (2174)

Table 22. The figures given in this table were discussed at the Court of Quarter Sessions on 6 April, 1869. They were used to reflect the Court's concern about the rate of increase in the number of insane and to show that the resources available for accommodation were not sufficient to cope with existing and expected numbers. From these figures the Court deduced that the number of insane was increasing at the rate of 100 per annum. This figure cannot be reconciled from the data given – which is in any case wrong! The corrected totals are in brackets. The table is, therefore, of interest because it illustrates that even by this time the local authorities were working from data of doubtful accuracy, but, notwithstanding that, the fact remains that there was a shortage of available accommodation. Source: QS2/1/82 – Quarter Session Order Books.

throughout the mid-1860's and early 1870's. A typical example was a petition from the Guardians of the Poor of St Mary Newington<sup>269</sup>, to which the Court's response

<sup>268</sup> In the Second Annual Report of the Committee of Visitors to Brookwood Asylum, Brushfield in his report, presumably as a result of some informal contact, stated that patients admitted to Caterham Asylum would come from the Unions and Parishes of St Olave's, St Saviour's, Wandsworth & Clapham, St George the Martyr, Camberwell, Lambeth, St Mary Newington and Rotherhithe and from the Kent Metropolitan Unions of Greenwich and Lewisham. In the event, as Caterham's Return of Admissions for 18 March, 1871 shows, admissions were included from Middlesex and Metropolitan Kent as well as Surrey Metropolitan Unions – Fulham, Greenwich, Holborn, Lewisham, Strand, St George the Martyr, St Olave's, St Saviour's, Wandsworth & Clapham, Woolwich, Westminster, Camberwell, St Giles & St George, Bloomsbury, St Luke's, Chelsea, and Lambeth.

<sup>269</sup> QS2/1/81 – the Court received a 'Memorial' from the Guardians of the Poor of the Parish of St Mary Newington (as has been noted, St Mary Newington was a parish with a Board of Governors of the Poor established by a Local Act. The petition was sent on 20 September, 1868, before the Metropolitan Poor Act took effect and abolished St Mary's independent status, forcing it to join, along with St George the Martyr, the Union of St Saviour's in early 1869. The 'memorialists' complained that they had 208 pauper lunatics, a number which had grown from 140 in 1863. They went on to assert that the opening of Brookwood had been of no advantage to them, that with private asylums in London,

was hardly helpful; they assured the Governors that the opening of Caterham Asylum would ease the problem (an event still two years away). Though the Court was working from uncertain data, as Table 22 shows, the situation was becoming desperate. At its meeting on 6 April, 1869, the Court's discussion referred to the current legislative position and the failure of the CL to comply with the law<sup>270</sup>. In early 1870 the Court sent a circular letter to all the Boards of Guardians asking if they had any accommodation for pauper lunatics in their workhouses. With the exception of Chertsey and Guildford who promised to help, the inquiry met with a nil response. The Court's attitude towards Caterham Asylum was somewhat hostile, though this may have been influenced to some extent by Brushfield's comments<sup>271</sup>. The opening of Caterham Asylum, providing as it did a brief respite from the inexorable pressure to find more accommodation, was not openly welcomed.

On the other hand, Brushfield showed considerable awareness of the hardship suffered by the elderly and incurable patients who were admitted to Brookwood and was concerned for their welfare<sup>272</sup>. Dr Adams at Caterham expressed

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and their workhouse full, they had been forced to send pauper lunatics to Fisherton House, Salisbury with 'high costs of transport'. They urged the Court to make provision for more accommodation.

<sup>270</sup> 25 & 26 Vict, c 111 – Lunatics Law Amendment Act, 1862, Section 8 which stated that subject to the approval of both the CL and the PLB it was permissible to move lunatics out of county asylums into alternative accommodation. The Court noted the failure of the CL to comply. It is certainly true that the CL's position at this time was ambiguous. On the one hand it wished to see a reduction in the use of licensed houses, but on the other hand their criticism of workhouses remained, as did the antipathy towards enlargement of county asylums.

<sup>271</sup> 3043/1/1/1/2 – in the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Annual Reports of the Committee of Visitors to Brookwood Asylum, Brushfield was disdainful about Caterham. He quoted the Metropolitan Poor Act, 1867, 'every such asylum shall be considered as a workhouse'. He also stated 'the providing for lunatics in "Chronic Asylums" at Caterham and Leavesdon under the MAB and under the control of the PLB is a retrograde movement ... [because] it further places and retains patients under the PLB instead of under the CL withdrawing them from protection of lunacy laws'. He maintained that these asylums were constructed on grounds of economy but they seemed to cost as much as a county asylum and would cost the same to run. His solution to the problem of housing chronic cases was to build 'dwellings for married attendants next to detached wards or "annexes" in the grounds or vicinity of the asylum, homely and simple, for large numbers of quiet and useful patients' and 'separate wards for congenital idiots and imbeciles who require different treatment and for whom association with ordinary patients is prejudicial'. He stated that such facilities would cost £40 - £60 per head and had been successfully tried out at asylums in Devon, Wakefield and Chester.

<sup>272</sup> 3043/1/1/1/2 – Fifth Annual Report of the Committee of Visitors for the year ending 31 December, 1871. In his report Brushfield observes – 'Several aged people, probably owing to their occasioning

similar concern about elderly patients that formed an increasing percentage of the admissions to the asylum. In his early annual reports he speaks repeatedly of patients suffering 'nothing worse than childishness or loss of memory, the natural result of old age' who should not be sent to an asylum far from their friends and relatives. He, too, appeared to be in no doubt that many of these old people were being sent to asylums to avoid the problems of nursing them in the workhouses.

But come they did and Caterham's intake of the so-called 'chronic and harmless' lunatics had but a momentary effect on the problems of accommodation faced by Wandsworth and Brookwood Asylums in the early 1870s. In 1872, the two establishments again combined through a joint committee to try to estimate the numbers for whom they needed immediate and future accommodation. They came up with a figure of 500 which, it was decided, would be split evenly between the two establishments. It meant the construction of new and enlarged buildings over the period 1872 – 1875. It was to prove insufficient and attention is now turned to the final quarter of the nineteenth-century when further changes in lunacy legislation, local government reorganisation and further asylum construction took place. First, it would be useful to review the provision of resources in private asylums and workhouses.

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some trouble to their relatives or to the workhouse authorities from petulance and harmless restlessness in great measure incident to old age; and for want of a little kindness and attention, they appear to have been sent to the asylum for the mere purpose of getting them out of the way; and so occupied room which ought to have been devoted to cases of more hopeful and more necessitous character.' He is also very concerned about incidents of patients being sent to Brookwood when they were suffering from complaints which ought to have been treated before they were moved, or others clearly near to death who should not have been moved at all. He cited incidents of a young woman arriving in an exhausted state bound hand and foot, another very ill with puerperal mania who died within 3 weeks of admission, a third, a middle-aged woman sent the 14 miles from Dorking workhouse in a 'cab' also bound and dressed in a restraining jacket so close to death that she died within 7½ hours of admission. In other examples of uncaring relatives Brushfield cites examples of relatives seeking the discharge of patients because they want them to work at home, or one case where a mother wants her son discharged so that she and her son can sign documents concerning some financial dealings of benefit to her, after which she wanted him re-admitted.

## Chapter 8 – Concluding Years, Continuing Problems

The fortunes of the proprietors of Surrey's private asylums (see Table 21, Ch 6) were mixed in the mid to late-nineteenth century. The long-established Great Fosters closed in 1866<sup>273</sup>, followed by its fellow eighteenth-century establishment, Lea Pale House, in 1879<sup>274</sup>. Church Street, Epsom was licensed to George Stilwell (the Stilwell family had long association with the 'lunacy trade') in 1845 for private female patients ('of the nervous kind') who were given a good deal of freedom and enjoyed the company of the Stilwell family<sup>275</sup>. The Retreat, Clapham, originally owned by George Man Burrows from 1823, but sold to James Bush in 1843 (who initially was frequently criticised for use of excessive restraint), closed in 1872 on the death of the proprietor. Other rural houses survived for shorter periods and all took in private patients only. Timberham House, Charlwood was licensed to James Cole, his brother Henry acting as 'Surgeon', having moved from Dartmouth House, Lewisham, in 1856, until it was destroyed by fire in 1861. Its patients were all males (five to eight in number) and those who were in residence when the house caught fire were transferred to Sussex County Asylum. Towards the end of the century a number of small establishments were licensed, though the CL had, since 1860, attempted to discourage the licensing of private asylums (it had actively stopped the licensing of

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<sup>273</sup> One of the last assessments was as a result of an inspection by the CL in 1862 when it was described as 'a large old-fashioned mansion in a dilapidated condition...numerous apartments, those on the upper floor small and low. Gardens front and rear, in all 15 acres. Used for more than 100 years on the first visit it was licensed to Sir John Chapman, G F Furnival and Charles Summers... now to G F and E F Furnival with Charles N McCaull as Resident Medical Officer. Fifteen patients... in an unsatisfactory state due to the parsimony of the proprietors. There have been frequent changes in the medical supervisors (exercising) insufficient authority. Patients are exercised and given the use of a carriage.' Sixteenth Annual Report of Commissioners in Lunacy to the Lord Chancellor dated 31 March, 1862. The building still stands.

<sup>274</sup> QS5/5/7 – Minutes of Visiting Justices to Surrey Asylums – entry for 1879. However, both Lea Pale House and Great Fosters were inspected at the same time in 1862 by the CL. Of Lea Pale House the Commissioners reported it was – 'irregular, old fashioned (house), gardens now let off, about half an acre remaining. Originally for 30 patients, now reduced to eight males, all old and chronic.' The building has long since disappeared under the development of modern Guildford.

<sup>275</sup> QS5/5/6 – Minutes of Visiting Justices of Surrey – entry for 1845. Church Street, Epsom remained in operation until 1933 under the Stilwells and others.

new establishments taking in pauper lunatics). From 1876 it was willing to approve the issue of new licences to establishments admitting small numbers of ‘quiet’ patients or, as will be shown, caring for families with particular mental health problems. Typical of this kind of small private asylum was Colville, Norwood<sup>276</sup>. Canbury House, Kingston had a licence granted to a Mr Root in 1879<sup>277</sup> who opened with one male patient. Within three months the patient had gone and the licence was not renewed at the end of a year, though a licence was granted in 1886 when the house reopened to admit two male patients; Canbury house finally closed in 1895. Small private asylums were opened first in 1880 – Woodcote End, Epsom to Dr W C Daniel (closed two years later) and in 1881, Croshams, Sutton<sup>278</sup>. The last small rural private asylum to open in the nineteenth-century was Sutherland House, Surbiton, licensed to Mr B Collum for two female patients.

Excluding Peckham House and Camberwell House (which will be examined below), the Metropolitan private asylums which opened in the latter part of the nineteenth-century were similar in character to their rural counterparts – small and serving the needs of a small number of patients, usually for one sex, or for related lunatics. Althorpe House, originally licensed to Paul Hain, was sold to James Tow and his wife in 1837, by which time it had ceased taking in paupers and admitted private patients only, finally closing in 1851<sup>279</sup>. Dr J C Millingen, who had earlier been relieved of his post as Medical Superintendent at Hanwell, went into partnership

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<sup>276</sup> Thirty-first Annual Report of the Commission of Lunacy, 1877. There is some uncertainty about the licensee, Mrs Francis (formerly of Brighton) who received a licence for Colville, Thurlow Park Road, Norwood ‘on expiration of her licence for Colville House, Norwood Road, granted in 1872’. She looked after four ‘idiots’, but it is uncertain whether she brought them with her from Brighton. She retained her licence until 1887 by which time the number of idiots in her charge was three.

<sup>277</sup> QS5/5/7 – Minutes of Visiting Justices to Surrey Asylums – entries for 1879 and 1886.

<sup>278</sup> *Ibid* – licensed to a Mr Atkins with one female patient. It remained open until 1888/89 when Doctor Atkins was granted a licence for Chalk Pit House, also in Sutton. Chalk Pit House subsequently closed in 1908.

<sup>279</sup> Sixth & Seventh Annual Report of the Commission in Lunacy, 1851 and 1852. Tow did not follow medical advice about hygiene and seven of his patients were victims of the 1849 outbreak of cholera. Tow never recovered from this setback and closed two years later with only two private patients.



with Mr James Parkin, Surgeon, and opened York House, a fifteenth-century house said to have belonged to the Archbishop of York, in 1846. Millingen was either bought out, or sold out, to the Misses Lush, two spinster relatives of Dr W C Finch, who put up the money, and they continued to take in up to 17 female private patients until 1856. In 1847 Charles Dean unsuccessfully attempted to open a small private asylum, Doddington Retreat<sup>280</sup>, and the following year saw the opening of Effra Hall<sup>281</sup>. The licensing of Vine Cottage, Norwood Green, in 1851, to a Mr Horsburgh for five females, is recorded in the Seventh Annual Report of the CL for 1852, but it closed in 1853, a fact reported in the Eighth Report<sup>282</sup>. A Mrs Fruen, a widow, and her daughter were licensed to open Silverton House in 1868 and it was still in operation when local government boundary changes took it out of Surrey limits<sup>283</sup>. Two examples of houses caring for members of the same family are instanced at a house in Knowle Road, Brixton<sup>284</sup>, and Ivy Lodge, Upper Tooting<sup>285</sup>. The last Surrey

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<sup>280</sup> Third Annual Report of the Commission in Lunacy, 1847. Dean applied for a licence to house eight females. He obtained a reference from James Bush of Clapham Retreat, though Bush could not say much about him because his employment there had been brief. The licensing went ahead until Cyrus Alexander Elliott of Cowper House, revealed that Dean had been sacked from his employment for theft. Doddington Retreat closed within the year.

<sup>281</sup> Fourth Annual Report of the Commission in Lunacy, 1848. Elliot (see above note) was unable to renew the lease on Cowper House, Brompton, and opened two houses, one for males (Munster House), and Effra Hall for females (up to 26 in number at its busiest) in 1848. The property consisted of the Hall and a smaller house in the gardens (it subsequently became known as Dudley Villa on the closure of Effra Hall, run by Dr W H Diamond from 1875 –76), with a Matron, Eliza Symmons, an experienced asylum nurse, in charge. Elliot appears to have been reluctant to provide the services of a qualified doctor on a permanent basis until 1854. Several doctors carried out visits but in 1857 Dr W H Diamond was appointed. The patients were divided into the more wealthy and less troublesome living in the house, the poorer, noisy and dirty patients in the small house. Subsequent reports by the CL were mixed – criticism of patients' dress and overall cleanliness, but praised for taking some of the patients to Elliott's residence in Brighton. It closed on Elliott's death in 1875.

<sup>282</sup> There is an inexplicable gap in the annual sequence of the Commission in Lunacy's reports. The Seventh Report covers 1852 and part of 1853; the Eighth Report covers 1854.

<sup>283</sup> Thirty-sixth Annual Report of the Commission in Lunacy, 1882. Though Silverton House was licensed in 1868 a full report on it appears much later. It is described as 'a small villa with garden, run by Mrs Fruen, widow, and her daughter for 'quiet' cases'. Its 'payments are moderate', it was said to be 'homely' but errors in its medical records were noted.

<sup>284</sup> Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Commission in Lunacy, 1873. A Mrs Tucker was licensed in 1872 to look after two idiots, brother and sister, at a house variously described as No 1 or No 2. She may, therefore, have moved, or the difference in house number is because of changes in such numbering caused by alterations in local authority regulations. Mrs Tucker was licensed until 1887.

Metropolitan private asylum to be licensed in the nineteenth-century was 'The Huguenots' in Wandsworth<sup>286</sup>, in 1880. This review of the licensed houses in both Metropolitan and rural Surrey, accommodating only private patients, with the possible exception of the earlier York House and later Effra Hall, were providing care for small numbers of patients. The total number of patients in all of them was less than a hundred and was almost certainly matched by the number of single lunatics. This state of affairs raises a general point, namely the provision for 'middle-class' patients to which attention is later turned.

The continuing shortfall in accommodation for pauper lunatics in the county asylums and workhouses maintained the need for alternative provision in the two large private asylums, Peckham House and Camberwell House. These two Metropolitan Surrey houses were not the only source of accommodation for pauper lunatics for Hoxton, Bethnal Green and to a lesser extent Grove Hall and Bow also continued to be used. Indeed, as later mentioned, the county asylums were forced into entering into contractual relationships with them during the critical shortage of accommodation in the 1870s. The enforced use of these establishments represents something of a dichotomy in the CL policy. Shaftesbury, publicly at least, always displayed an antipathy towards those who made a profit out from providing accommodation for lunatics<sup>287</sup> and the CL sought to minimise the number of licences issued to maintain or open licensed houses, since it could not abolish them. Restrictions were placed on the licensing of houses offering to accept pauper lunatics

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<sup>285</sup> Thirtieth Annual Report of the Commission in Lunacy, 1876. Ivy Lodge, Upper Tooting, was licensed to accommodate two imbecile brothers whose care was given to a Dr Dale. The house was still in operation at the time of local government boundary changes.

<sup>286</sup> Thirty-sixth Annual Report of the Commission in Lunacy, 1880. 'The Huguenots' was licensed to Miss Leech (formerly Matron at the Laurel Bush, Fulham) in 1880. She, together with her sister and four nurses, ran the house which is described as 'old fashioned, but commodious and much improved' for between nine and twelve females. It was still in operation at the time of the local government boundary changes.

<sup>287</sup> Except so far as his own son was concerned.

and in the latter half of the nineteenth-century such licensing was accompanied by urging more provision of accommodation for middle class lunatics. The sensible careful questioning of would-be proprietors as to their qualification and experience of caring for lunatics and inspection of the suitability of the premises intended for accommodation was introduced. At the same time, the CL faced with ever-growing numbers of the insane, the inability of the local authorities to provide county asylums, and the overcrowded and illegal use of workhouses, forced the CL to accept the existence of large private asylums predominantly concerned with providing accommodation for pauper lunatics.

Year	Peckham House	Remarks	Camberwell House	Remarks
1848	42	9M 33F	33	
1849	36	20M 15F 1Fpr	33	10M 22F 1M pr
1858	373	149M 224F	323	
1859	49	17M 32F	61	
1861	63	24M 41F	87	
1866	67	29M 38F	128	
1875	353	66M 114F 48M 125F pr	443	57M 132F 98M 136F pr
1877	302	104 198 pr	406	136 270 pr
1882	348	124 224 pr	387	258 129 pr
1884	375		489	
1885	362	105 257 pr	483	41M 125F 115M 202F pr
1887	346		476	
1890	375		489	

Table 23. Number of inmates at Peckham House and Camberwell House between 1848 – 1890. Years selected from Annual Reports of the Commission in Lunacy accompany critical comment on the management or operation of one or both establishments commonly about lack of supervision, inadequate staff numbers, etc., Note fluctuating totals and increasing numbers of private patients (pr) though these patients were not affluent.

Table 23 shows the patient numbers for selected years between 1848 and 1890. There is evidence of fluctuation caused by transfer to the county asylum when new accommodation has been added or at the behest of the CL. Camberwell which was the larger capacity establishment, increased it further by the purchase of two houses in 1875 for ‘tractable and well-behaved females’. Both houses had increased the numbers of private patients with low incomes who were not in receipt of relief and were, therefore, not paupers.

In Ch 5, Table 11, the state of the Union workhouses after the implementation of the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834 was reviewed. The table shows that among the rural Unions several built new workhouses or significantly altered and enlarged existing buildings. Most of those Unions were made up of well-spread out parishes centralised on one workhouse. That initial provision remained largely unaltered for the rest of the century but in the Unions where population growth was significant as a result of local urban growth, new workhouses and/or infirmaries were built. Thus, Croydon built a new workhouse in 1866 to which an infirmary was added in 1885. In 1836 Guildford Union opened a new workhouse with a small infirmary, designed by Scott and Moffat, well known architects of such buildings, adding a larger infirmary in 1856, and yet another in the fashionable pavilion style in 1893. Kingston also had a new workhouse, built and opened in 1839, to which an infirmary was added in 1843, followed by a second larger infirmary in 1868 and yet another added in 1899. Among the smaller rural Unions infirmaries were added to the workhouse sites at Chertsey (1894), Dorking (1898), Epsom (1882), Farnham (1870), Godstone (1885) and Hambledon (1875).

By contrast, the single-parish and multi-parish Metropolitan Unions (with the exception of Wandsworth & Clapham) all had one or more workhouses of varying age in 1835 – 36 (the period of unionisation) which continued to be used until events which followed first the report of *Lancet* 'Commission' and the implementation of the Metropolitan Poor Act, 1867. The act called for the setting up of six Sick Asylum Districts but this proved to be unnecessary and the objective of this innovation was achieved by use of existing poor law legislation, and rationalising the composition of the unions. The act also had the added benefit that the local acts by which some parishes had avoided total compliance with the poor laws were conveniently

abolished. As a result, in 1869, the Bermondsey and Rotherhithe Unions were united with the St Olave's Union, and the St George the Martyr and St Mary Newington Unions were united with the St Saviour's Union (other combinations took place in London with the overall effect that the original thirty-nine Unions were reduced to thirty). The 'marriage' of these Unions was not achieved easily and the new arrangements took time to settle down<sup>288</sup>.

The thrust of the criticism of the *Lancet* Commission and the focus of improvement called for in the Metropolitan Poor Act was the state of the workhouses, with particular regard to overcrowding and nursing, meeting the need for separate infirmaries to care for the sick and elderly, and asylums for the chronic and harmless insane. The following describes the key additions which took place in the Metropolitan union provision of resources from 1868 to the end of the century. The brevity of the description conceals the debate among the Guardians, the complexities of temporary accommodation arrangements whilst building was underway, and the financial arrangements needed to fund the additions and alterations. First, the two single parish Unions, Camberwell and Lambeth (Lambeth, it should be noted, comprised the sizeable area of Lambeth, Waterloo, Kennington and Norwood resulting in the largest population of the Surrey Unions); Camberwell built a large infirmary at its Havil Road workhouse completed in 1873 (to which a circular Ward Tower was added in 1889), and two new workhouses at Gordon Road (1878) and Constance Road (1892). Lambeth presents a complex picture but, simplified, resulted

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<sup>288</sup> SoBG39/17 – 19 – Minutes of Meeting of St Saviour's Board of Guardians covering period 10 Jan, 1867 to 20 June, 1870. At a meeting of the Guardians on 24 Jan, 1867 Uvedale Corbett, Poor Law Inspector attended to sound out reaction to likely amalgamation and received a frosty response. At subsequent meetings there were repeated critical comment about the prospect. However, at a meeting on 1 April, 1869, a letter signed by Goschen, President of the PLB was presented stating the Unions were to be amalgamated on 28 Aug, 1869 to be effective from 1 Oct, 1869. Thereafter, for some years, the Guardians met as a combined Board and then broke up to continue the meeting in three separate rooms, one for each of the constituent former unions.

in the change of role of its former workhouse in Princes Road, a new workhouse in Renfrew Road opened in 1871, the use of a temporary workhouse in Vauxhall from 1869 to 1871 and the eventual building of an infirmary in Brook Drive opened in 1877. The newly combined Union of St Olave continued using its own Parrish Street workhouse and Bermondsey's Tanner Street workhouse, whilst Rotherhithe's Lower Road workhouse was used for able-bodied males, and a new infirmary on a nearby site was opened in 1873. St Olave's later added a further infirmary, Ladywell in Malyon Terrace in 1898. St Saviour's Marlborough Street workhouse continued in use serving the new combined Union, as did the St George the Martyr's Mint Street workhouse (despite its notorious reputation following the *Lancet* Commission report), and it continued the lease on Eagle House, Mitcham until 1870 when the property was sold to Holborn Union. St Mary Newington's existing Westmoreland Road workhouse was enlarged and a new hospital block added to it in 1850. Finally, Wandsworth & Clapham Union's St John's Hill workhouse, opened in 1838, which included a detached infirmary had a further large infirmary added to the site in 1870. A new workhouse was built in 1886 in Garratt Lane, at which time the St John's site was wholly utilised as an infirmary.

The increase in medical and mental health resources revealed in the above audit of private asylums, workhouses and infirmaries, together with emergence of MAB Asylum at Caterham did very little to mitigate the relentless growth in demand for accommodation for those requiring mental health care and treatment. Before returning to the resultant problems facing the county asylums, there is a change in the organisation of one of the main central authorities to be noted, for it had repercussions in the relationship between them. The PLB and the Local Government Act Office

combined to form the Local Government Board in 1871<sup>289</sup>. Judging from the correspondence emerging from the new joint authority' it suffered from the same faults as the PLB – preoccupation with a mass of trivial matters which stretched its limited manpower resources<sup>290</sup>.

The results of the discussions of the joint committee of members of the Visiting Committees of Wandsworth and Brookwood over the future disposition of patients between the two asylums was discussed at length by the Court in 1872<sup>291</sup>. As a result, proposals for expenditure on extending the female wards at Wandsworth for £13000 and for a recreation hall, building new male and female wards, and a 'cottage

<sup>289</sup> There are strong parallels between the development of inquiry, legislation and administration of the poor laws and those governing public health provision. In both areas at the local level responsibility passed to Boards, in the case of public health, initially, to temporary Boards of Health first established as committees of the Privy Council and then to a short-lived central board. The central authority was re-established by the Public Health Act, 1848 when the General Board of Health came into being and Local Boards of Health permanent authorities at local level. Central authority in public health matters proved less acceptable than in the area of poor law and the General Board was abolished with the Public Health Act, 1858. Its functions were divided –medical matters returned to the Privy Council, whilst a newly created department of the Home Office, the Local Government Act Office, administered what then became known as Local Boards dealing with such matters as local water supply (hence the involvement of the Local Government Act Office in water supply issues at Brookwood mentioned earlier), sewerage, drainage, street cleansing and paving etc., Poor Law and Public Health administration at central level were brought together in 1871 with the creation of the Local Government Board (LGB).

<sup>290</sup> Crowther comments that the reputation of the PLB was one of inactivity, and the LGB's little better and refers to the Webb's assessment that the LGB was a reactionary body concerned to preserve the anachronistic principles of 1834 (M A Crowther, *The Workhouse System, 1834 – 1829*, (Methuen, London, 1981), p 80). Wood provides an example of this in describing the enthusiastic support given by the LGB to the 'Crusade Against Outdoor Relief', not, however, by the issue of orders but advisory circulars, exhortation and publication of tables of comparative performance of the Unions (P Wood, *Poverty and the Workhouse in Victorian Britain*, (Sutton, Stroud, 1991). In London where the Boards of Guardians were becoming better organised (and certainly prepared to ignore or defend themselves against stricture from a central authority), the returns show that the Unions reduced the amount spent on outdoor relief.

<sup>291</sup> QS2/1/85 – 86, 1871 – 1874. Though the figure of the need for a further 500 places was not disputed, the even split between the two establishments was changed in favour of near parity of total provision of accommodation thus:

	Male	F'male	Total
Present State at			
Wandsworth	413	547	960
Brookwood	321	329	650
Total	734	876	1610
Expected increase at			
Wandsworth	100	-	100
Brookwood	300	100	400
Total	400	100	500
Giving future no's at			
Wandsworth	413	647	1060
Brookwood	421	629	1050

hospital' at Brookwood for £61000 were agreed. Plans were drawn up and eventually approved by the Secretary of State, the enlargement of both asylums starting in 1873. At Wandsworth it was decided to use direct labour to effect the improvements; the existing bricklayer was joined by a more skilful man and supervised by Bridgeland, the Steward, and Howell, the County Surveyor, commenced alterations to enlarge the wards. The results and, more important, the saving in costs, pleased the Visiting Committee and the Court. It did mean that for a short period there was an embargo placed on admission of new cases. At Brookwood, Mr J T Chappell, Builder, was engaged to carry out the work which, despite some disturbing effects on the patients, he subsequently completed on time and under budget; the Committee of Visitors expressed that they 'were very satisfied with the work'. More important both establishments had achieved their target totals of available accommodation. Their satisfaction was short lived. The government approved a grant-in-aid which enabled Boards of Guardians to receive 4/- per week for every lunatic removed from their workhouses and transferred to an asylum. Costs of private asylums had risen<sup>292</sup> and the grant increased the pressure put on by Boards of Guardians for asylum accommodation once again. In 1874 the first mention is made of building a third asylum<sup>293</sup>.

Dr Edward Swain who was Brushfield's assistant for six years was successful in being appointed Medical Superintendent for Three Counties Asylum (Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire and Huntingdonshire), in 1874, though, as will be seen,

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<sup>292</sup> LaBG14 – Minutes of Meetings of Lambeth Board of Guardians – 3 November, 1869 – 20 April, 1870. As early as 1870 Board were being advised of increase in fees. Letter from Hoxton dated 12 Jan, 1870, increase to 16/11 pw; letter from Peckham House dated 19 Jan, 1870, increase to 17/6 pw; letter from Fisherton House dated 23 Feb, 1870 informing Board that cost of keeping a lunatic child was 21/- pw. Private asylum costs continued to rise throughout the 1870s.

<sup>293</sup> QS5/6/1/40 – Thirty-second Annual Report of Committee of Visitors to Surrey County Asylum, Wandsworth, 1874. The Committee asks the Court to 'give consideration to building a third asylum at an estimated cost of £150000.' Nearly 10 years later that initial consideration led to the opening of Cane Hill Asylum at Coulsdon.



their association did not end with Swain's departure. Dr James Barton was appointed in Swain's place. Brushfield seemed to be able to command the loyalty and commitment of his subordinates and they developed well under his stewardship. In addition to Swain, Barton and a later appointee, Dr J M Moody, were all subsequently promoted.

Brushfield had two themes to which he frequently referred in his reports to the Visiting Committee. He commented on the causes of insanity attributing the main cause of general paralysis to intemperance.<sup>294</sup> He was always concerned that Brookwood should be allowed to do the job for which it was intended, i.e., cure, when possible, the mentally ill and he frequently complained about the number of incurables sent for admission. In his 1875 report he gave the following figures of incurables and from whence they came in a year:

Where from	Male	F'male	Total
Bethnal Green	11	7	18
Camberwell H	-	26	26
Grove Hall	1	-	1
Hoxton	4	13	17
Fisherton H	11	37	48
Peckham H	4	21	25
Colney Hatch	2	3	5
Wandsworth	2	18	20
Total	35	125	160

The years 1876 – 1884 must have been stressful for the medical staff at both Wandsworth and Brookwood. Their expansion plans had been fulfilled yet there was no respite in the demand for accommodation. At Brookwood matters were not helped when, in 1876, Brushfield was attacked by an epileptic patient, the results of which

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<sup>294</sup> Brushfield said that it was difficult to pin down the cause of general paralysis because patients either could not or would not disclose their past history, and neither would relatives when questioned during visits. In the few cases where recovery was effected patients became more forthcoming and often confessed to excessive drinking. The fewer female patients with general paralysis were even more difficult to diagnose because they were even more secretive. He believed the major cause of drinking was the high wages paid to artisans and labourers alike (wage levels did certainly rise towards the end of the century). Furthermore, instead of regular weekly wages payment was now by the hour. When men could not work because of, say, inclement weather, payment ceased, and the men would then go to the nearest public house or ale-house and get drunk.

were such that he was unable to work for about 3 months. Strangely, the details of the attack are sketchy but it meant that Barton had to take over Brushfield's duties which he did ably. There were continued problems with the water supply, particularly in the summer months when for two years running supply had had to be supplemented by recourse to the Basingstoke Canal and later its successor the Hampshire Canal Company, and the Woking Water Company. The problem was only finally resolved by the engagement of a water expert, Sir Frederick Bramwell, who devised a total scheme of water tower, tanks, mains and hydrants carried out by two contracting firms in 1886, but not before there was an epidemic of enteric fever. On the recommendation of the CL (inspections by which were consistently favourable) the gas works was demolished, re-sited and recommissioned in 1877.

Brushfield returned to work still apparently shaken by his ordeal. His 1877 report to the Visiting Committee which included the enteric fever epidemic concluded feelingly with the remark that he was 'relieved to see what has been an anxious year over.' The two asylums were not alone in experiencing problems of overcrowding and unending demand for accommodation. Middlesex, with close parallels to Surrey, and, indeed, worse in having a larger urban area, opened another asylum sited in Surrey at Banstead in 1877. It was identical in design to the Giles auxiliary asylums built for the MAB at Caterham and Leavesden. Neither were they alone in recognising the problems of care and treatment of the insane in overcrowded facilities, for in the same year Dr James Granville Morgan commented sympathetically on their plight in a report commissioned by the *Lancet* in 1877<sup>295</sup>. It

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<sup>295</sup> J Granville Morgan, *The Care and Cure of the Insane, being the Reports of the Lancet Commission on Lunatic Asylums 1875 – 1877 for Middlesex, the City of London and Surrey*, Vols I & II (published privately, 1877). Granville Morgan in Vol I gives general and specific descriptions of the administration and conduct of treatment identifying overcrowding and lack of successful cures for inmates. Vol II contains inspection reports on a number of asylums. On Brookwood he notes 'not kept

is almost certain that Granville Morgan would have been aware of the likelihood of building Cane Hill, or otherwise his remarks were remarkably prophetic.

Throughout the late 1870s the Court received a number of memorials from Unions, both Metropolitan and rural, protesting at the lack of accommodation and the resultant high cost of sending their dangerous lunatics to private asylums.

Wandsworth and Brookwood responded with assurances that everything was being done to admit patients, particularly new cases. Chronic patients were transferred whenever possible to Caterham or back to their Union workhouses, and out of county patients were sent back to asylums near their place of settlement. Brookwood adopted a policy (alleged to have been also practised at Wandsworth) of never refusing a fresh case. This was achieved by contractual arrangements with Bethnal Green private asylum for the transfer of up to 70 long-term patients at a cost of 17/6 per week.

Unions were charged the asylum rate of 10/- per week the difference being made up by county funds. A similar arrangement was made with the Three Counties Asylum (which must mean that that establishment had spare capacity). The arrangement with Bethnal Green continued until mid-1881 when the proprietor stated that he did not wish to renew the contract, at which time an alternative arrangement was made with Berkshire County Asylum. Both asylum contracts remained in force until the opening of Surrey's third county asylum. The committee of the Court charged with finding a site for the third asylum spent a great deal of time and effort looking at potential

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to its true purpose as a hospital for the cure of recent cases instead being crowded with chronic cases removed from other asylums. Need for a third asylum – a need which will crop up every 7 years.'

sites<sup>296</sup>. Eventually, in 1879, a site was found at Cane Hill, near Coulsdon and the building of the third asylum began<sup>297</sup> which opened on 3 December, 1883.

Before considering the events of the 1880s, culminating as they did in the reshaping of local government boundaries which had a significant effect on the scale of Surrey's provision for the treatment of mental health, it is relevant to consider the conduct and outcomes of the Select Committee of the House of Commons of 1877. Public concern about the incidence of illegal detention of persons in asylums surfaced again in 1877 as a result of which a Select Committee under the chairmanship of Thomas Dillwyn to 'inquire into the operation of Lunacy Law so far as regards security afforded for it against violations of personal liberty' was appointed on 12 February. Shaftesbury was, of course, aware that once again he would be called to give evidence. After the committee's first meeting on 1 March he wrote in his diary:

‘My hour of trial is near.....Half a century, all but one year, has been devoted to this cause of the lunatics.....the state now, as compared with the state then would baffle, if description were attempted, any voice and any pen that were ever employed in spoken or written eloquence.’<sup>298</sup>

Apart from encapsulating the depressed state of mind Shaftesbury was in at this late stage of his life, it also hints at his frustration that the issue upon which the inquiry was focused was a relatively small part of what had been achieved. Shaftesbury joined a large number of witnesses called before the committee which included his fellow Commissioners and those from the Lunacy Board of Scotland, Lord

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<sup>296</sup> QS2/1/87 – 91 – The committee reported regularly to the Court throughout 1874 – 1878. Typical is a report in 1875 of inspection of sites at Bletchingly, Kingston and Richmond. The latter was the site of the Militia Barracks which was up for disposal. Strange Biggs and Brushfield were invited to join the committee to inspect the site and its buildings. Neither superintendent was impressed.

<sup>297</sup> QS2/1/92 – The land purchased formed part of the Portinall's Estate at a cost of £23000, comprised 149 acres (151 acres at opening with the purchase of 2 acres for a cemetery), at an 'elevated site on the North Downs' - (poetic licence used here – it is on a small hill in the lee of the North Downs). The building of complex plan was designed by C H Howell, County Surveyor, at an eventual cost of £186071 and was intended for 1124 patients (which number, needless to say, was rapidly exceeded).

<sup>298</sup> E Hodder, *op cit*, p 700.

Chancellor's Visitors, eminent physicians in the lunacy field, practising medical officers from public and private asylums and members of both asylum Visiting Committees and Boards of Guardians of Poor Law Unions. There were also several ex-patients with claims for wrongful detention and their solicitors, questioning of whom took up a good deal of the committee's time<sup>299</sup>. Despite the wide range of

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<sup>299</sup> PP 1877 (373) XIII 1 – Select Committee on the Operation of the Lunacy Law, Report, Proceedings, Minutes of Evidence, Appendices and Index, and PP 1878 (113) XVI 43 – Select Committee on the Operation of the Lunacy Law, Report and Proceedings. Shaftesbury's evidence is notable because of its fulsome résumé of the evolution and development of legislation since the 1845 Act, the numbers of insane, confinement of patients, the powers of the CL, and medical diagnosis of insanity (upon which he could not resist the observation that a doctor had once given him a list of 40 causes of insanity).

However, from the Surrey point of view, the inquiry is of interest because of the evidence of the Hon Francis Scott (pp 384 – 396 of the first reference). It will be recalled that this ex-MP of a number of Scottish constituencies was Chairman of the Committee of Visitors of Brookwood Asylum; he was also the Chairman of the Board of Guardians of the Guildford Poor Law Union. [Though the following summary of Scott's evidence may appear disjointed it follows the account in the minutes and, above all, indicates Scott's perceptive appraisal of the operation of the care and treatment of the insane] He began by questioning the differences in the practice of certification – that for one class of person one certificate was required, and for another two, to permit admission to an asylum – 'Liberty of the poor is just the same as that of a man of property'. He commented on the unwillingness of the magistrates to sign certificates unless they were already signed by a medical man – often a parish doctor 'a young man who had never read a line, never saw a case, gives his opinion, which is not worth as much as yours'. He was convinced that many patients were wrongfully confined – 'I have found cases sent that had better be not sent.' He had tried at the Quarter Sessions, his Board meetings and contact with the CL to get a considerable portion of workhouses adapted for the reception of these cases, going on by way of explanation he cited an instance of an elderly man and his wife sent to an asylum both of whom were senile and 'would have been better off in a workhouse since they did not and would not improve with curative treatment'. He had ordered them to be returned to the workhouse where, he had last heard, they were content. Commenting about Guildford Union's intention to build a separate ward for lunatics he said that he had received approval from the CL but the PLB had stopped the Union from building. There was too much confusion between the roles and duties of the PLB and the CL 'One governs paupers, one governs lunatics and as they happen to be pauper lunatics they come under two conflicting authorities.' Facilities for providing cures in asylums were being hampered by overcrowding with chronic cases. Cure rates were going down and in support of his contention produced a paper 'Return to the House of Commons, No 299' which the committee had not seen but, he claimed, owed its origin to Mr Alcock, a Surrey MP who had asked for it in 1858 (Mr Alcock's return has not been identified). Quoting from it he stated that in 1857 the national cure rate was 12.4% but in 1874 it was 7.5% and for the same year Surrey's cure rate was 4.5%. Criticizing the CL he said that when the CL was set up with six Commissioners there were 12000 lunatics – now 65000 and still only six Commissioners visiting in pairs – therefore each Commissioner had to visit 10000 patients. Visits to workhouses were infrequent and he cited the long gaps in the inspection of Guildford workhouse though asylums were visited every year. Clearly reflecting Brushfield's oft-repeated complaint he said he was concerned about mixing criminal lunatics with ordinary patients, but on the other hand, accepted that non-pauper patients were admitted with which he could not see fault provided they could be cured and paid higher fees. Brookwood now held 1050 patients many of whom 'were in a house of perpetual detention'. He felt that magistrates were becoming more controlled by an efficient government department and noted that at Caterham and Leavesden the 'justices were withdrawn from jurisdiction'. He supported classification of patients and thought that one of the county's workhouses should be adapted to admit chronic patients. He said that the effect of the '4/- Act' (the grant-in-aid) was to increase the number of patients who ought not to be sent to an asylum, and he was critical of London Union Relieving Officers who did not enquire into the means of those they were sending to

experience of the witnesses and that questioning strayed far beyond the subject of unlawful detention, the committee met again in 1878 to frame its report on the basis of:

1. Whether possibility existed of persons being unduly deprived of their liberty by means of false allegations of lunacy.
2. Whether persons properly detained are placed under restraint of a nature calculated to retard cure and consequent discharge.
3. Whether undue obstacles were applied to their release when returned to sanity.

The resultant report was hardly critical of the current situation and concluded that, by and large, matters were satisfactory apart from a need to improve certification. There were no immediate legislative changes but the issue did not go away.

It surfaced again in 1884 with the celebrated case of Mrs Georgiana Weldon, the intricacies of which need not be recounted save to say that her numerous actions, resultant trials, re-trials and judgements filled many column-inches in *The Times*.<sup>300</sup>

The results were inconclusive but it led to Lord Selborne, the Lord Chancellor, making a second attempt to introduce the Lunacy Laws Amendment Bill to the House of Lords against Shaftesbury's advice. In the course of its second passage through the Lords Lord Milltown won a motion in which he described the state of the lunacy laws as 'a damning blot on the Statute Book' and making reference to an apparent famous allusion to a crossing sweeper made by one Baron Huddleston<sup>301</sup> in an early case

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asylums. Just in case the members of the enquiry were in any doubt about his credentials he informed them that he had visited Scotland, Norway, France, Gheel, Germany and Italy. This evidence is of interest not because Scott's assertions were in every case accurate or his opinions knowledge-based. But he was not a fool and he gives views from the locality at the time, not those written with wisdom of hindsight over 100 years later.

<sup>300</sup> K Jones, *op cit*, *A History of the Mental Health Services*, pp 167 – 170.

<sup>301</sup> Baron Huddleston's name will occur again. The reference to a crossing sweeper alludes to Huddleston's speech in the 'Weldon V Winslow' case that 'a person could be confined by anybody, on the statement of anybody, provided certain formalities are gone through'.

brought by Mrs Weldon. Selborne continued to pursue his intention with the Bill and Shaftesbury tendered his resignation. For reasons not entirely clear the Bill was shelved and Shaftesbury was persuaded to withdraw his resignation. An attempt was made again in 1887 to introduce a Bill which failed. In 1889, the shortlived Lunacy Laws Amendment Act, 1889, received Royal Assent on 26 August. However, as will be discussed, the whole legislative scene changed again in 1890.

This chapter began with a review of the private asylums and Union workhouses in operation in Surrey over the second half of the nineteenth-century.

Union	In CAs	Other As	In LHs	In MAB As	In WHs	WFs	Total
Camberwell	110	7	29	132	2	-	280
Chertsey	53	-	-	-	8	6	67
Croydon	141	-	21	-	19	28	209
Dorking	32	-	-	-	2	-	34
Epsom	51	-	4	-	15	1	71
Farnham	36	-	-	-	16	10	62
Godstone	30	-	-	-	4	5	39
Guildford	55	1	-	-	16	13	85
Hambledon	31	-	-	-	10	5	46
Kingston	77	-	5	-	38	8	128
Lambeth	374	11	101	258	30	4	778
Reigate	41	-	-	-	12	4	57
Richmond	54	-	-	-	10	1	67
St Olave's	190	4	16	175	20	5	410
St Saviour's	401	14	50	263	21	55	804
Wan & C'ham	178	5	12	122	12	6	335
Windsor	20	-	-	-	-	1	21
E Grin'd	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Greenwich	N R	N R	N R	N R	N R	N R	N R
Total	1877	35	233	950	235	152	3496

Table 24. A summary of the disposition of pauper lunatics for the year beginning 1 January, 1879. The numbers in the columns are the total of males and females though for almost every case females exceed males. Some Unions bordering Surrey were required to send information to the Surrey Quarter Sessions, e.g., Windsor (Berkshire), East Grinstead (Sussex) and Greenwich (Metropolitan Kent). The 'nil return' for Greenwich suggests its return may have been sent elsewhere.  
Source: Returns under 16 & 17 Vict, c 97, s 64 (Lunatic Asylums Amendment Act, 1853) by Clerks of Boards of Guardians within the County of Surrey of all Lunatics chargeable on 1 January, 1879<sup>302</sup>

Table 24 provides a summary of the disposition of pauper lunatics at the commencement of 1879, at a time when the pressure for accommodation at the county's asylums were at its maximum and before the county's third asylum came into operation. The review at the beginning of the chapter showed that most of the private asylums, with the exception of Peckham House and Camberwell House,

<sup>302</sup> These returns provide the first reasonably accurate account of the numbers of pauper lunatics and appear from 1854 onwards (but unfortunately not every year) appended to the Annual Reports of the Committees of Visitors to Surrey County Asylums.

accommodated small numbers of private patients. Peckham House and Camberwell House accommodated approximately 380 private patients<sup>303</sup> of the poorer kind whilst the remaining private asylums accommodated less than 50. Surrey's complement of single lunatics is not known with certainty but probably could account for another 40 – 50 patients. The pauper lunatic figures, however, underline the predicament of Surrey Metropolitan Unions, with Lambeth and St Saviour's (despite their high numbers in Caterham Asylum) still incurring high expenditure for private asylum fees. Indeed, the scale of numbers for both these Unions, Lambeth, a so-called single parish union, and St Saviour's, comprising three heavily populated parishes, suggests that some readjustment of poor law union boundaries might have been sensible. The table also underlines the differences between the rural Unions such as Dorking, Godstone and Hambledon and the urban Unions (apart from the Metropolitan Unions) such as Croydon, Guildford and Kingston. These urban areas were developing and their populations increasing, with the result that their needs for accommodation for the insane were increasing, bringing them closer to the needs of the Metropolitan Unions. More importantly, with the accepted imprecision of the diagnosis of insanity and the tendency to send incurable and chronic cases to county asylums the perceived need for a third asylum is very understandable.

Work on building the third asylum at Cane Hill progressed apparently without difficulties; unlike the earlier asylum sites Cane Hill provided an unlimited supply of water from a well sunk 97 ft into the low chalk hill on which the asylum was situated. It even had a gravel and flint bed sufficient to supply on-site material for building thus saving money. Many of the improvements in the facilities and amenities, provision of which had been learned from the experience in operating

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<sup>303</sup> Thirty-fourth Annual Report of the Commission in Lunacy. Both houses were responding to pressure from the CL to increase the number of private patients whilst at the same time responding to the clamour from the Metropolitan Unions for accommodation for pauper lunatics.



Wandsworth and Brookwood, were incorporated in the design of the pavilion-block style of accommodation. Dr James M Moody (from Brookwood) was appointed Medical Superintendent, with a Senior Assistant Medical Officer, Dr D G Thompson and Junior Assistant Medical Officer, Mr H Gardiner Hill<sup>304</sup>. Other key appointments included the Chaplain, Clerk to the Visitors, Clerk, and Steward & Storekeeper, Head Attendant and a Chief Nurse. As with the earlier asylums the committee appointed by the Court to oversee the building of the asylum formed the nucleus of the Committee of Visitors<sup>305</sup>.

Cane Hill Asylum opened on 4 December, 1883 though not all the fitting-out of accommodation had been completed. Priority was awarded to the transfer of patients from the hard-pressed Wandsworth and Brookwood Asylums, the transfers facilitated by arrangement with the London, Brighton & South Coast Railway to provide 'saloon' coaches which were allowed to use other railway companies' lines so that door-to-door transfer was virtually effected. Perhaps one of Cane Hill's chief drawbacks was that it was situated 2½ miles from the nearest railway station, a fault later rectified by the building of a station a little under a ½-mile away). Transfers from various private asylums followed – a list of which is given below:

Banstead	1 Male		Haywards Heath	2 Males	1 Female
Barming Heath	1 Male		Hoxton House	2 Males	3 Females
Berrywood	1 Male		Mickleover	1 Male	
Bethnal House	10 Males	9 Females	Moulsford	9 Males	3 Females
Brentwood		1 Female	Peckham House	4 Males	22 Females
Brookwood	130 Males	222 Females	Portsmouth	27 Males	20 Females
Camberwell House	2 Males	7 Females	Rubery Hill	3 Males	13 Females
Chartham	16 Males		Stone (Bucks)	2 Males	1 Female
Fisherton House	18 Males	25 Females	Stone (Kent)	1 Male	
Grove Hall	10 Males		Three Counties	25 Males	23 Females (continued over)

<sup>304</sup> Hugh Gardiner Hill (initially listed as Mr but later Dr) was the son of Robert Gardiner Hill, the celebrated exponent of non-restraint at Lincoln Asylum earlier in the century.

<sup>305</sup> First Annual Report of the Committee of Visitors of the Surrey County Asylum at Cane Hill, Coulsdon dated 7 April, 1885. The members of the Committee were the Rt Hon Lord Monson, Chairman (later Viscount Oxenbridge), James S Balfour, MP, Edmund Byron, Dr Alfred Carpenter (a well-known Croydon doctor) John G Cattley, John Cooper, Thomas E Edridge, William Hardman (later Sir William Hardman, and member of the Brookwood committee), Edward I'Anson, John Mews, Edward H Leycester Penrhyn (also a member of the Brookwood committee), Arthur Powell. Captain George T Scovell, Lt Colonel Leopold Seymour, Major-General Thomas Harmer Sibley, George Somes, Richard Strong, MP, and Henry Yool (also a member of the Brookwood committee).

Thorpe	2 Males	2 Females	
Wandsworth	103 Males	165 Females	
Total	390 Males	520 Females	(of which Wandsworth and Brookwood transferred 233 Males and 387 Females)

Some concern was expressed by Dr Moody at the number removed from Bethlem (19) most of whom were difficult patients and, as it was to transpire, some of whom were from Unions outside the county. Only one problem seems to have clouded an otherwise successful opening year when there was an outbreak of diarrhoea and dysentery. This was traced to unprotected cisterns by the effort of Dr Carpenter (a Croydon doctor and member of the Committee of Visitors) and was quickly eradicated by providing covers.

In the remaining four years in which the asylum remained under the control of the Surrey authorities it operated up to the margins of its capacity. Despite the increased accommodation at Wandsworth and Brookwood both were again forced into putting an embargo on admissions requiring Cane Hill to take patients from Unions which had been assigned to the other asylums. As a result, in the third year of operation, Cane Hill had to make contractual arrangements with Gloucester Asylum to accept 120 patients at a cost of 13/- per patient per week, and with the Western Counties Idiots Asylum for 10 idiot children at a cost of 12/- per patient per week. There is no record of these children returning to Cane Hill and they, together with 5 more sent to Northampton Asylum with a unit for epileptic idiot children, may well have stayed in these asylums with the special facilities needed for care and education of idiot children. Accommodation problems once again began to dominate the management of the three asylums and the Court was forced into contemplating enlargement of the Cane Hill site. The preparation of plans and estimates to increase the accommodation to 2000 was put in hand and only postponed when the effects of the changes in local government boundaries with the Local Government Act, 1888

were carried out in 1889. Key staff changes took place in the same period. Dr Moody's Senior Assistant, Dr Thomson, was appointed as Medical Superintendent, Norfolk Asylum in 1886 and replaced by Dr Gardiner Hill, and a new Junior Assistant Medical Officer, Dr G C Fitzgerald, completed the team of doctors. Dr Gardiner Hill was appointed a year later as Medical Superintendent, Wandsworth Asylum – both superintending posts a tribute to the mentoring skills of Dr Moody.

Surrey also provided a base for a provision of care and treatment for a neglected group in society – the middle-class insane. The incidence of insanity was, of course, not only confined to the rich and to the poor but among a growing number of what were loosely termed the 'middling classes'. Within this class could be included, for example, the top end of the artisans, small tradesmen, owners of small businesses, teachers, governesses and tutors, retired officers of the armed services, the less successful professional men, clerics and the members of the gentry who had fallen on hard times and the wives and children of these people. When insanity struck them or their dependents, unlike the rich, they could not readily afford private asylums, or the cost of attendant care to remain in the admittedly dubious state of being a single lunatic, and they were excluded from admission to public asylums. As a result, they were largely dependant upon charitable hospitals. Interest in making provision for such people was included in the 1844 Report of the Metropolitan Commissioners to the Lord Chancellor but the establishment of a middle-class asylum in Surrey appears to stem from a meeting chaired by Shaftesbury at the Freemasons' Hall, London, in 1861<sup>306</sup>. Though the outcomes of the meeting at first proved

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<sup>306</sup> E Hodder, *op cit*, pp 571 –572. The entry describes a meeting 'to establish a Benevolent Asylum for the Insane of the Middle Classes, especially for those of limited means'. The entry goes on to report that 'the question was taken up warmly' by the public journals, especially the *Lancet*. It was also reported in the *Medical Critic and Psychological Journal*, (Vol 1, 1861), pp xxxvi – xxxvii (this journal was first known as *The Journal of Psychological Medicine and Mental Pathology*). Though enthusiasm for such a venture resulted in subscriptions being raised at the time, insufficient money was

disappointing, it led to the building of Holloway's Sanatorium at Virginia Water which opened nearly a quarter of century later on 15 June, 1885<sup>307</sup>. Intended for the 'deserving middle-class'<sup>308</sup> the principle upon which the sanatorium was founded was:

'that surplus funds accruing from patients who pay at a rate higher than their actual cost shall be available for the admission at reduced rates of deserving cases.'<sup>309</sup>

Translated into practical terms, patients were classified into three paying classes; third class patients paid 25/- per week (or occasionally under), second class patients paid 42/- per week and first class patients paid 85/- per week. Initially registered as an 'Institution for the Insane' under the provisions of the Lunatics Act, 1845 in June, 1885, it was also registered as a charity from 1889 to gain the maximum advantage for tax rebate purposes.

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raised and the project appeared to fail. However, among the audience at the meeting was Thomas Holloway who was 'deeply impressed at... the scheme' – an impression which was to lead to the building of an asylum in Surrey.

<sup>307</sup> Thomas Holloway was an example of the successful Victorian entrepreneur and businessman. He made his fortune by selling pills and ointment which between them could be taken to cure a wide range of ailments! Originally from Devon, he and his wife (formerly Jane Driver, and enthusiastic participant in his business ventures) and family settled at a small estate called Tittenhurst, in Berkshire not far from Virginia Water. Holloway's response to the meeting was not immediate; Hodder (see fn above) records a meeting between Shaftesbury and Holloway on 23 May, 1864, after the former had received a letter from a Mr J Bowen May referring mysteriously to 'a gentleman, who is possessed of nearly a quarter of a million pounds, is about to make a settlement for charitable purposes.' (Holloway was worth a great deal more than that and he was also to found Holloway's Ladies College [now Holloway College and part of the University of London] at a cost of c £750,000). In the event nothing happened until the early 1880s when Holloway bought land at Virginia Water and commissioned W H Crossland, Architect, to design a suitable building to accommodate middle-class people with mental health problems which he decided to call a 'sanatorium' rather than an asylum because it seemed 'less dreadful'. The neo-gothic style house of red brick and portland stone included a dining room recreation hall with a magnificent hammer-beam roof, theatre, billiard room and Winter Garden. Unfortunately, Holloway, who kept a characteristic eagle eye on the quality of material, building, and cost, died before its completion. The asylum was opened by Their Royal Highnesses, the Prince and Princess of Wales on the 15 June, 1885 in the presence of Holloway's brother-in-law, Mr George Martin-Holloway (one of the conditions of benefitting from Holloway's will was that his brothers-in-law should take the Holloway name). Hence also present was Mr H Driver-Holloway. George Martin-Holloway was chairman of the sanatorium Governors and its General Committee and was later knighted.

<sup>308</sup> The expression is used by A Shepherd, 'The Female Patient Experience in Two Late Nineteenth-Century Surrey Asylums', in Eds J Andrews & A Digby, *Sex and Seclusion, Class and Custody: Perspectives on Gender and Class in the History of British and Irish Psychiatry*, (Rodopi, Amsterdam, 2004)

<sup>309</sup> First Annual Report of the Governors of the Sanatorium, 1886.

The Governors were chosen by invitation<sup>310</sup>, but the day-to-day management was left to the General Committee supported by a House Committee. Key staff appointments were Dr Sutherland Rees Philipps (the idiosyncratic spelling of his name says something about his background and likely demeanour!) as Medical Superintendent in the middle of the summer of 1884<sup>311</sup>. Dr W A Moynan was appointed Assistant Medical Officer (he resigned three years later to be replaced by two assistants, Drs A N Little and C Caldecott, by which time patient numbers had risen to over 200 ) and Mr J Ashby as Treasurer. Staff appointed included two male and two female ‘companions’<sup>312</sup>. Facilities provided included horses and two carriages for outings (extra stabling was built), ‘theatricals’, picnics, visits to the nearby races, cricket, tennis and the hiring of houses at seaside resorts during summer months to take the patients away (eventually a house for this purpose was purchased in Brighton).

Relationships with the CL appear to have been generally good (though Shaftesbury, who died in 1885, did not live long enough to see his desire for a middle-class asylum in operation). The sanatorium was inspected regularly and received

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<sup>310</sup> *ibid* – G Martin-Holloway, Chairman, Rev A Bramwell, Hon C R Ray, Sir William Field, Baron Huddleston (a barrister, who appeared for Mrs Georgiana Weldon in the Weldon v Winslow case), Hon Ashley Ponsonby, Dr K T Chambers, Rt Hon General Sir Henry Ponsonby, Col C G Gordon, Messrs F A Hankey, MP, Lawrence Baker, Joseph Savory, Percy E Crutchley, C G Barnett, H C Rothery, W Farmer and R Otter.

<sup>311</sup> *ibid* - Rees Philipps came with the reputation of ‘running Wonford House, Exeter’. He was clearly not impressed by the design of the building and insisted on major internal structural changes to make it more suitable for the treatment of the insane - a complete reconstruction of the sanitary arrangements, a gas works and gas main, and a supply of water provided by the South West Suburban Water Co. The Governors appear to have meekly complied with his demands. Another architect, C Dorman Arch (‘with experience of similar problems elsewhere’) was engaged to design and supervise the construction, which was to cost another £40000 donated by Miss Mary Anne Driver (Holloway’s sister-in-law).

<sup>312</sup> The somewhat euphemistic term for what elsewhere would have been called a keeper or attendant is in character with the ambience of the sanatorium which, incidentally, Rees Philipps always referred to as a ‘hospital’. In his reports patients are frequently referred to as ‘socially acceptable’ or of ‘an acceptable social class’. If a patient proved to be unacceptable (‘not fitting in’) his or her relatives were told to remove them. Patients were never noisy or violent – they were ‘excitable’. There was not much sympathy shown for patients or relatives not paying fees and a sharp reminder was sent to pay up. One man wrote pleading for more time and expressing concern that if the relative for whom he was paying was not cured quickly he would have difficulty in affording his future upkeep. He was told to remove the patient immediately.

positive reports. One area of difference was the sanatorium's policy of taking in 'boarders'. These were people who entered the sanatorium on a voluntary basis as paying guests rather than patients, free to come and go as they wished. The number of such boarders rose to over thirty at times. The objection raised by the CL was that they were not certified and thus under no protection at law. Rees Philipps regarded this attitude as 'crazy' (an unusual word for the time, and, perhaps, an unfortunate choice in the circumstances) but the practice persisted for it was not only a source of revenue but some boarders regarded the sanatorium as a superior rest home. Overall, however, the contrast between the regime and treatment at the sanatorium can hardly be more marked than the lot of a patient in a county asylum.

Before briefly reviewing the events of the remainder of the century it would be useful to examine the disposition of pauper lunatics before the changes in local government took place. Table 25 provides such a summary for the year beginning 1 January, 1889. It provides a comparison with Table 24 showing figures a decade

Union	In CAs	Other As	In LHs	In MAB As	In WHs	WFs	Total
Camberwell	283	4	21	219	9	-	536
Chertsey	43	-	-	-	8	2	53
Croydon	205	-	2	-	27	16	250
Dorking	35	-	-	-	-	-	35
Epsom	79	2	-	-	9	4	94
Farnham	39	-	-	-	12	7	58
Godstone	28	2	-	-	3	2	35
Guildford	61	1	-	-	17	18	97
Hambleton	39	-	-	-	7	5	51
Kingston	138	3	7	-	39	22	209
Lambeth	621	22	87	446	15	2	1193
Reigate	57	2	2	-	11	4	76
Richmond	63	-	2	-	6	-	71
St Olave's	378	49	2	148	2	1	580
St Saviour's	543	69	19	259	5	59	954
Wan & C'ham	386	23	72	148	11	-	640
Windsor	22	-	-	-	-	-	22
E Grin'd	6	-	-	-	-	1	7
Greenwich	N R	N R	N R	N R	N R	N R	N R
Total	3026	177	214	1220	181	143	4961
Chg to County	167						
Total							5128

Table 25. A summary of the disposition of pauper lunatics for the year beginning 1 January, 1889. The numbers in the columns are the total of males and females. Some Unions on the borders of Surrey send their returns to the Surrey Quarter Sessions (or in the case of Greenwich, fail to do so).

Source: Returns under 16 & 17 Vict, c 97, s 64 (Lunatic Asylums Amendment Act, 1853) by Clerks of Boards of Guardians within the County of Surrey of all Lunatics chargeable on 1 January, 1889.

earlier. The growth in the numbers of insane continued (at just over 100 per year), and some Metropolitan Unions were still heavily dependent upon private asylums, though there was a decline in the use of workhouses. Surrey Unions accounted for 1220 patients in Caterham Asylum (other Union patients from Middlesex and Metropolitan Kent were also admitted). With the changes that were soon to take place in local government boundaries it is possible to estimate the accommodation needs of the new authorities. Rural Unions (i.e., Chertsey, Dorking, Epsom, Farnham, Godstone, Guildford Hambledon, Kingston, Reigate, Richmond and the two outside Surrey (Windsor and East Grinstead) would take up approximately 500 places which together with those chargeable to the county would total about 600 places at Brookwood, the remaining Surrey County Asylum with a capacity of 1050. However, London's needs would still need to be met and how that was achieved is discussed in the events of the last decade of the century.

Two pieces of legislation preceded the last period 1890 – 1900. The first set in place the reform of the local government structure, completed towards the end of the century<sup>313</sup>. The second consolidated all the lunacy reform legislation of the nineteenth-century<sup>314</sup>. The reform of local government resulted in a loss of about 5% in the administrative area of Surrey with the creation of Surrey County Council (SCC), and about 60% of the population as the Metropolitan parts of Surrey, Middlesex and Kent joined to form the London County Council (LCC). The LCC

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<sup>313</sup> 51 & 52 Vict, c 41 – The Local Government Act, 1888, which became effective from May, 1889, created the county and county borough councils, removing from the justices the administrative responsibilities of rating, licensing, police, highways, weights and measures, and, importantly, in the context of this study, asylums (whilst retaining their judicial role) and passing these to the elected county and borough councils. 56 & 57 Vict, c 73 – the Local Government Act, 1894 completed the structural reform by creating urban and rural councils, and parish councils; finally 62 & 63 Vict, c 14 – Local Government Act, 1899 rounded off London local government reform with the creation of 28 London Boroughs.

<sup>314</sup> 53 & 54 Vict, c 5 – The Lunacy Act, 1890 set the rules of the administration of the care and treatment of mental health for nearly the next two and half decades (a short amending act a year later took care of some necessary clarification and amendment)

thus took on the problems associated with the poor and pauper lunatics of the Unions of Camberwell, Lambeth, St Olave's, St Saviour's, and Wandsworth & Clapham. Croydon became a Borough and so an entity, although within the administrative area of SCC. One of the first tasks of the LCC and the SCC was to agree the future disposition of the pauper lunatics accommodated in the three former county asylums<sup>315</sup>. The Court was asked to present details of the size and value of the land and buildings of the three asylums, with which it complied. There did not appear to be a sale of these assets as such, merely a book transfer. The decision was that Wandsworth and Cane Hill were to be handed over to LCC with the added proviso that one eighth of the available accommodation was to be reserved for the Borough of Croydon whilst Brookwood remained the responsibility of the SCC. All three asylums retained selected Committees of Visitors but instead of the Court of Quarter Sessions, the committees for Wandsworth and Cane Hill were to report to the London County Council Asylum Committee and, for Brookwood, to Surrey County Council Asylum Committee. LCC almost immediately approved the sale of Wandsworth Asylum to Middlesex County Council.

There was no immediate rush to move pauper lunatics around to asylums serving the areas from whence they came. A contract was drawn up which enabled LCC to continue its use of Brookwood until alternative accommodation could be

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<sup>315</sup> QS2/1/98 – 99 – the last Order Books of the Court of Quarter Sessions running from the Michaelmas Session of 1886 to an Adjourned Special Session on 26 March, portray the Court, initially occupied with all its customary duties and responsibilities, gradually tailing off to a lame end at an adjourned meeting of the magistrates two months before the new legislation became effective. In late 1886 and early 1887 the Court complained about MAB's lack of effort in providing sufficient accommodation at Caterham and Leavesden. The go-ahead was given to improve the ventilation of the Wandsworth wards, and the Court approved the drawing up of a contract with Lancaster Asylum to take the overflow from Wandsworth (the journey thereto and the inconvenience to relatives was glossed over). For Cane Hill the Court approved the preparation of estimates and plans to increase the accommodation to 2000 (only shelved at the last moment with consequential compensatory payments to both the County Architect and to Dr Moody for their trouble). By late 1888 and early 1889 the records portray an atmosphere of run down but there was no hint of concern about the loss of the power of this long-established authority.



found<sup>316</sup>. Transfers did begin in 1890; Dr Moody organised exchanges between Cane Hill and Brookwood and *vice versa*, and similar arrangements were made with Wandsworth for the relatively small number involved.

The newly created local authorities and the asylum management reporting to them were bound by the requirements of the Lunacy Act, 1890. The act had been preceded by the tortuous passage of what eventually emerged as the Lunacy Acts Amendments Act, 1889 and its passage through parliament seemed almost anticlimactic for it was hardly contested. The Lunacy Act, 1890, as it emerged was nonetheless a significant piece of legislation. Jones describes it thus:

‘..... the Act was an extremely long and intricate document, expressing few general principles, and providing in detail for almost every known contingency. Nothing was left to chance, and very little to future development.’<sup>317</sup>

The act set out the requirements of administration retaining the overall responsibility for lunacy matters resting with the Lord Chancellor to whom the Lunacy Commission with continued powers of inspection of all institutions and new local administrative requirements as described above reported. It set out the requirements for admission and discharge of patients of all social classes taking into account and tightening the requirements of earlier legislation. The ‘care and treatment of patients’ clauses set out the requirement for documentation, regular inspection and visiting and the limits imposed on restraint. It brought in new safeguards for single lunatics including their

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<sup>316</sup> The contract entailed the LCC paying 14/- per week per patient to SCC and remained in force, re-negotiated annually, until 1896

<sup>317</sup> K Jones, *Asylums and After; A Revised History of the Mental Health Services: From the Early 18<sup>th</sup> Century to the 1990s*, (Athlone Press, London, 1993), p 107. Jones’s work (and her earlier versions of this work) is reviled by the more fashionable revisionist school of historians of mental health, but her summary in this instance is both succinct and accurate.

visitation by Lunacy Commissioners in their own homes. It left few legal loopholes for avoidance<sup>318</sup> and was further tightened by an amending act a year later.

Neither the Local Government Act, 1888, nor the Lunacy Act, 1890 had more than a marginal effect on the operations arising from the Metropolitan Poor Act, 1867 (and its amending act of 1869). Caterham and Leavesden continued to accept chronic and harmless pauper lunatics and both were required to enlarge upon their original accommodation provision to exceed 2000 patients. For the LCC the accommodation requirement led to the building of more asylums. With the enactment of the local government reforms in 1889, the LCC assumed responsibility for the former Surrey asylums of Wandsworth (disposed of quickly to Middlesex CC) and Cane Hill; it also took on the former Middlesex asylums of Hanwell, Colney Hatch, Banstead and a fourth in the process of building, Claybury, designed by Hine<sup>319</sup>, in Essex, which opened in 1894. The LCC Asylum Committee faced with the need for more accommodation (and also pressed by the Lunacy Commission) made contractual arrangements with a number of public asylums; it also built temporary accommodation in corrugated-iron units housing 300 patients at Colney Hatch and Banstead. Faced with the relentless growth in the number of insane another 2000-patient asylum designed by Hine was commissioned at Bexley, in Kent, which opened in 1898. The Asylum Committee had established an Accommodation Sub-committee and it was constantly on the search for suitable sites one of which was to come to hand in 1896. It was at a ramshackle estate, Horton Manor, on the outskirts of

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<sup>318</sup> K Jones, *ibid*, p 111. Jones observes on the act – ‘From the legal point of view, it was very nearly perfect. From the medical and social viewpoint, it was to hamper the progress of the mental health movement for nearly seventy years.’ Those who drafted this nineteenth-century legislation might have some comment to make on the late twentieth and early twenty-first century policies of ‘Care in the Community’.

<sup>319</sup> George Thomas Hine, Architect, who had gained a reputation for the design of large asylums. Claybury when finished combined three features later much approved by the Lunacy Commission – a separate hospital, cheap and simple living accommodation for a large number of patients, and some cottages for the quiet and harmless patient or those convalescing as a prelude to discharge. He was appointed consultant architect to the Lunacy Commission in 1896.

Epsom, lying in 1050 acres of neglected land (the owner of the estate had abandoned it and was living in Australia). Neglectful he may have been but he was also astute enough to leave the sale of the estate in the hands of agents who drove a hard bargain with the LCC before it was able to acquire the land. A site of the size of the Horton estate had room for several asylums. The first, another temporary building of the same kind as those at Colney Hatch and Banstead erected in the grounds of the old manor houses, hence, The Manor, was opened in 1899. Others followed – Horton (1902), St Ebba's (1904), Long Grove (1907), and a fifth, West Park, though started before the First World War, was not completed until 1924 – forming what became known as 'The Epsom Cluster'. Though thought was given to adding a sixth common sense prevailed and the townspeople of Epsom were not burdened with another 2000 patients on top of the eventual 12000 housed in the five asylums.

Surrey's Brookwood asylum continued in operation at more or less full capacity until it, too, began to be unacceptably full. SCC's Asylum Committee began to give consideration to building a second (the county's fourth building venture) early in the twentieth century. A suitable site was found about 2 miles away from Cane Hill (capable of being served by the same railway station) at Netherne, near Hooley, and the asylum was opened in 1909.

The previous six chapters have traced the history of the provision of resources in Surrey for the care and treatment of the insane from 1774 to the beginning of the twentieth-century. It has been presented in the form of a narrative and with little comment on what took place. It is time, finally, to provide an analysis of those events and an evaluation of what went right and what went wrong. It is also time to assess and compare this essentially local study with relevant research conducted by other authors.

## Chapter 9 – Conclusions

Before making such assessments and comparisons in this local study of administrative history Chapter 2 examines the main characteristics of Surrey and poses a fundamental question.

### Was Surrey different from its neighbouring and other counties?

Four crude, but sufficiently robust yardsticks<sup>320</sup> of the circumstances of Surrey during the nineteenth-century are provided. They are population, poverty, land utilisation and wages. From Table 1 it can be seen that for the 100 year period 1801 – 1901 Surrey's population increase was slightly below the national average, though until 1889, when the effect of the Local Government Act, 1888, was first felt, the county's population increase was well above the national average increase. It is clear that one characteristic of Surrey which singles it out from other counties (with the exception of Middlesex) is the population density of Metropolitan Surrey. What constitutes the Metropolis is a topic upon which much has been written but for the purposes of this study Metropolitan Surrey is defined by the Metropolis Local Management Act, 1855<sup>321</sup> comprising the parishes depicted in Table 26. The table shows that in 1801 a total population of 162, 778 (61% of the total population of Surrey) lived in the Metropolitan parishes in an area of 23,899 acres (just under 5% of

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<sup>320</sup> The data used have been abstracted from decennial census returns and various parliamentary returns or information sought by parliamentary Select Committees collected in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries. Some of these returns and information are known to be of doubtful validity, but they were used to make decisions at the time. Between 1750 and 1834 (excluding the Royal Commission of 1832) parliamentary Select Committees of the House of Commons or House of Lords reported twenty times on food prices, the shortage of grain and the cultivation of land, and forty-four times on the poor and poor laws as public and parliamentary concern intensified followed food riots, fluctuations in the prices of corn, enclosures and increasing costs of poor relief.

<sup>321</sup> 18 & 19 Vict, c 120 – Metropolis Local Management Act. 1855. The act was intended to improve the local management in the Metropolis of sewerage, drainage, paving, lighting and street cleaning. The principal feature of the act was the setting up of the Metropolitan Board of Works the membership of which was made up of elected representatives from the Metropolitan parishes. The board was given wide ranging powers to carry out its duties in relation to the management of the services listed. Schedules A & B of the act list the Metropolitan parishes of Surrey.

the total area of Surrey); by 1881 the population had risen to 1,028, 348 (72% of the total population) crowded into the same area. The rate of expansion of population

Parish	Acreage	Pop'n 1801	Pop'n 1881	X 1801 pop'n
Battersea	2169	3365	107262	31.9
Penge	770	-	18650	-
Bermondsey St Mary	627	17169	86652	5.0
Camberwell	4450	7059	186593	26.4
Clapham	1137	3864	36380	9.4
Hatcham	658	734	17168	23.4
Lambeth St Mary	3941	27985	253699	9.1
Newington St Mary	631	14847	107850	7.3
Rotherhithe St Mary	754	10296	36024	3.5
Streatham	2914	2357	21611	9.2
Putney	2235	2428	13235	5.4
Tooting Graveney	566	1591	15950	10.0
Wandsworth	2433	4445	28004	6.3
Christchurch	77	9933	13663	1.4
St George the Martyr	284	22293	58652	2.6
St John Hosleydown	70	8892	8928	1.0
St Olave	48	7846	2247	-3.5
St Saviour	127	15596	14999	-1.0
St Thomas	8	2078	781	-2.7

Table 26. The parishes which formed Metropolitan Surrey (from which the Metropolitan Poor Law Unions were formed in 1835–36) showing their size and populations at the censuses of 1801 and 1881 (i.e., seven years before the local government boundary changes took effect) thus showing the rate of expansion over eighty years (three parishes decreased in population as a result of enforced migration to neighbouring parishes). Source: Census volumes for 1801 and 1881 available at the Office of National Statistics, *Findico*<sup>322</sup>

of ten of the parishes exceeded the national average increase, two of them, Battersea and Camberwell, massively so (Hatcham was an area of Deptford the remainder of which was in Metropolitan Kent). The large areas of some of the parishes (Battersea, Camberwell, Clapham, Lambeth, Putney, Streatham and Wandsworth) allowed a reasonable population density but others had high densities (St George the Martyr - 206 per acre, Christchurch – 177 per acre, Newington St Mary – 171 per acre). Such high densities were a contributory factor to the likelihood and effects of epidemics of infectious diseases. The large population of Lambeth (17.6% of Surrey's population, albeit spread among an area which included Waterloo and Lambeth Palace to the north, Kennington and Norwood to the south), would have required resource

<sup>322</sup> The use of census figures needs to take account of the fact that the figures represent the situation on one particular day. Nineteenth-century censuses were taken on days as early as 10 March in 1801 and as late as 7 June in 1841. Normal inhabitants maybe absent, or, as in this instance, include people not normally resident in the locality such as temporary workers on railway construction, itinerant harvest workers, and the crews of ships.

management out of scale with the rest of the county. It may be argued that there were other counties where there were large conurbations amid rural settings such as Manchester in Lancashire or Birmingham in Warwickshire, and that such conurbations also suffered from overcrowding, low quality housing and poor standards of public health provision, e.g., water supply and sewage disposal. However, the working populations of these cities were dominated by one industry (textiles in Manchester, engineering in Birmingham) as opposed to London's wide range of manufacturing and service industries. The sheer size of the population of Metropolitan Surrey compared with that of Manchester or Birmingham, it is suggested, is sufficient to claim a difference between these conurbations<sup>323</sup>. It is thus reasonable to conclude that Surrey's population characteristics up to 1889 mark it out as different from most (but not all) other counties.

In arriving at the yardsticks for Surrey poverty and wages, and the descriptive comment on land utilisation reference was made to the works of Eden, the Webbs and the Hammonds<sup>324</sup> and to more modern research by Blaug *et al*<sup>325</sup>.

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<sup>323</sup> Figures for 1871 by which time expansion due to industrial development had taken place are Metropolitan Surrey 763,000, Manchester 351,000, Birmingham 344,000 (rounded to nearest 1000). Bermondsey, Camberwell and Lambeth together (400,000) exceeded both Manchester and Birmingham.

<sup>324</sup> Sir Frederick M Eden, *The State of the Poor*, (abridged edition edited by A G L Rogers, Routledge, London, 1928). Eden's work subtitled *A History of the Labouring Classes in England, with Parochial Reports* was published in 1797 is of value since it provides a contemporary view of the state of the poor and the poor laws at the end of the eighteenth-century. Eden gathered data from locations in the English counties (including five Surrey parishes) on rents, land tax, wages, food prices, diet, and poor law amenities. Rogers claims that some abridgement of Eden's original text is justified and that his edited edition contains most of what is of real importance from Eden's work. S & B Webb's works are already cited in Ch 1 (see footnote 31). J L & B Hammond, *The Village Labourer 1760 – 1832*, Longman, Green & Co, London, 1913), subtitled *A Study in the Government of England before the Reform Bill* is concerned with the effects of enclosures, diet, wages, allowances, agricultural disturbances, and the Royal Commission on the poor laws.

<sup>325</sup> Cited in Ch 1 (see footnote 30) are works by Blaug, Dunkley, Henriques, Roberts, Rose and Williams, to which is added R G Cowherd, 'The Humanitarian Reform of the English Poor Law from 1782 – 1815', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol 104, No 3, (June, 1960), pp 328 – 342; M D Neumann, 'A suggestion regarding the origin of the Speenhamland Plan', *English Historical Review*, Vol 84, No 331, (April, 1969), pp 317 – 322; J S Taylor, 'The Mythology of the Old Poor Law', *Journal of Economic History*, Vol 29, No 2, (June, 1969), pp 292 – 297; J P Huzel, 'Malthus, the Poor Law and Population in Early Nineteenth-Century England', *Economic History Review*, (NS), Vol 22, No 3, (December, 1969), pp 430 – 452; D N McCloskey, 'New Perspectives on

Reference was also made to the most up-to-date general work on the late eighteenth-, early nineteenth-century reform of the poor laws by Boyer<sup>326</sup>. However, Baugh's claim that -

'Mark Blaug [who] exposes the frail logic of the Poor Law reformers to modern economic analysis.....'<sup>327</sup>

encapsulates the flaw in much of the cited revisionist writing.

Though the works cited are of interest and undoubted academic rigour, the fundamental criticism they all contain is the failure of the nineteenth-century reformers and administrators to respond or react to situations which faced them by use of theories or concepts which did not exist at the time<sup>328</sup>. A nineteenth-century poor law reformer had fewer tools of economic analysis to call upon (humanitarian alternative attempts at reform of the Poor Law, described by Cowherd, had failed). Attempts at gathering numerical data often proved to be inordinately difficult and the results obtained of dubious quality. Statistical techniques were still at an early stage of development and the use of questionnaires, particularly of the size and range of

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the Old Poor Law', *Explorations in Economic History*, Vol 10, (1973), pp 419 – 436; P Dunkley, 'The "Hungry Forties" and the New Poor Law: A Case Study', *Historical Journal*, Vol XVII, No 2, (1974), pp 329 – 346; D A Baugh, 'The Cost of Poor Relief in South East England, 1790 – 1834', *Economic History Review*, (NS), Vol 28, No 1, (February, 1975), pp 50 – 68; J P Huzel, 'The Demographic Impact of the Old Poor Law: More Reflexions on Malthus', *Economic History Review*, (NS), Vol 33, (August, 1980), pp 367 – 381; G R Boyer, 'The Old Poor Law and the Agricultural Labor Market in Southern England: An Empirical Analysis', *Journal of Economic History*, Vol 46, No 1, (March, 1986), pp 113 – 135; P Harling, 'The Power of Persuasion: Central Authority, Local Bureaucracy and the New Poor Law', *English History Review*, Vol 107, No 422, (June, 1992), pp 30 – 53; G R Boyer, 'The Influence of London on the Labor Market of Southern England', *Social Science History*, Vol 22, No 3 Special Issue, (August, 1998), pp 257 – 285.

<sup>326</sup> G R Boyer, *An Economic History of the English Poor Law, 1750 – 1850*, (Cambridge University Press, 1990).

<sup>327</sup> D A Baugh, *op cit*, 1975.

<sup>328</sup> Blaug, in 1963, attacks the Royal Commissioners (or more accurately the drafters of the Poor Law Amendment Act, Senior and Chadwick) for their acceptance and emphasis on the Malthusian criticism of the evils of the Allowance System. In his 1964 paper his attack is underlined by criticism of the adequacy and use of the data generated by the 'Rural' and 'Town' questionnaires. Huzel, in his two papers, continues the theme of criticism of the acceptance of Malthusian principles and the effect of the poor laws on population growth. Baugh contests the assumption of the importance of allowances and their cost in the counties of Essex, Kent and Sussex. Williams's *From Pauperism to Poverty* (a title which is in itself an ironic comment on the work of others) pours scorn upon most modern scholarship, is useful for its comments on data collected in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Boyer's much later works using modern statistical techniques continue the critical theme in his examination of the south-eastern labour market.

those used by the Commissioners, was almost unknown. If Blaug had examined the twelve volumes (not nine as he asserts in his 1964 paper – a fact also pointed out by Taylor<sup>329</sup>) he would have found enormous variation in the quality of the responses to the Commissioners' questionnaire<sup>330</sup>. The amount of data generated was enormous and there were no techniques of data-handling on such a scale to call upon. The conclusions drawn in this chapter, and throughout the study, are based not upon what the administrators, central and local, ought to have done, or might have done, but what they actually did, using the information, knowledge and techniques available to them at the time.

An example of the paucity of information available in the early nineteenth century is apparent when considering the level and extent of poverty. The only consistently available measure of poverty until 1834 was the monetary figures returned for the Poor Rate levied and relief expenditure annually from 1776. However, there are gaps when either no return was made or it is not available (e.g., no figures are available for 1777 – 82, 1786 – 1802, 1804 – 1812, but thereafter available annually). Despite these gaps the increase in relief expenditure is plain to see, as it was to the nineteenth-century administrators, rising from £1.5m in 1776 to £6.3m in 1834 having passed through two peaks in 1818 (£7.9m) and 1832 (£7.0m). The rising expenditure was a key factor in the initiation of poor law reform – perhaps finally triggered by the 1832 agricultural riots. Determination of the numbers of paupers before 1834 is also open to question although, as shown in Table 3, an approximation can be given from the 1802 – 03<sup>331</sup> returns. Parishes were asked to return the number of paupers on permanent relief and the number relieved 'occasionally'. There is no

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<sup>329</sup> J S Taylor, *op cit*, (1969), p 292 fn 1.

<sup>330</sup> See Ch 5 for Surrey responses.

<sup>331</sup> PP 1803 – 4 XIII 1 – Abstract of Returns Relative to the Expense and Maintenance of the Poor (1802 – 3).



way of knowing how parishes interpreted this latter request and the total number of paupers is, therefore, open to doubt. However, it seems reasonable to conclude that Surrey was not among the counties with the highest number of paupers and that, in the south east of England, was exceeded by Essex and Kent. Using the poor rate levied as a measure of poverty the returns made to the Select Committee on Labourers' Wages<sup>332</sup> gave annual figures for the years 1813 – 1820 (see Table 4). Surrey, once more, does not appear among the counties paying the highest rates. Using the same measure with data obtained by the Royal Commission of 1832<sup>333</sup> it is possible to focus on some of the Surrey parishes (see Table 5) which shows that the heaviest burden fell on the rural parishes, e.g., Guildford St Nicholas (one of Guildford's three parishes), Bletchingly, Haslemere. It is concluded, therefore, that whilst there were individual parishes affected by high levels of poverty or burdened by high poor law rates, Surrey's level of poverty was not among the highest in England.

As discussed in Chapter 2 the enclosure of land in late eighteenth, and early nineteenth-century Surrey was not a dominant factor in the utilisation of land, though some hardship was caused by the enclosure of commons and wastes. More influential was the quality of the farming. Though the county had some reasonably well-to-do landowners who owned medium sized farms upon which they were prepared to try out new methods of cultivation or animal husbandry, the majority of the land was given over to small farms either run by the owner or let to tenants, neither of whom were inclined, nor could afford, to indulge in new techniques of farming or land management. Most farms consisted of mixed arable, pasture and woodland areas;

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<sup>332</sup> PP 1825 XIX 1 – Abstract of Returns Prepared by Order of the Select Committee on Labourers' Wages.

<sup>333</sup> PP 1834 XXX – XXXIV – Royal Commission on the Administration and Practical Operation of the Poor Laws, Appendix B1, Answers to Rural Questions: PP 1834 XXXV – XXXVI – Royal Commission on the Administration and Practical Operation of the Poor Law, Appendix B2, Answers to Town Questions.

crops were mainly wheat, oats, beans, peas and root vegetables; nearly all farms had a small number of dairy cows and a few sheep. In some areas particular crops were grown such as hops in the west of the county, whilst other areas, notably the London basin, provided a living for small holdings producing vegetables for the London market. Other areas of pasture were devoted to fattening of cattle driven from Wales in preparation for slaughter also for the London market. Reference was made in Chapter 2 to the Letters of J Caird following his survey of thirty-two English counties in 1850 – 51 with regard to neglect and mismanagement of land he had discovered in Surrey. Earlier a Select Committee was appointed in 1847 to ‘Inquire into Agricultural Customs’<sup>334</sup>. The committee concluded that the practice of remunerating outgoing tenants for husbandry had inhibited land improvement in several counties including Surrey<sup>335</sup>.

Improvement in the infrastructure encouraged the movement of growing numbers of prosperous professional and business men out of London, south and west, who built ‘country houses’ and villas for their families much of which development was on farm land previously occupied by small farmers adding to the problem of rural unemployment and decreasing productive land utilisation. Poor agricultural land utilisation appears, therefore, to have been a significant contributory factor in the level of poverty in the county adding to that caused by the appalling conditions of the

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<sup>334</sup> PP 1847 – 48 (461) VII 1 – The Select Committee on Agricultural Customs – Report, Minutes of Evidence, Index. The terms of reference of the committee were ‘to inquire into the law and custom of different parts of England and Wales, as between Outgoing and Incoming Tenants, and also between Landlord and Tenant in reference to Unexhausted Improvements or Deterioration of land and Premises occupied for Agricultural Purposes’.

<sup>335</sup> Two witnesses called before the committee were land agents, though both farmed land in Surrey. One stated that Surrey ‘was the most expensive county in England to take on a farm’ because of the practice of paying the outgoing tenant for dressing the land. The other said much the same but pointed out that the custom had resulted in fraudulent practice by assessors employed to check the quality and quantity of dressings applied, and labourers who were forced to make false testimonies about work that was supposed to have been carried out.

myriad of industrial and commercial concerns operating in the midst of the overcrowded Metropolitan areas.

Chapter 2 concludes with tentative conclusions about wage levels in Surrey. Whilst these conclusions are safe they pay lip service to a complex issue. They do not take into account the relationship between wage levels and the levels of outdoor relief. Neither do they take account of the effect of London and particularly its effect on wage levels in the south east<sup>336</sup>. The conclusions are drawn from data on agricultural wage rates since that was what was sought by the Select Committees of 1803 – 04, 1825 and by the Royal Commission in 1832. There is very little data available on London wage rates or the wide range of occupations to be found within its varied industries<sup>337</sup>. London's industrial and commercial undertakings included extensive areas of Thames-side wharf handling a wide range of exported and imported goods and commodities. The shipbuilding industry had almost disappeared by the nineteenth century but tanning and manufacture of leather goods (about 30% of all English leather goods was produced in Surrey's Metropolitan area), dyeing and bleaching of cloth, and paper production formed London's major manufacturing industries. There were other smaller undertakings, e.g., hat manufacture, soap making; food and drink industries and outlets consisted of breweries, biscuit manufacture and the market areas of Spitalfields, Billingsgate and the Borough (Southwark). Further interspersed among the overcrowded, unhygienic living accommodation were the smaller traders and operatives in animal slaughter, animal skins, bone processing, and glue making. The ubiquitous horse, a vital component of

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<sup>336</sup> G R Boyer, *op cit*, (1986) (1998). Boyer concludes that London had a significant effect on agricultural wage levels (and thus relief allowances) throughout the nineteenth century and that annual changes in agricultural wage rates were largely as a result of wage and employment rates in the capital.

<sup>337</sup> A L Bowley, produced a series entitled *The Statistics of Wages in the United Kingdom in the last Hundred Years* published in parts some of which were presented to the Royal Statistical Society. Data compiled on agricultural wages was presented in 1898 and on the building trade in 1900 and completed in 1901.

transport of goods and services required blacksmiths and stabling. Expansion of the populated area gave rise to more buildings and the growing rail network, with rival companies competing for prime terminus sites, brought the general labour of demolition followed by line, tunnel and bridge building. The problems of poverty and health of this urban area were of a vastly different scale and nature from those facing the rural areas. The broad conclusion, therefore, which can be drawn from Chapter 2 is that whilst Surrey, in general, was a poor county, it was not among the poorest, but that its urban element posed particular problems shared perhaps by only one other county, Middlesex.

The narrative of the provision for the care and treatment of the insane in Surrey is related in Chapters 3 to 8. It begins with the development and implementation of legislation for the care of non-paupers, a theme which runs throughout the study. It continues with description of the administration of the poor law pre and post 1834 and the emergent link with the administration of legislation for the care of the lunatic poor. These two themes form the main substance of the study continuing in depth to 1890 and touching upon the concluding years of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. The narrative gives rise to two key questions the answers to which assist in the formulation of the conclusions of the study.

#### How effective was the administration of the regulation of private madhouses?

Experience of inspection is confined to the rural madhouses in the first twenty odd years of the act. Initially, the two licensed houses were visited on separate days (never, of course, at night). Visits incurred transport and subsistence costs paid to the visiting team and it soon became apparent that these costs exceeded the revenue gained from licence fees. As a result combined visits to two or more houses were

arranged for the same day reducing the time spent at each property and a consequential reduction in the thoroughness of inspection. As the number of licensed houses increased, visits could involve overnight stays offering accommodation and food suitable for a team of such social standing. By 1829 the cost of the inspection process was sufficient to concern the Court and a committee was appointed to examine the expenses incurred. The result of the committee's deliberations was to further reduce the standards of what was the already evident superficial quality of inspection<sup>338</sup>. It was an example of what was to become a characteristic of local administration in Surrey at least – high concern with the cost of administration and provision, and relatively low concern about its effectiveness.

Minutes of the Committee of Visitors annual inspection were recorded in Quarter Session registers (copies were sent or taken to the College of Physicians). In general they are brief, repetitive and uninformative, concentrating on 'bricks and mortar' issues though, for example, lack of provision of washing and toilet facilities seems not to have been noticed. Contact with the patients was minimal though this improved with the appointment of Morison<sup>339</sup>. It was over thirty years before an adverse report on conditions at the first two rural private madhouses appeared in the Minutes<sup>340</sup>. Only on one occasion was the confinement of a patient questioned and this led to his subsequent release<sup>341</sup>.

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<sup>338</sup> QS2/1/49, 1828–29 (SHC) – The committee proposed levying a 'Stamp Payment' of 2/6d for every parish patient and 10/- for every other patient visited. There is no evidence that the recommendation was ever put into effect (or who would have paid if it had!). Economies were achieved by reducing the number of overnight stays combining visits and sending only one justice to carry out an inspection.

<sup>339</sup> Morison's diaries contain frequent references to conversations with patients, and upon the medical treatment he recommended.

<sup>340</sup> See Ch 3, p , and QS2/1/34 (SHC) - Subsequently, Richard Brown, licensee at Great Fosters claimed he was forced to use chains on a patient. The Court appointed a committee to 'visit the principal houses kept for the reception of Lunatics in and about London'. They visited Guys Hospital, Bethlem, St Luke's, Bethnal Green, Hoxton and a house for private patients at Islington owned by a Dr Simmonds. Only Simmonds claimed he never used any form of restraint. On receiving a report from the committee no further action appears to have been taken. Visitors' Minutes show that one patient at

Most of the London private asylums were in Middlesex and the first inspection in Metropolitan Surrey by Commissioners of the College of Physicians did not take place until William Moyes was licensed to open an asylum in Stockwell in 1797<sup>342</sup>. There are no surviving records of the inspections carried out by the Commissioners, but evidence taken at Select Committees of 1814–16 and 1827 reveal many of their shortcomings<sup>343</sup> (see also Chapter 4). At the first inquiry Dr Richard Powell, Secretary to the College of Physicians, disclosed inadequacies in recording the provision of treatment, the powers of the Commissioners, granting of licences, protection for single patients and paupers and contact with provincial inspecting authorities. He also revealed an absence of the Commissioners' knowledge of the numbers of patients accommodated and their condition<sup>344</sup>. The second inquiry, and the Select Committee of the House of Lords which followed it<sup>345</sup>, focused

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Great Fosters was kept in a 'Strait waistcoat' continually from his admission in 1805 until his death in 1850.

<sup>341</sup> QS5/5/4, 1825 (SHC) – An entry on 14 October, 1825, describes how a William Gamon, on transfer from 'Dr Burrows Lunatic Asylum at Clapham' to Great Fosters, was released after argument between the justices and Gamon's relatives and their legal representatives.

<sup>342</sup> William Moyes (aka Moys, Moyses) was licensed to care for 20 patients at Stockwell House but the number of patients never exceeded 10. The Treasurer's Account Book held at the RCP reveals that the licence passed to Ann Sandiford from 1817–1823 when it reverted to Moyes. Moyes appears to have made an attempt to open a second private asylum at Tooting Graveney in 1814 but was successfully resisted by the local gentry (W E Morden, *The History of Tooting Graveney*, (Edward Searle, London, 1897), p 95).

<sup>343</sup> PP 1814–15 (296) IV 801, PP 1816 (227) VI 249, PP 1816 (398) VI 349, PP 1816 (451) VI 353: PP 1826–27 (557) VI 75–260. The 1814–16 Select Committee included in its membership George Holmes Sumner, MP for Surrey. Sumner, born in Calcutta, described as a 'Nabob's Heir' (his family had made money in India) was a landowner with an estate, 'Hatchlands', W Horsley. He was a fiery character, interested in prison reform and a member of the Society for Bettering the Conditions and the Comforts of the Poor. The committee's inquiry ranged widely and included the conditions at several London private asylums and Bethlem. Its reports led to three unsuccessful attempts to introduce reforming legislation for the regulation of madhouses. The 1827 Select Committee initially concerned with inquiry into the conditions of private asylums housing lunatics from Middlesex, also widened its remit and its reports lead to the Madhouse Act of 1828 and the County Lunatic Asylums Act of 1828.

<sup>344</sup> Powell's concerns were not only expressed at the Select Committee. In 1813 he wrote a paper forcibly expressing concern about the inadequacies of current legislation and was among the earliest to identify the problem of the increasing numbers of those diagnosed as insane – 'Observations on the comparative prevalence of insanity at different periods', *Medical Transactions*, (College of Physicians, London, 1813).

<sup>345</sup> PP 1828 CCXXXVII (273) I 1 – Select Committee of the House of Lords on Bills etc., This committee examined the Bills on the Care and Treatment of Lunatics (to replace the Madhouses Act, 1774) and County Lunatic Asylums and Paupers and Criminal Lunatics. It also summoned John Bright, Secretary of the College of Physicians and additional Commissioners, active and former.

searching attention on the treatment and conditions of the inmates of Thomas Warburton's White House, Bethnal Green. Once again the Secretary of the College of Physicians, John Bright, was among the witnesses at both inquiries, as a result of which some Commissioners were required to give evidence. They revealed the Commissioners' appalling ignorance of conditions in the madhouses, shortcomings in licensing and the certification of inmates and record-keeping, and the need for more frequent inspections. Many of the inadequacies of inspection of private asylums were mitigated (but not all) by the improvements embodied in the Madhouse Act of 1828 and, as it was finally amended, by the Care and Treatment of Insane Persons Act of 1832. These included the establishment of the Metropolitan Commission in Lunacy (reporting to the Lord Chancellor), with more Commissioners (15 instead of 5) inspecting four times per year, provincial inspections increasing to three times per year and improvements in certification and medical record-keeping. Improvement in the standards of inspection were noticeable in the Metropolitan area, but not, it has to be said, in provincial Surrey.

The Lunatic Asylums Act, 1842 resulted, for the first time, in the MCL's legitimate involvement with the inspection of provincial private asylums, a power retained in the Lunatics Act, 1845 and thereafter. However, sensitive to the declining authority of the local justices, their powers of inspection were not removed or curtailed but the dual source of inspection did not lead to any improvement in the rigour of the inspections carried out by the justices. If anything, the minutes of the Visiting Justices to private asylums became more superficial, indicating less thoroughness, a factor of which Shaftesbury and the Commissioners were well aware as is evident from several references to the inspections carried out by the justices in the CL's Annual Reports. With the resources of the Commissioners already stretched

in meeting its programme of inspection, Shaftesbury was equally well aware that he could not dispense with the services of the justices in their inspecting role.

As has been shown, the number of private asylums, particularly in the Metropolitan area, increased though the majority were intended for a small number of non-pauper patients. The two large Surrey private asylums, Peckham House and Camberwell House, both of which accommodated varying numbers of pauper lunatics were subject to regular and stringent inspection during which a number of faults and shortcomings were identified. The CL could never apply the ultimate sanction of withdrawing their licences, as the numbers of pauper lunatics requiring accommodation in the mid to late nineteenth century increased and the two establishments were required as 'overfills' for the county asylums.

Overall, therefore, the conclusion drawn is that the administration set up to regulate the private madhouses of rural and Metropolitan Surrey in the period 1774 to the early 1830s was not entirely effective. It did little to improve the treatment and care of patients, though it may have mitigated to some extent a decline in such treatment and care. Its effectiveness in safeguarding against wrongful confinement can hardly be judged on the basis of the one case recorded in Surrey upon which action was taken promptly. There was no mechanism, nor, apparently, a curiosity to find out if there were other instances of wrongful confinement. This state of affairs can be only partly explained by the poor legislation which determined the standards of regulation. It was also due to the lack of rigour of the justices and, to a lesser extent, the Commissioners charged with carrying the inspections who failed to identify faults with existing practices and, therefore, did nothing to improve them. In the case of the justices this lack of rigour persisted after the early 1840s when legislation enabled inspection to be occasionally supplemented by visits by Commissioners in Lunacy.



The study has briefly referred to the attempts to reform the poor laws in the late eighteenth century, largely driven by economic reasons, leading to the initiation of their major reform, a process which began in 1832. It traces the development of the largely humanitarian (but politically less significant) concern with lunacy which resulted in a separate but parallel development of legislation concerned with the provision of care and treatment for the lunatic poor. The study then concentrates on the impact and implementation of the reformed poor law and emerging legislation principally concerned with pauper lunatics in the course of the nineteenth century in Surrey.

How effective was the administration of resources for the care and treatment of pauper lunatics?

The twin legislative developments brought the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century administrators, central and local (and the twenty-first century researcher), face to face with the problem of the shortage or inaccuracy of available data on the numbers of people to which the legislation applied and the resources to give it effect. Despite the number of Select Committees appointed to inquire into various aspects affecting the poor and the insane, and the numerous Parliamentary returns of information, the period 1750 – 1832 produces data of doubtful validity. As has been discussed in attempting to provide a measure of the level of poverty in terms of the numbers of paupers in Surrey, so too is there some doubt about the resources available to help the poor and insane. These difficulties are particularly true in the case of the pauper lunatics.

In Surrey, as commonly elsewhere, the late eighteenth early nineteenth-century pauper lunatic<sup>346</sup> could expect a limited range of care and treatment. He or she could remain in the community looked after by the family, or someone paid to do so, or, if dangerous or offensive, confined in a workhouse, house of correction or gaol, or, if the parish could afford it, in a private asylum. In Surrey, as has been discussed, initially the private asylums in the county were almost entirely intended for non-paupers<sup>347</sup>. Surrey pauper lunatics thus were more likely to be confined in a workhouse. The uncertainty about the number of workhouses in the county is highlighted in Chapter 4 with mention of the two sources of information contained in the returns made in 1777 and 1803. An attempt to establish a national figure for the numbers of lunatics held in gaols, houses of correction and workhouses, by seeking returns from the parishes of counties in England and Wales initiated by Wynn in 1806, yielded figures which were open to challenge (see Table 9). Nonetheless, the figures were used by a Select Committee appointed in 1807, the work of which led to the County Asylums Act, 1808, enabling the first provision for the care and treatment of pauper lunatics to be effected.

There was no Surrey representation on the 1807 Select Committee. Neither was there any apparent reaction to the legislation which followed, and the assumption has to be made that pauper lunatics either remained in their communities, or, if

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<sup>346</sup> The term 'lunatic' was generically used somewhat loosely at the time and could include what were later defined more precisely (both medically and legally), e.g., lunatic, idiot, imbecile and 'person of unsound mind'. Sir Alexander Morison used regularly to include in certain Tables of the Annual Reports of the Surrey County Asylum, Wandsworth, 'guidance notes on the definitions of insanity' (see also Ch 6, fn 188). Summarised, he defined a lunatic as someone with a derangement of the mind which could be permanent or temporary, general or partial, whilst an idiot was someone with a weak mind, general or partial, from birth, and an imbecile as someone with slightly lesser degree of weak mindedness, often, but not necessarily, from birth. It is thus understandable why medical men and lawyers were to argue about the definitions and classification of the condition of insanity.

<sup>347</sup> Frimley recorded the first pauper admission in 1810 – Thomas Harding of Aldershot – transferred to St Luke's Hospital within a month. Other paupers were taken in at Great Fosters in 1819. Two admitted were also speedily discharged to St Luke's. The other private asylums used by Surrey paupers were Hoxton House and Warburton's at Bethnal Green. It was not until 1825 that Metropolitan Surrey Peckham House opened and was prepared to admit paupers.

dangerous or otherwise offensive, were sent to a Metropolitan madhouse, or, more likely, to a workhouse. As has been mentioned, a Surrey MP was included in the membership of the of Select Committee of 1814 and appeared to remain so on its reappointment in 1815 and 1816, though the committee was not successful in introducing resultant legislation. Once again, there was no apparent reaction in Surrey to the searching reports by the Select Committee or to the presence of one of its MPs as a member, though a small number of Surrey paupers were likely to have been inmates at one or more of Metropolitan madhouses which were the subject of investigation.

If Surrey appeared diffident about the welfare of its pauper lunatics Middlesex did not. In January, 1827, a committee of justices of the county was appointed to examine the state of its pauper lunatics and included in its membership was Charles Pallmer, a Surrey MP<sup>348</sup>. The committee went on to recommend the building of the first Middlesex County Asylum at Hanwell opened in 1831. Pallmer was also a member of a Select Committee appointed in mid-1827, the work of which led to the Madhouse Act, 1828, previously mentioned, and the County Lunatic Asylums Act of the same year. Though these events at first appeared to have been ignored in Surrey, unexpectedly, in August 1828, an initiative by a Surrey justice, who later became one of its MPs, John Ivatt Briscoe<sup>349</sup>, began the laboured process which was to end with the building of Surrey's first asylum nearly thirteen years later in 1841.

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<sup>348</sup> Charles Pallmer entered parliament to support resistance against the Slave Registration Bill. He came from a family of sugar plantation owners in the West Indies. He entered parliament as MP for Ludgershall in Wiltshire in 1816 but became MP for Surrey in 1826. He owned a small estate, Norbiton Place, near Kingston and became a much respected provider of work for the poor. His West Indian estate holdings declined and he lost further money as a result of expenditure on his Surrey estate, dying penniless in France in 1848. For a short period he was a Commissioner on the establishment the Metropolitan Commission in Lunacy in 1828.

<sup>349</sup> As an MP Briscoe was a member of a parliamentary committee appointed when the House was heavily engaged on the business of the Reform Bill, to vet the Bill which was to emerge as the Care and Treatment of Insane Persons (Madhouse) Act, 1832.

However, from all available evidence, the fact remains that from 1774 to 1828, apart from providing the means for the regulation of private madhouses, Surrey ignored the initial development of provision and regulation for the care and treatment of pauper lunatics. There is no mention of any discussion or resultant action (or even a decision to take no action) in the Court of Quarter Sessions for the whole of the 54-year period. It must, nonetheless, be deemed unlikely that the justices were unaware of the growing parliamentary concern for pauper lunatics – the Surrey MPs, who were also JPs and fairly regular attendees at the sessions of the Court<sup>350</sup>, would have been aware of the parliamentary debate following the reports of Select Committee<sup>351</sup>. Nor could the Surrey justices have been unaware of neighbouring local initiatives for several justices were JPs for both Surrey and Middlesex, where concern for pauper lunatics was evident from the early nineteenth century. Much of the early impetus for concern about pauper lunatics stems not from legislative reformers but from humanitarian motives of the evangelicals. Though none in Surrey can be specifically identified with the treatment of the insane, there was, nonetheless, a network of evangelicals active in the county, in particular, the Clapham Sect. This influential and successful group against slavery was founded by Henry Venn but took its name from the residence of prominent members William Wilberforce and Henry Thornton in Clapham. Thornton was MP for Southwark and his brother, Samuel Thornton, though a less ardent abolitionist, was MP for the County. Wilberforce was also involved in the Society for Bettering the Conditions and Improving the Comforts of the Poor as was George Holmes Sumner, the Surrey MP. Both Sumner and Briscoe shared a

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<sup>350</sup> See Appendix B for notes on MPs. During this fifty year period, and prior to the Reform Act of 1832, Surrey was represented in parliament by two MPs (known as Knights of the Shire), and two members from each of the Boroughs (Bletchingley, Gatton, Guildford, Haslemere, Reigate, and Southwark) – fourteen members in all.

<sup>351</sup> Sumner was a member of the 1814 – 16 Select Committee, Pallmer a member of the 1827 Select Committee and both were regular attenders at the Court of Quarter Sessions ,

common interest in prison reform. It is, perhaps, an indication of the lack of political capital in matters concerning the care and treatment of lunatics.

As a result of Briscoe's initiative and the requirements of the County Lunatics Asylum Act, the first audit of pauper lunatics in the county was completed in 1828 resulting in figures of doubtful accuracy – 134 in poor or unlicensed houses, 189 in licensed houses, 57 with friends or relatives totalling 380. It is in the early years of the 1830s, examined in Chapter 5, that some light is thrown on the reasons for this state of affairs as a result of inquiries conducted in the course of the work of the Royal Commission on the administration and operation of the Poor Laws.

Chapter 5 covers the period 1830 – 1845, a time of considerable change and development in the care and treatment of both the poor in general and the insane in particular and a time of legislative growth affecting the balance of power between central and local government. It begins, however, with the continuing difficulties faced at local level in establishing the numbers of pauper lunatics which continued for over another decade. Throughout most of the nineteenth-century Surrey had 144 parishes<sup>352</sup> for which Churchwardens and Overseers were appointed by the parish (the appointment of the Overseer was approved by the local JP). In addition, some of the larger parishes had Assistant Overseers, who were paid employees of the parish, their principal function being the collection of the poor rates. For some Churchwardens, and many more Overseers, the appointment was an unwanted burden gladly relinquished at the end of their term of office. To some it was an opportunity to line their own pockets. In some of the Metropolitan parishes the Overseers appointed were men of some social standing not all versed in the ways of the poor. It was to this

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<sup>352</sup> See also Appendix B for notes on parishes. The largest in terms of population was Lambeth St Mary's (87,856 in 1831), the smallest was Woldingham (48 in 1831). In 1801 a parish for rating purposes was defined as 'an area for which a poor rate is or can be made, or for which a separate overseer is or can be appointed.'

mixed bag of parish officers that the Court turned for information about the number of pauper lunatics. Despite appointing a committee to procure and verify the information it sought, parishes continued to fail to make returns, or sent back incomplete or inaccurate returns. Threats were made to take legal action against individuals failing to make or sending in erroneous returns but no such action was ever taken. The Court prevailed upon its magistrates in Petty Sessional Divisions to carry out inspections of local workhouses and report the number and condition of pauper lunatics discovered, but only ten such inspections were recorded chiefly in Metropolitan parishes. In these the lunatics discovered were elderly long-term inmates or idiots, for the majority of whom no change of accommodation was recommended. Some parishes, again mainly in the Metropolitan area, disclosed the use of private asylums at Hoxton, Bethnal Green and Peckham House for alleged dangerous lunatics (the cost of transporting a lunatic from a comparatively remote rural parish was often sufficient to deter such action). Further delays in gathering information occurred during the period of riots in 1830–31.

In 1832 the investigations by Assistant Commissioners of the Royal Commission began and certain rural and town parishes were selected to respond to the questionnaires sent out by the Commission. Whilst it was suggested by some contemporary critics of these processes at the time, and by several of the revisionist historians<sup>353</sup> since, that both the reports and the questionnaires were designed to provide information on, or confirmation of, what the Royal Commissioners wanted to hear, nonetheless, taken together they provide some insight into the quality of local government in general and of management and leadership of the local justices in particular. There had earlier been some concern within the Court about corrupt

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<sup>353</sup> e.g. Blaug, *op cit* (1964)

practices among some Surrey Metropolitan justices and their staffs<sup>354</sup> though this had been suppressed before the arrival of the Assistant Commissioners. Finding sufficient candidates of the right calibre and social standing to be nominated as a justice was always difficult in the Metropolitan area, but the status and dignity of the office appears to have been upheld throughout the county<sup>355</sup>. The reports from the Assistant Commissioners were more critical; the reports of Codd and Chadwick covering the Metropolitan parishes and Maclean and Majendie on the rural parishes all contain pointed criticism of the local justices and parish officers, paid and unpaid (for examples see Ch 5, fns 132,133 and 134). In addition to confirming the aloofness identified by the Webbs (aloofness resultant from a combination of unwillingness to mix with parish officials charged with providing relief, and a fear of losing favour with the paupers) the reports identify the wide-spread abuse of the system, such as it was, by magistrates over-ruling the parish officers, frequently without prior consultation. The Overseers, particularly those from Metropolitan parishes, chosen for their social status, were out of touch with the needs of the poor, whilst those in the rural areas were more prone to corrupt practices. Whilst the justices doubtless saw themselves, and were largely regarded, as pillars of local society (and they were effective in upholding law and order, managing the maintenance of roads and bridges, Houses of Correction and gaols), the conclusion must be drawn that they were

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<sup>354</sup> The Court of Quarter Sessions of the County of Surrey was conducted in four Divisions which met in turn at Guildford, Kingston, Reigate and at Newington each under a different chairman. The Newington sessions were largely taken up with the licensing of beer-houses for the Borough of Southwark and the Half-Hundred of Brixton (830 licensed houses to 503 in the remainder of the County). In 1816 the Newington Division obtained the Court's permission to grant its licences excluding the presence of justices not resident in the Division (QS2/1/39). By 1824 and after several questionable licensing decisions, Henry Drummond, a rural justice and later MP for W Surrey, brought a particularly dubious decision to grant a licence to a notorious publican and brothel-keeper to the notice of the Court in General Session, the result of which was the passing of a resolution requiring the presence of all the justices at every licensing session (QS2/1/44).

<sup>355</sup> S & B Webb, *The Parish and the County: English Local Government*, Vol 1 (Frank Cass, London, reprinted 1963), Ch II & III, pp 319 – 420, provides some interesting comment on Justices of the Peace. On p 378 the Webbs observe 'this rising standard of integrity, knowledge, and public spirit ....marred by an increasing aloofness .... from those whom they considered their social inferiors'.

ineffective managers of a large number of widely diverse units of local government in the implementation of the poor laws. They were prone to over-emphasis on peripheral issues<sup>356</sup> to the exclusion of issues that really mattered in resolving the demands put upon them. By the late 1830s, still not in possession of accurate demand figures of lunatic paupers, there were already signs of an inability which was to dog the provision of resources for the care and treatment of the insane to the end of the century. They had neither the techniques available nor, apparently, the ability to identify the concept of forward planning. Decisions to build new or enlarge and improve existing resources were always taken on the basis of present demand obtained from retrospective data and despite growing awareness and alarm about the increasing numbers of insane<sup>357</sup>. As a result, with the lead-time necessary from plan to build-completion, new accommodation when it came on-stream was insufficient to meet accommodation needs – a constant state of ‘catch-up’ existed. This state of affairs was graphically illustrated with the opening of Surrey’s first county asylum in 1841 for within a year it was found to be inadequate to meet the needs of the county’s pauper lunatics.

Bridging Chapters 5 and 6 is the description of legislative development in the early 1840s. The intervention by Thomas Wakley halted the mechanistic renewal of the Madhouse Act of 1832 and led instead to the significant Lunatic Asylums Act

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<sup>356</sup> A constant concern with settlement issues and resultant attribution of costs away from parishes is present in all the reports of committees set up by the Court to prepare or maintain resources of care and treatment. In another instance, no discussion or concern was expressed about the causes of the 1830–31 riots, but lengthy discussion took place on who should pay for the staves with which the ‘Special Constables’ sworn into quell the rioters were armed!

<sup>357</sup> Identified by Dr Powell as early as 1813 (*op cit*) and raised by the Commission in Lunacy, at Select Committees and in the medical press on many occasions thereafter. Dr J Granville Morgan in Vol II of *The Care and Cure of the Insane, being the Reports of the Lancet Commission on Lunatic Asylums 1875 – 1877 for Middlesex, the City of London and Surrey*, remarks on the opening of Brookwood Asylum – ‘(there is a) need for a third asylum – a need which will crop up every seven years.’ His remark was prescient and accurate though it took Surrey sixteen years before its third asylum, Cane Hill, was opened, during which time Wandsworth and Brookwood were put under, at times, unbearable pressure to meet accommodation needs.



of 1842, the precursor of the all-important Lunatics Act of 1845, the law which set the pattern of the care and treatment of the insane for the next four and a half decades. The 1842 act was significant because it opened all asylums and hospitals with insane patients (except Bethlem) and surreptitiously some workhouses to inspection by a central body (though the inspection of workhouses was not fully implemented until 1853). As important, it began the process of gathering more reliable data on the disposition of lunatics both pauper and non-pauper, eventually to be included in the report prepared by Ashley and the Metropolitan Commissioners, published in 1844. The 1842 act also spurred the PLC to instruct the Clerks to the Boards of Guardians to make regular returns to the Commission on the numbers of pauper lunatics in workhouses. The Lunatics Act and the County Asylums Act of 1845 (the latter making the provision of a county asylum mandatory) set new and stricter standards for the responsibilities and consequential actions of both central and local authorities. Despite expression of concern by the CL to the PLC, however, the differences in interpretation of the law by the two central bodies with regard to the use of workhouses to accommodate pauper lunatics persisted. Boards of Guardians, by this time were accustomed to the issue of orders and cautious instructions and guidance emanating from the PLC and had become adept at finding their way around or ignoring them. In this instance, the doubt which surrounded the definition of a 'dangerous lunatic' played into the hands of the cost-conscious board members who were able to continue to confine lunatics in workhouses rather than seek their admission to a county asylum, if accommodation was available, or the more expensive private asylums.

By the mid-nineteenth century there was a widely held belief that insanity was a curable disease but that cure was dependent on early diagnosis and treatment.

This belief emanated from the medical profession (or, more accurately, that sector of the profession who were engaged in the care of the mentally ill – a sector which sought acceptance by society in general, and the other traditional medical practitioners in particular, one manifestation of which was the formation of professional societies and an active dedicated medical press) and underpinned the policy of provision of resources for the care and treatment of the insane propounded by the CL and its regulation of asylums. It was a belief espoused in the face of evidence contained in the Annual Reports of the county asylums which threw doubt on its validity.

Treatment had, so far, developed to a more or less general acceptance of regimes on non-restraint, a range of limited therapies, and the provision, whenever possible, of productive work. What the CL and the asylum medical specialists wanted were relatively small establishments capable of coping with up to 300 patients, undergoing a range of treatment regimes and followed by a period of convalescence. It is not the purpose of this study to comment on or question the efficacy of mental health treatment but doubt must be expressed about the underlying assumption of curability and early diagnosis.

What the county asylums had to contend with was almost entirely opposite to their hopes and expectations. As shown by Tables 12, 13, 14 and 15, what they were forced to admit, since they had no control over admissions, was a growing number of elderly chronic patients whose care swamped the limited resources available for curative treatment (see Table 14). Despite a 48% intake of patients of low duration illness, the expected cure rates never materialised. Patients were admitted from private asylums (though as time went on private asylums, with the agreement of the county asylum authorities, were used as an overflow at times of shortage of asylum accommodation), workhouses (as they became overcrowded with

a change of role from centres of deterrence to centres of care), and a substantial percentage from those who had been cared for by ‘friends and relatives’<sup>358</sup>. Resultant pressure on local authorities resulted in continued enlargement of existing, or building of new, asylums to provide accommodation for large numbers of patients rather than the smaller capacity establishment which the central authorities wanted.

Further, in the context of asylum accommodation, Scull states:

‘The general relationship between the construction of asylums and the increase in insanity again suggests that on the whole it was the existence and expansion of the asylum system which created the increase in demand for its own services, rather than the other way round.’<sup>359</sup>

The statement was not true of Surrey.

Those concerned with the poor and the relief of poverty also had beliefs – beliefs more widely held since the poor and poverty, whether trying to mitigate or suffering the condition, affected a far greater number. Paupers were seen as a cost to society, and equally, it was generally held that costs must be minimised. The attitude

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<sup>358</sup> Patients were removed from private asylums most commonly to save the Union the cost of keeping them there. Workhouse inmates were sent to asylums less often because they were dangerous but, more likely, that they were dirty in their habits or disruptive in their behaviour. Workhouses did not have sufficient facilities and staff trained to cope with either or both conditions. Removal from the care of friends and relatives is a more complex issue. P Thane, *Old Age in English History, Past Experiences, Present Issues*, (Oxford University Press, 2000) deals comprehensively with issues of old age including reference to studies carried out in several localities on family relationships and the care of the elderly. Surprisingly, Thane makes no mention of the mental health of the elderly, but on their general care and drawing from the studies undertaken, concludes that limited relief was widely paid to old people which was supplemented by their own limited capacity to earn or by their families. Once there was a change of state of either the elderly or their family (e.g., incapacity to earn, loss of wages of family members, increase in family size) the elderly became more vulnerable to entry into the workhouse, and in the case of those with mental health problems, the asylum. No study of care of the elderly has been undertaken in Surrey. The legal aspects the care of the elderly are to found in D Thomson, ‘“I am not my father’s keeper”: Families and the Elderly in Nineteenth Century England’, *Law and History Review*, Vol 2, No 2 (Autumn, 1984), pp 265 – 285, whilst M A Crowther, ‘Family Responsibility and State Responsibility in Britain before the Welfare State’, *Historical Journal*, Vol 25, No 1, (1982), pp 131 – 145, looks at the anomalies that exist in definitions of responsibility of family vis a vis, the care of the elderly.

<sup>359</sup> A Scull, *The Most Solitary of Afflictions*, pp 363 – 370. This somewhat ambiguous statement has been taken to mean that the numbers of the insane expanded to fill the available capacity. Scull then goes on to exemplify precisely what happened in Surrey and elsewhere – new asylums were commissioned and found to be inadequate for the numbers of those designated insane at the time. The number so designated was a function of the conditions of those defined as ‘insane’, e.g., incontinent, irascible and forgetful, so often ascribed to the elderly.

towards insanity in general had, at least, modified to the extent it was no longer believed to be some sort of possession but neither was it universally accepted as an illness. A pauper lunatic was more commonly regarded as a pauper incapable of productive work but so long as he or she caused no problems they were tolerated within the community. If they became a problem, confinement at least, and if necessary physical restraint, was not seen as untoward. In the first half of the nineteenth-century workhouses (a parish asset) were not regarded as providers of care, and expenditure on medical and nursing facilities was kept to a minimum. In most cases attempts to make them pay as businesses by production of goods and commodities never succeeded and the practice of 'farming' became commonplace, certainly in Surrey, as a means of saving expenditure. With time, the role of the workhouse changed as the effects of the new poor law took effect upon the able-bodied paupers and the balance of inmates swung more towards the indigent sick and elderly. The movement which began in the mid-century towards the provision of infirmaries, improved medical and nursing care, and specialist accommodation for the expectant and nursing mothers, and for the mentally ill, required a substantial programme of improvement of existing or new buildings.

Chapter 6 contains a discussion about the relationships between the central and local authorities, the bodies concerned with lunacy and with the poor at central and local level. It also mentions the problem of adequate and sufficient representative research which Appendix C and its associated Annex is intended to underline. Some tentative conclusions have already been drawn, one of which it is apposite to repeat – those at the local level administering lunacy laws were concerned about lunatics the majority of whom were paupers, whilst those administering the poor law were concerned about paupers a minority of whom were lunatics – for it helps to set further

conclusion in context. The effectiveness of the provision made for the care and treatment of the insane depended heavily on the establishment of sound working relationships between the authorities involved in such provision. It is concluded that in the case of Surrey those sound working relationships did not exist. The relationship between the asylum committees and the Commissions in Lunacy, though they started off reasonably fruitfully deteriorated. The deterioration began with the dispute over the expansion of the existing site at Wandsworth and reached its nadir with the Snape affair. Thereafter it never rose above a polite coolness, a tendency to criticize with energetic rebuttal and to offer faint praise loftily ignored. The relationship between Boards of Guardians and the PLC and its successor began with a respect by the former for the latter, but in the face of the central body's plethora of instruction, guidance and comment over matters from the most important to the most trivial, it gradually deteriorated to skilful evasion or half-hearted compliance by the Boards and a tendency to play one central body off against the other. Relationships between the central bodies though outwardly polite and correct were largely distant and at times antagonistic. At local level, strict formality was always maintained, nearly always by correspondence, when the situations in which both found themselves called for face to face contact and more informality<sup>360</sup>. In short the whole system lacked the lubrication of good will.

In Chapter 7 attention turns to the least documented and, therefore, least known aspect of the provision of care and treatment of the insane – the single lunatic. The only safe conclusion that can be drawn about the issue of single lunatics is that the extent of its existence and the number of single lunatics at any one time cannot be

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<sup>360</sup> The relationship is exemplified by the evidence of J E Johnstone, Surrey JP and Chairman of the Guildford Quarter Sessions and later member of the Visiting Committee of Brookwood (see Ch 6, fn 230). Johnstone claimed he had no knowledge of workhouses because it was not the duty of justices to visit workhouses or private asylums accommodating paupers!

established. Despite the legislative changes concerned with safeguarding the property of insane individuals and the inclusion of regulations governing their care and treatment within the general framework of lunacy law, Shaftesbury and the Commissioners in Lunacy failed overall to safeguard the welfare of the single lunatic. There is no doubt that single lunatic accommodation existed in Surrey and that its principal mental health doctor, Sir Alexander Morison, was involved in the treatment of such lunatics. The extent to which other doctors were involved in such practice in Surrey cannot be firmly established. There is also no doubt that some attendants necessary to sustain the care of single lunatics came from asylums or hospitals situated in Surrey but the extent of this supporting network cannot be determined from available research sources. Whilst it is generally assumed that the practice of caring for single lunatics was largely confined to the social classes who could afford such provision, there is a strong likelihood that there were other mentally ill people who existed within the total spectrum of care. Attempts were made to include the mentally ill or those with mental disability in the census<sup>361</sup>, but were thwarted by an unwillingness to disclose the existence of such disability within a family. This unknown element of the numbers of insane needs to be taken into account in the debate which began in the nineteenth century (and has continued) about the alleged increase in insanity. Further comment about the alleged increase in insanity is made later in this chapter.

Inspection of workhouses became part of the function of the Commissioners in Lunacy from 1853, but with an already heavy commitment to the inspection of

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<sup>361</sup> The 1871 census, for the first time, called for the disclosure of those members of the household who were imbeciles, idiots or lunatics. In 1881 the census authorities admitted in their report for that year that such required information could not be regarded as accurate because of the unwillingness of parents or relatives to admit that their children or relatives had such mental disabilities. When the term 'feeble-minded' was substituted for 'idiot' in 1901 the number of persons recorded as having mental disability markedly increased.

private and public asylums and hospitals (which included Bethlem) by what remained of a small team of commissioners, such inspections tended to be at longer than annual periods. Concern about the state of workhouses was also shown by the PLB and an inspection of St Pancras Workhouse led to increased public concern and further examination by medical press sponsored teams and other individuals. The concern was not about the accommodation of lunatics in particular, but the condition of accommodation for inmates in general, and the quality of the care they received. No adverse comment appears to have been made about rural Surrey workhouses arising from CL visits apart from the continued use of workhouses as a source of accommodation for pauper lunatics. The CL were in something of a dilemma. On the one hand there was an antipathy towards the use of workhouses to accommodate lunatics<sup>362</sup>. At the same time the CL was well aware that some counties, including Surrey, were experiencing difficulty in providing sufficient asylum accommodation resulting in the continued use of private asylums (which the CL either wished to see closed or to contain the number of new licences). Adverse comment about Metropolitan Surrey Workhouses did later arise from the *Lancet* 'commission' report in 1865 which singled out St George the Martyr's Workhouse for particular criticism.

The Metropolitan Poor Act of 1867 was the result of the various investigations into the state of workhouses in London and the standards of care they

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<sup>362</sup> PP 1859 Session I IX, 1 – Supplement to the Twelfth Annual Report of Commission in Lunacy. The CL had offered advice to the PLB and Boards of Guardians 'on the better care and treatment of lunatics and their removal to asylums'. The PLB gave a luke-warm response and the Boards simply ignored the advice preferring the cheapness of workhouse accommodation. The CL decided to bring their views to the attention of the Lord Chancellor through the medium of supplement to its own annual report. The supplement dealt with the shortcomings of workhouses under a number of headings which included design and construction, direction and administration, intermixing of inmates, absence of supervision, incompetent staff, use of restraint, absence of treatment, and lack of facilities. The supplement concludes somewhat lamely with the hope that the Lord Chancellor can suggest a solution – though it does recommend presciently the construction of 'auxiliary asylums' which were to emerge as part of the forthcoming Metropolitan Poor Act, 1867 and the building of such an asylum at Caterham.

provided. It was part of a range of legislative developments intended to tackle the growing and particular problems of the rapidly expanding city – problems of local authority boundaries, population growth, public health (water supply and sewage), and administration of the poor laws which culminated in the reorganisation of local government with the Local Government Act of 1888. The act made important provisions for the chronic lunatics, but equally important were its provision for fever and isolation hospitals, an ambulance service, and the dispensation of medicine to the poor. But it is to the provision of accommodation for ‘chronic and harmless lunatics’ that attention is now turned in the context of the range of provision already made, and to be made, in Surrey. The passing of the act coincided with the opening of Surrey’s second county asylum at Brookwood in the west of the county. The need for a second county asylum arose from the unremitting pressure to accommodate the numbers of those deemed insane. That it was sited in the far west of the county, at a considerable distance from the Metropolis, was in a small part due to pressure from the rural Unions, but mainly because the Court of Quarter Sessions lost the prolonged battle with the CL to expand the existing site at Wandsworth, a battle fought by the CL on the grounds that it did not wish to see the emergence of another establishment (such as Hanwell and Colney Hatch in Middlesex) with a large number of inmates. The choice of site was also undoubtedly affected by the cost of land<sup>363</sup>. Brookwood was originally designed to accommodate 650 patients. Sensible decisions were made by both asylum management committees to allocate numbers to it taking as much account as possible of the disposition of patient origins. Within a year the error in prediction of accommodation needs was apparent and both county asylums were

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<sup>363</sup> Indeed, the cost of land seemed to be all important whilst other requirements advised by the CL in the guidelines for the choice of site set out as early as 1847 (see Ch 7, fn 247), were overlooked. One such piece of advice was about the quality and quantity of the water supply. Wandsworth and Brookwood experienced problems with water supply as did the MAB’s Caterham all requiring expensive measures to resolve.



under pressure to admit more patients. Tacit acceptance by the CL to allow patients to be transferred back to workhouses, and agreements drawn up with private asylums were only partially successful palliatives. Hopes, mistaken as it turned out, were that the opening of the auxiliary asylum at Caterham would ease the pressing need for accommodation. The conclusion must be, therefore, that the local authority – the Court – failed to plan ahead with any accuracy and continued to act reactively rather than proactively. Information on the increase in the rate of insanity was being published regularly in CL reports but appears to have been ignored. Caterham Asylum (and its sister asylum to the north of London at Leavesden, Hertfordshire) opened in 1870. Relationships between the Metropolitan Asylums Board and the local Poor Law Unions got off to a bad start because there was no Surrey county representation on the Board, nor anyone with experience of Surrey asylums' management on Caterham Asylum's local managing committee (which reported to the main board). Informal contact between the medical officers of both county and MAB asylums appears to have taken place though not recorded. The 'as-designed' accommodation quickly began to fill up and plans were drawn up to increase the amount of accommodation and to provide an infirmary for the sick, elderly patients who were admitted. Another source of ill-feeling was the fact that despite earlier assurances that patients would come largely from Surrey's Metropolitan parishes (thus easing Surrey's pauper lunatic accommodation needs), admissions were made from Middlesex and Metropolitan Kent parishes. The attitude of both the Surrey county asylum management and the medical specialists towards Caterham Asylum was not altogether welcoming (see Ch 7, fn 271) with declared concern about its control being placed under the PLB (and later LGB) rather than the CL.

At this point in these concluding remarks and assessments it is relevant to

include comment on Surrey's principal authority on mental health matters for over 50 years, Sir Alexander Morison, who died in 1866. Early doubts about the choice of profession to follow resolved, his early medical career was dogged by shortage of money, compounded by the failure of his wife's estates in the West Indies, and it was necessary for him to seek patronage of minor peers and the gentry by acting as their personal medical advisor, to supplement his income from a medical practice. As his financial base became more secure he sought recognition successfully by seeking the patronage (through consultant posts) to minor members of the Royal family, and later still by 'consultant' or 'visiting physician' styled posts. His interest and specialization in mental health only came after his appointment as Visiting Physician to Surrey Asylums but, thereafter, and much influenced by Esquirol in Paris, he became much committed to this relatively new medical specialism. Whilst, he could never be looked on as an original thinker – indeed he retained a scepticism towards much new thought and techniques – he applied thought and effort into the training of others which, in addition to his fellow medical colleagues and students, extended to the nurses and attendants. He undoubtedly underwent some kind of religious conversion, but, thereafter, his faith seems to have been directed inwards and he never displayed the humanitarian concern of the evangelicals with whom he otherwise had much in common. Diligent and conscientious, his concern was focused on the treatment he gave and he seemed unaware of the conditions under which some of his patients existed. On occasions he was prepared to circumvent the law and prepared to justify his actions vigorously when he was challenged. His contribution to the provision of care and treatment of the insane in Surrey was solid and dependable but lacked foresight and imagination.

Moving into the last quarter of the nineteenth-century the study has disclosed the continued existence of rural and Metropolitan private asylums. All, with the exception of Peckham House and Camberwell House, were concerned with small numbers of private patients, often in single-sex accommodation, or, in a small number accommodation for patients from single families. It cannot be determined with certainty how many of this small total of private patients came from Surrey. A major innovation in the private asylum market was the opening of Holloway's Sanatorium in 1885, catering for the needs of middle-class insane. The use of Peckham House and Camberwell House continued though the number of relatively poor private patients rose, as the number of pauper lunatics fluctuated in the response to the demands made upon the two private asylums by the county asylums in need of 'overflow' accommodation (see Table 23). New building took place in several Unions to improve the standard and range of workhouse accommodation, particularly in the provision of infirmaries to care for the sick. The Metropolitan Poor Act had included the setting up of the Common Poor Fund for the London parishes to finance the provision of the services set up by the act. One effect of this arrangement was to provide an incentive for the Unions to move lunatics previously confined to workhouses to the MAB's asylums and when refused admission thereto, to county asylums. The grant-in-aid introduced in 1875 to the rest of England and Wales, induced increased demand on the county asylums, as Unions could enjoy the benefit of subsidised asylum fees, thus minimising expenditure on pauper lunatics which had hitherto acted as an inhibiting factor in transferring them from workhouse to county asylum.

The ever-increasing need for asylum accommodation continued to preoccupy the asylum management committees and the Boards of Guardians.

Accommodation was increased at Wandsworth and Brookwood and at Caterham, contractual arrangements were made with other county asylums, Metropolitan private asylums, and private asylums outside London but all were to provide only temporary respite. A third county asylum was mooted in 1873 but with the long lead-time between proposal and fruition the asylum at Cane Hill, Coulsdon did not open until late 1883. With the resultant transfer of patients between existing asylums, and the run-down of contractual arrangements accommodation needs soon became critical once more.

A reorganisation of local government caused a brief halt to the clamour for accommodation. The Local Government Act of 1888 altered the boundaries of London and the surrounding counties with a consequential reallocation of local responsibilities. The Metropolitan parishes were absorbed within a new London authority – The London County Council (LCC). The LCC also absorbed parts of Middlesex and Kent. As a result the county boundaries of all three counties contracted with consequential loss of population and reallocation of resources which included asylums. For Surrey it meant the loss of two of its three asylums (as a result of which a fourth building of a county asylum culminated in the opening of Netherne Asylum, Hooley in 1909) requiring a certain amount of patient transfer which took place in a sensibly ordered programme. For the new authority, the LCC, it meant a reappraisal of its accommodation needs which resulted in the acquisition of land outside its boundaries and the beginning of a new programme of building asylums one group of which was sited in Epsom, Surrey (which lasted into the first quarter of the twentieth century). The fall-out from this reorganisation had barely begun to decline when further major reform of the lunacy laws, the process of which had begun as far back as 1877 with a Select Committee on the Operation of the Lunacy Law, resulted

in the Lunacy Act of 1890. Included within this all-embracing attempt to consolidate the range and effect of existing lunacy law was one further concession to meeting the needs for the accommodation of the still increasing numbers of the insane – the use of workhouses to accommodate the chronic and harmless insane was authorised.

The study inevitably gives rise to consideration of the alleged increase in insanity, though admittedly from a local rather than a national viewpoint. There can be no doubt that the local administrators of the provision of the care and treatment of the insane were constantly aware of the pressure to find accommodation for those deemed insane however imperfect the diagnosis of insanity may have been and disappointing the rate of cure proved to be. If that was not enough, the CL included data on the numbers of insane compared to population growth in its Annual Reports and articles appeared regularly in both the professional<sup>364</sup> and popular press. In 1890 Noel A Humphreys presented a paper to the Royal Statistical Society<sup>365</sup> on the subject summed up by the less than encouraging remark at the paper's outset – 'It is impossible, without considerably improved statistical data, to furnish a sound and trustworthy answer to the question: "Is insanity increasing?"'. Humphreys's suggestion to use census data hardly advanced the debate. Nor did the *Special Report of the Commission in Lunacy to the Lord Chancellor on the Alleged Increase in Insanity* produced in 1897<sup>366</sup>. The indecisive report advanced the debate only marginally when it concluded that:

- (a) Increase in numbers was not due to an increase in incidence but of the aggregate of persons affected by it and their distribution.

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<sup>364</sup> Within *The Journal of Psychological Medicine and Mental Pathology*, *The Asylum Journal of Mental Science*, and *Lancet* articles by such luminaries as Charles Hood, Lockhart Robertson, J C Bucknill and Henry Maudsley feature regularly.

<sup>365</sup> N A Humphreys, 'Statistics of Insanity in England, with Special Reference to its Alleged Increasing Prevalence'. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol LIII, (June, 1890)

<sup>366</sup> PP 1897 XXXVIII I

(b) Insanity had not increased greatly out of proportion to the increase in population but that the numbers of the insane have greatly increased and in redistribution as to give an impression of an actual increase.

Such fine distinction could not have been much help to the local administrators whose supply of accommodation never met demand.

The study has traced the development of the provision of resources for the care and treatment of the insane in the County of Surrey from 1774 to the beginning of the twentieth century, as expressed in the statement of the purpose of the study given at the beginning of Chapter 1. It is essentially a work of administrative history, recounted in Chapters 3 –8 and has endeavoured to adhere to what was done at the time not what might or ought to have been done. Whilst the value and influence of modern research and historiography is duly recognised, conscious effort has been made to avoid dependence on the wisdom of hindsight or critical comment on the absence of, or failure to use, knowledge, skills and techniques which were not available to those implementing and administering the care and treatment of the insane.

The study has identified one characteristic which makes Surrey different from all but one other county in England and Wales – the combination of the Metropolitan and the rural areas within its pre-1889 boundaries (a Metropolitan area, by reason of its long history of economic, social and political development, different from any other large scale urban area). The combination gave rise to marked differences in the implementation and administration of the poor and lunacy laws in the two areas.

Within its range of provision for the care and treatment for the insane was a continually active number of private asylums, which, with the exception of two large establishments, served the needs of a relatively small number of non-pauper patients many of whom were not Surrey residents. Among the number of hospitals and charitable institutions for the insane, Surrey was the home of Earlswood Asylum in which pioneering work was done for what were then termed idiot children, and Holloway's Sanatorium, one of the few establishments catering for middle and lower –middle class insane patients.

The study has, however, focused attention chiefly on the pauper lunatic thus involving the implementation and administration of the both poor and lunacy laws. As a result it has identified shortcomings in the quality of leadership and management by its leading local citizens – the justices, and officers of the parishes and later the Poor Law Unions. These shortcomings were one of the causes of problems in the provision of resources to meet the needs of the poor in general and the pauper lunatics in particular. Other causes of problems were not peculiar to Surrey and include having to operate within a system intended to help the poor which was not geared to the increase in population, an undeserved faith in the ability to cure insanity, inaccuracy in or absence of diagnosis of insanity, and an inability to understand the reasons for, and react to the increase in the numbers deemed insane. As a result, the provision of accommodation for the care and treatment of pauper lunatics, in the case of county asylums, was a lengthy and reactive response which meant that accommodation supply never caught up with demand. Expected rates of cure never materialised which led asylums to a change from a caring to a custodial role. Workhouse accommodation for pauper lunatics, providing minimal care and treatment, was used extensively because of its cheapness, a situation which persisted

until overcrowding with those with other needs, and later subsidy, resulted in transfer to an asylum.

Finally, (within the limitations imposed by the amount of primary sources available for research into the implementation of the poor laws, and to a lesser extent, the lunacy laws) the study has underlined the fact that relationships between central and local authorities, and between the authorities at central level and between authorities at local level, lacked positiveness and constructiveness. The growth in the power and influence of the central authorities was resented and resisted. At local level there was a lack of understanding of, and cooperation in resolving their respective, and, at times, mutual problems which resulted in the maintenance of unbending formality and, on occasions, open antipathy.

Whilst, as stated, conscious effort has been made to keep the influence of modern research and historiography in perspective in conducting this study, it is appropriate to briefly compare and contrast its results and conclusions with the works of others, in particular those authors identified in Chapter 1 with the closest affinity with its aims and purpose. Among the general works, those of Scull stand out, whilst among those dealing with more specific times, localities or issues are Bartlett, Smith, Murphy and the group comprising Forsythe, Melling and Adair.

No work of Scull fails to stimulate and to arouse controversy. In a reflective essay, written as a conclusion to a selection of papers presented at series of seminars held at the University of Exeter in 1998, Scull pays tribute (and offers criticism) of the work of many of the authors referred to in this study – Bartlett, Smith, Wright, Forsythe, Melling, Adair, Suzuki *et al*<sup>367</sup>. Scull rightly claims that his work has been concerned with the history of psychiatry, and ‘more concerned with macro-social

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<sup>367</sup> A Scull, ‘Rethinking the History of Asylundom’ in Eds J Melling & B Forsythe, *Insanity, Institutions and Society, 1800 – 1914*, (Routledge, London, 1999)



concerns'. In the context of modern social history he uses the expression 'history from below'. This study is concerned with administrative history, and about micro-social issues. It is essentially locally orientated, 'history from below'. One comment from that standpoint will serve to illustrate the many differences from Scull's considerable output this study has raised. He consistently condemns the nineteenth-century growth in asylumdom, the practice of confining ever-increasing number of inmates in increasingly large establishments. Revisionists, among whom Scull includes himself, offer criticism of the administration of lunacy reformers implying that they had a choice of action and chose the wrong option. The study has shown that the only choice local administrators had other than the asylum was overcrowded workhouses and certain large private asylums with little or no facilities for the care of people who needed it. In Surrey, at least, they were never able to meet the resultant demand for accommodation.

Bartlett's contention that poor law and lunacy law were closely bound together has some congruence with the findings of this study. Like Bartlett's study, in his case based on local research in Leicestershire and Rutland, the Surrey experience was of shared resources, the asylum, the workhouse and the private asylum. The contention with Bartlett's findings is the poor quality of the relationship between the local authorities. Bartlett suggests that they were the same people. They may have shared the same location, some indeed may have shared roles, but in Surrey they did not work together. Smith's work using examples from a much wider range of localities is concerned with the shifting of emphasis between care and custody of the insane, though he concentrates on the first half of the nineteenth-century. This study has underlined the marked deterioration from the intentions of care aspired to in the

early days of asylum provision to almost entirely custodial regimes which prevailed well before the end of the nineteenth century.

The early work of Murphy on the private asylums of East London in 1800 - 1834 was of particular value in drawing comparisons of similarities and differences with the care and treatment of the pauper insane in Metropolitan Surrey as some of the establishments discussed were used by the Surrey parishes (though the precise utilisation cannot be determined). Murphy's later work, covering the period 1845 - 1867, concerned with the relationship between the Lunacy Commission and the Poor Law Unions of East London and the evolution of the Metropolitan Poor Act was very similar to the experience of Metropolitan Surrey. By contrast, the interesting work done by Forsythe, Melling and Adair concerned with the growing influence of the CL over the local Boards of Guardians and asylum management, had little common ground with the events in Surrey.

In conclusion, it is perhaps sad to note that many of the problems of dealing with the insane in the nineteenth century were carried over into the twentieth century, the latter part of which has seen the introduction of 'care in the community'. In that sense, the wheel of provision of care and treatment has gone full-circle, in that the mentally ill are once more left to fend for themselves in the community. The community, however, more riven with other forms of deviance, is less sympathetic towards the mentally ill than it once was.

### The 'Revolution' in Nineteenth-Century Government

The relative tranquillity of administrative history was disturbed in the 1950s and 1960s by the ripples from a wider debate about economic ideas, social policy and the change in the nature of nineteenth-century government. The debate took place through the medium of a number of papers. Among the many issues raised in the debate are:

1. the role of the followers of Jeremy Bentham in the development of social policy of the time.
2. the decline of *laissez-faire* and individualism and the growth of collectivism and state intervention.

The purpose of this appendix is to provide a brief summary of the writings of the principal protagonists in the debate, taken in chronological order, and to try to assess the relevance of their arguments to the local implementation of social policies resulting from the poor laws and lunacy reform legislation.

The debate began with a questioning of the long-accepted work of A V Dicey<sup>368</sup>. Dicey was a political journalist and respected constitutional lawyer who, in 1898, was invited to give a series of lectures at Harvard Law School. He chose as his subject to trace the relation in the last 100 years between the progress of English law and the course of public opinion. The lectures were assembled into a book first printed in 1905. Dicey was not an historian and in the preface to the first edition he makes clear that the book is not intended to be a history of English law and still less a history of English opinion. In his book he divides the nineteenth century into three

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<sup>368</sup> A V Dicey, *Lectures on the Relation between Law & Public Opinion during the nineteenth century*, (Macmillan, London, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed, 1914).

periods ('the three main currents of public opinion' – Lecture IV); legislative quiescence or old Toryism, 1800 – 1830; Benthamism or Individualism, 1825 – 1870; Collectivism, 1865 – 1900. There is some contradiction in the periods start and end times, but Dicey admits it is impossible to fix times with absolute precision. In Lectures V, VI and VII he examines the prime examples of legislation which emerged within each period. The heart of Dicey's work is the assertion of the relationship of Bentham (and the Benthamites) with *laissez-faire* and individualism.

Brebner was the first to enter the lists in 1948 with an article which is critical of Dicey<sup>369</sup>. Brebner accuses Dicey of creating the myth that there was an 'age of *laissez-faire*' and that Bentham was its champion, but rather that he was in fact the 'archetype of British collectivism'<sup>370</sup>. Brebner maintains that whilst there was removal of state interference in commerce it was introduced in industry. He goes on to assert that it was possible to identify instances when there was parallel development of *laissez-faire* and state intervention. For Brebner the change came about neither as a result of individualism nor collectivism but from the forces of industrialisation.

In 1958 MacDonagh joined the debate<sup>371</sup>. The choice of the word 'revolution' is somewhat dramatic for it implies a complete and relatively rapid change of state. Much of what formed government at the beginning of the century remained in place at the end though admittedly new departments were created, but 100 years to effect change can hardly be described as rapid. 'Revolution' is used by several of the contributors to the debate. MacDonagh is also critical of Dicey though

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<sup>369</sup> J R Brebner, '*Laissez-faire* and State Intervention in Nineteenth-Century Britain', *Journal of Economic History*, Supplement to Vol 18, (1948), pp 59 – 73.

<sup>370</sup> W H Coates, 'Benthamism, *Laissez-Faire*, and Collectivism', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol 11, Issue 3, (June, 1950), pp 357 – 363. A view supported by Coates who sees continuity between *laissez-faire* and interventionist ideals in Benthamite thinking.

<sup>371</sup> O Macdonagh, 'The Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Government: A Reappraisal', *Historical Journal*, Vol 1, No 1, (1958), pp 52 – 67.

less pointedly than Brebner, of whom, surprisingly, he makes no mention. He asserts that the changes in the operations and functions of the state were fostered by powerful influences such as steam powered industrialisation, increased mobility and concentration of population, and the solutions developed to resolve the problems generated by these forces such as increased mass production, cheaper transport, ability to assemble labour and capital quickly, and scientific and technological discovery. There were also the influences of increased humanitarian sentiment, stricter moral values, increased sensitivity of politics to public pressure, growth in the volume of legislation and changes in parliamentary practices and investigation.

However, the controversial elements of his paper are, firstly, his 'model' of the process of administrative change which, he claims, consists of five stages. These are:

1. The motivating circumstance (often some social evil).
2. Employment of people to oversee the implementation of some corrective legislation.
3. Improved legislation as a result of experience gained in the second stage and the establishment of a superintending central body.
4. The central body loses its dynamic function and begins to act in a static manner by imposing tighter regulation.
5. The central body feels able to exercise more administrative discretions.

The paper concludes with an attempt to test the model's validity against the Northcote-Trevelyan reforms<sup>372</sup> and Benthamism. The latter comparison, secondly,

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<sup>372</sup> Sir Stafford Northcote and Sir Charles Trevelyan were appointed by Parliament to conduct an inquiry into the organization of the Civil Service in 1853. Their Report was published in November, 1853 making sweeping recommendations on various aspects to reform the Civil Service. Many of the

led to the controversial conclusions ‘first, that the genuine contribution of Benthamism to modern government must be measured in terms of the actions of particular actions of particular individuals; secondly, that Benthamism..... was an obstacle..... to the development of modern government, and thirdly, “administrative” Benthamism, where it was effective, also made a peculiar, idiosyncratic contribution to nineteenth-century administration, and one which was extraneous, and at points antagonistic to the main line of growth.’

Before the publication of his book (reviewed in the main body of this study)<sup>373</sup> in 1960, Roberts joined the debate with his article about Bentham<sup>374</sup>.

Roberts describes the contents of Bentham’s *Constitutional Code* and the administrative state which the author foresaw and then contrasts the change in the actual administrative state between 1833 and the 1850s. He poses the question ‘Did Bentham’s ideas define the Victorian administrative state?’ By looking at examples of emerging legislation the Factory Act, 1833, Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834, the Prison Act, 1835, Railways Act, 1840 and the Lunacy Act. 1845, whilst they contained elements of Benthamism were not Benthamist and neither did they become enacted by dependence on the followers of Bentham. He concludes that had Bentham never written his *Code* the Victorians would probably have contrived their poor laws, factory acts and education schemes, and employed central inspectors. The Victorian administrative state was ‘a practical contrivance shaped by men of various persuasions, all of whom were disturbed at the existence of ignorance, disease and misery in the changing society.’

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recommendations were resisted and it took some twenty years before the recommendations were fully implemented.

<sup>373</sup> D Roberts, *Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State*, (Yale University Press, 1960).

<sup>374</sup> D Roberts, ‘Jeremy Bentham and the Victorian Administrative State’, *Victorian Studies*, Vol II, (March, 1959), pp 193 – 210.

Parris's paper attacks the work of Macdonagh though he says his purpose is 'partly in continuation of his line of thought and partly in criticism of it.'<sup>375</sup> The paper is divided into three parts, the first of which adds further comment on the work of Dicey. Parris asserts that there are three areas of Dicey's work which need re-examination; his summary of Benthamism; his summary of legislation in the middle decades of the nineteenth century; his division of the nineteenth century into periods. Dicey is accused of espousing a narrow yet ambivalent view of Benthamism, of trying to force fit examples of legislation (factory inspection, exchequer grants for education, and the new poor law) into his concept of Benthamism, and of not knowing enough about or taking into account past events to assert such clear divisions of time.

The second part of the paper deals with models of administrative change and is a devastating attack on Macdonagh's model by applying it to ten other examples of administrative change. Parris claims that MacDonagh's model works only in the field in which he was especially knowledgeable – emigrant regulation, but for all others there was no 'degree of fit between model and reality.'

In the last part of his paper Parris suggests his own model which, it is claimed, avoids the shortcomings in MacDonagh's model that have been identified. It too has five stages though they appear to be more statements of required conditions. They are (for nineteenth-century revolution in government):

1. allowance must be made for contemporary thought about political and social organisation.
2. in the relationship between law and opinion there are two periods divided at about 1830.
3. in the second period the dominant current opinion was Utilitarian.

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<sup>375</sup> H Parris, 'The Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Government: A Reappraisal Reappraised', *Historical Journal*, Vol III, No 1, (1960), pp 17 – 37.

4. the application of the principle of utility led to the existence of *laissez-faire* and state intervention simultaneously.
5. The appointment of specialists to administer the law led to development of further legislation by them and enhancement of their powers.

Parris, as an afterthought, offers an example of a parallel study in his own area of interest – the railways.

The tempo (and possibly the temperature) of what was becoming a pro v anti-Benthamite debate was raised by a paper by Hart in 1967<sup>376</sup>. The first part of Hart's paper is concerned with criticism of the 'anti-Benthamite' historians, MacDonagh, Roberts, and three not so far mentioned in this Appendix, Kitson Clark, Burn and Lambert<sup>377</sup> - authors of the 'Tory interpretation of history'. Anyone who has commented favourably on MacDonagh's paper earns Hart's displeasure though Parris is singled out for approbation and has 'not received enough attention'. She goes on to make four specific criticisms; MacDonagh's model may be acceptable in his own field but not others and has come to be regarded not as hypothetical but a description of what actually happened; in trying to make the model fit in other administrative applications the anti-Benthamites make several mistaken assertions to discredit Benthamite ideas; that Benthamite doctrines can only be put into practice by those who have read his works; the anti-Benthamite case was based on their views of Benthamism (which they see as individualism) and *laissez-faire*.

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<sup>376</sup> J Hart, 'Nineteenth-Century Social Reform: A Tory Interpretation of History', Vol XXXI, (July, 1965), pp 39 – 61.

<sup>377</sup> (i) G S R Kitson Clark, *The Making of Victorian England*, (Methuen, University Paperback Ed, London, 1973) (cited in study)

(ii) W L Burn, *The Age of Equipoise*, (Allen & Unwin, London, 1964) (cited in study)

(iii) R J Lambert, *Sir John Simon, 1816 – 1914, and English Social Administration*, (London, 1963), and also 'A Victorian National Health Service – State Vaccination, 1855 – 71', *Historical Journal*, Vol V, (1962), pp 1 – 18.



The second part of Hart's paper is taken up with questioning the view that opinion in the nineteenth century was generally humanitarian. She first discusses the meaning of 'intolerability' the touchstone of reform and contends that it meant different things to different people at different times. She then moves onto humanitarianism and suggests that it too is subject to misconception and was not as widespread as history suggests. Hart suggests that the arguments used against reformers and the obstacles which they met would provide a more realistic measure of humanitarian influence. She concludes the second part with a critical appraisal of religion and asserts that:

1. some causes which appeared to be religiously inspired were **not**.
2. many Christians were not interested in social or political problems.
3. the influence of religion was often hostile to social progress.

The third part of Hart's paper is, perhaps, the most controversial. She takes the anti-Benthamite authors to task again for suggesting that things happened by chance and were unplanned. Examples of their misconceptions are listed and opposing views asserted. She claims that their views are both misleading and dangerous. Misleading because there were indeed men who did control events and developments behind the social and economic changes which took place. Dangerous because in some cases actions taken by men aggravated the effects of existing evils (she cites the housing of the increasing numbers of workers in the cities as an example). More importantly, they were dangerous because they encouraged perceptions that it was better not to plan but to leave things to chance. She asserts that so far as social reform was concerned most ills were not removed without facing 'absurd arguments, vested interests, obscurantism and timidity', and that their removal required considerable effort by men who realized that it was the worthwhile

to try to control events. Many of these men, whether they knew it or not, were assisted by Benthamite principles.

MacDonagh and Roberts are singled out for further criticism in a paper by Hume published in 1967<sup>378</sup>. Hume argues that both men misinterpreted the *Constitutional Code* and, as a result, Bentham is credited with beliefs and attitudes he never held. Hume concludes Bentham was never faced with the choice of 'multiplying, intensifying and fermenting government or its very antithesis' but did approve or disapprove different aspects of government action. His choice was not swayed by the imposition of a system of checks and balances nor adherence to *laissez-faire*. The *Code* placed law as the fundamental instrument of government, with a legislature that was given discretion which it was expected to exercise, supported by an administration given defined authority and discretion which, nonetheless, allowed it take initiatives. Hume clearly sees Benthamism as conforming with collectivist ideals.

Finally, a paper which falls outside those already described both by time and content was written by Perkin in 1977<sup>379</sup>. The paper to some extent repeats some of his views on nineteenth-century government expressed in an earlier book<sup>380</sup> but he enlarges upon them. Having reviewed the contributions made to the debate described above (though more succinctly), the paper sets out to answer the question 'Why did so many reformers and administrators change sides from individualism to collectivism in the course of their careers?' The answer Perkin suggests is that individualism *versus* collectivism is a false antithesis.

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<sup>378</sup> L J Hume, 'Jeremy Bentham and the Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Government', *Historical Journal*, Vol X, No 4, (1967), pp 361 – 375.

<sup>379</sup> H Perkin, 'Individualism Versus Collectivism in Nineteenth-Century Britain: A False Antithesis', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol 17, No1, (Autumn, 1977), pp 105 – 118.

<sup>380</sup> H Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780 – 1880*, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, Paperback Edition, 1972), pp 321 – 322, 437 – 438.

He goes on to assert that Halévy had identified two forms of individualism<sup>381</sup>, one attributable to Adam Smith, the other to Bentham whilst seven forms of collectivism could be identified as in use in Victorian times. These are:

1. Prevention of moral nuisances or physical dangers.
2. Enforcement of minimum standards of services for some individuals.
3. State finance in aid of private provision of certain services.
4. Direct state provision of a service.
5. Public provision of a service to a local population.
6. State monopoly of an essential service or public utility.
7. Nationalization of the means of production, distribution or exchange.

What drove men to change their stances was not however between individualism and collectivism but between the forms of collectivism 6 and 7! An interesting and different suggestion.

In assessing the relevance of the debate to the local implementation of the poor laws and lunacy reform legislation it is difficult to imagine that local administrators would have found much with which to relate. There are, nonetheless, a number of points to be made. Firstly, MacDonagh says that in any reconstruction of events it is necessary to take account of 'what men thought and what men felt'. Apart from Roberts, however, not one of the contributors cites any contemporary sources but rely on the views and opinions of twentieth-century authors. Roberts does at least refer to contemporary correspondence (e.g., Chadwick, Brougham). The papers give no flavour of what local men thought or felt.

Secondly, it is difficult enough to identify political affiliations with certainty of anyone at local level below an MP and well nigh impossible to identify whether an

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<sup>381</sup> E Halévy, *The Growth of Philosophical Radicalism*, (London, 1928).

individual was a Benthamite. A few of the magistrates may have read some of Bentham's works but it is doubtful if the most of the elected members of the Boards of Guardians would have heard of him let alone read his works. The point is well made by Hart, however, that a man need not have heard of Bentham let alone read his works to have applied Benthamite principles in his role as a local administrator.

Thirdly, there is evidence of resistance to, or simply ignoring attempts at central control. Orders were not obeyed and advice and guidance rejected or ignored. Such attitudes and behaviour continued well into the period of study. Whether this could be described as *laissez-faire* is doubtful. It was more like resentment at intrusion. Relationships between central and local authorities were never warm or particularly constructive. Strict formality was always observed in the course of exchange of correspondence, for example, which is a characteristic of relationships also observed between central and local education administrators.

Fourthly, the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 through its chief drafters, Senior and Chadwick, may have been seen then, and is now generally accepted as Benthamite in principle. The organisation set up to administer it centrally became less influential and effective with time, whilst the local organisations became stronger and more effective with time and experience. The Lunacy Act, 1845 was drafted by Shaftesbury and his Commissioners (some of whom had Benthamite sympathies) was largely humanitarian in principle. Its central organisation, though constantly overstretched, by dint of persuasion and advice, gradually exerted more and more influence on and in some instances, control over the localities.

## **Appendix B**

### **Supplementary Data on Surrey**

The purpose of this Appendix is to provide additional data on Surrey concerned with its local government and leading figures in the nineteenth-century as further background to the area of study – the provision of resources for the care and treatment of the insane.

### **Surrey Parishes and Poor Law Unions**

#### **Rural Parishes and Unions**

Parishes of Bisley, Byfleet, Chertsey, Chobham, Horsell, Pyrford, Walton-on-Thames, Weybridge and Windlesham formed the Chertsey PLU

Parishes of Abinger, Capel, Dorking, Effingham, Mickelham, Newdigate, Ockley and Wotton formed the Dorking PLU

Parishes of Ashstead, Banstead, Great Bookham, Little Bookham, Carshalton, Cheam, Chessington, Cobham, Cuddington, Epsom, Ewell, Fetcham, Leatherhead, Stoke D'Abernon and Sutton formed the Epsom PLU

Parishes of Aldershot (Hants), Ash, Dockinfield (Hants), Farnham, Frensham, Frimley, Searle, Puttenham, Long Sutton (Hants) and Waverley formed the Farnham PLU

Parishes of Betchingley, Caterham, Chelsham, Crowhurst, Farleigh, Godstone, Horne, Limpsfield, Oxted, Tandridge, Tatsfield, Titsey, Warlingham and Woldingham formed the Godstone PLU

Parishes of Albury, Artington, E Clandon, W Clandon, Compton, Godalming, Guildford Holy Trinity, Guildford St Mary's, Guildford St Nicholas, E Horsley, W Horsley, Merrow, Ockham, Pirbright, Send & Ripley, Shere, Stoke, Wanborough, Wisley, Woking and Worplesdon formed the Guildford PLU

Parishes of Alfold, Bramley, Chiddingfold, Cranleigh, Dunsfold, Elstead, Ewhurst, Hambledon, Hascombe, Haslemere, Peper Harow, St Martha's-on-the-Hill, Shalford, Thursley, Witley and Womersley formed the Hambledon PLU

Parishes of Long Ditton, Thames Ditton, Esher, Kingston-on-Thames, Malden, E Molesey, W Molesey, Wimbledon, Hampton, Hampton Wick and Teddington (Middlesex) formed the Kingston PLU

Parishes of Betchworth, Buckland, Burstow, Chaldon, Charlwood, Chipstead, Gatton, Headley, Horley, Kingswood, Leigh, Merstham, Nutfield, Reigate Borough, Reigate Foreign and Walton-on-the-Hill formed Reigate PLU

Parishes of Barnes, Kew, Mortlake, Petersham and Richmond formed the Richmond PLU

Parishes of Merton, Mitcham, Morden, Croydon, Wallington, Beddington, Coulsdon, Sanderstead, Woodmansterne and Addington formed the Croydon PLU

#### **Metropolitan Parishes and Unions**

Parish of Bermondsey St Mary Magdalen formed the Bermondsey PLU  
Parish of St Giles Camberwell formed the Camberwell PLU  
Parish of St George the Martyr formed St George the Martyr PLU  
Parish of St Mary's Lambeth formed the Lambeth PLU  
Parish of St Mary, Newington formed the Newington St Mary PLU  
Parishes of St Olave's, Christchurch, St Thomas's and St John's Horsleydown formed the St Olave's PLU  
Parish of St Mary's Rotherhithe formed the Rotherhithe PLU  
Parish of St Saviour's formed the St Saviour's PLU  
Parishes of Wandsworth, Putney, Clapham, Battersea, Streatham and Tooting Graveney formed the Wandsworth & Clapham PLU

Note – In 1869 Bermondsey and Rotherhithe PLUs joined St Olave's PLU and St George the Martyr and Newington St Mary PLUs joined St Saviour's PLU.

### **Justices of the Peace**

From PP 1836 (583) XLIII 161 – Return of all Persons appointed to act as Justices of the Peace in each and every County in England and Wales. Surrey's entry:



By 1836 the initial selection of justices was in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant but approved by the Lord Chancellor. The names of those appointed appeared on 'The Commissions of Peace' a sizeable document, handwritten and bearing the Lord Chancellor's Seal. As can be seen from the above return, the list was of formidable length but the majority of those listed took no part in the normal role of the justices. That was left to between 30 – 40 in Surrey's case who regularly attended the Court of Quarter Sessions. Before a justice could so act he had to pay a fee – the *Dedimus Potestatem* – after which he was designated with the somewhat misleading title 'Acting Magistrate' and could be called upon either singly or in tandem to hold Petty Sessions, principally to administer justice for misdemeanours. The Court of Quarter Sessions took place at Easter, Midsummer, Michaelmas and Epiphany and was held in rotation at Guildford, Kingston, Reigate and Newington under a different Chairman at each location. The range of business undertaken by the Court is illustrated below.

From QS2/1/56 –57 1837 – 1839

Abstracted from the Index of the headings for the 2 year period.

Appeals and Affiliation Orders

Miscellaneous – Mutiny and Marine Acts, Finance Committee



County Lunatic Asylum (appearing as an entity for the first time)

- Report of Committee
- Notice to Newspapers
- Visitors appointed
- Reports
- A Sum for Erection
- Agreement of Westminster Life Insurance Co to Lend £12000
- S Paynter Esq vice Rev Stuart (change of committee membership)

Motions

County Surveyor – Plan of Drainage of County Gaol

Clerk of Peace Resignation – C J Lawson replaced by W F Lawson

Treasurer's Accounts

County Rate

Letter to C of Ps of Petty Sessions

Boundary of County Property

Surgeon at Gaol – salary increase

Committee – Report on letter from Secretary of State – Prison Discipline

Gaol Act

Coroners – Scale of allowances

Juries – C of P summoning for Assizes

Fines at Petty Sessions

Trustees of Surrey roads

A new trunk for conveyance of County Records of Sessions

Warrants of Commitments of High Constable – for the movement of prisoners to and from gaol

Session House – St Mary, Newington – provision of WC

Commissioners for paving, lighting, cleansing and watching, in the Clink Liberty

Coroner for Southwark – counsel's opinion sought on expense claim

Finance Committee – Municipal Corporation Act , Sect 117

Poor Prisoners

Godalming Great Bridge

Distribution of Relief for Poor Prisoners

Corporation of Guildford

House and Offices of C of P – to be painted

Bridges – reports of Committees

Highways

County Gaol –

Visitors reports, Chaplain's reports, Governor's

Certificate

Contracts

Royal Mercy (for transportation case0

Convicts

Divine Service

Houses of Correction -

Visitors reports for Brixton, Guildford, Kingston

Contracts

Bills of goods supplied

Appointment of Officers -

William Lawson Esq as C of P

Visitors to Houses Licensed for the Care of Lunatics

County Lunatic Asylum – Mr R I Corner appointed to  
keep records of Receipts and Disbursements

Regule (Rules) – Election – No Governor or Prison Officer to serve as Poll Clerk  
 Coroners – Scale of Allowances  
 Prisoners – Diet before trial  
 Divine Service at Gaol  
 County Rate – when paid  
 Salary of Surgeon at County Gaol

County Prosecutions  
 Licences – Places of entertainment, lunatic asylums, slaughter houses  
 Bills referref – Session House  
 Miscellaneous  
 County Gaol  
 Houses of Correction

Orders of Payment – County Gaol  
 Houses of Correction  
 Bridges  
 Session House  
 Record Office  
 Miscellaneous

### **Members of Parliament**

By long tradition the county had two Members of Parliament (Knights of the Shire) until the Reform Act, 1832 when the county was divided into Surrey East and Surrey West each division returning two members. The county was further divided following the Reform Act 1867 creating a another sub-division, Mid Surrey returning two members

In addition to the ‘County Members’ the county returned members from a number of Boroughs until the Reform Act, 1832. These Boroughs were Bletchingly (2 members), Gatton (2 members), Guildford (2 members), Haslemere (2 members), Reigate (2 members), Southwark (2 members)

Several of these boroughs were ‘Rotten Boroughs’ where the number of eligible voters had fallen to very low levels – e.g., Gatton had only one voter.

As a result of the Reform Act, 1832, several boroughs were disenfranchised.

The boroughs remaining after the act were Guildford (2 members), Lambeth (newly constituted – 2 members – membership ceased in 1880), Reigate (2 members until 1865 when it lost 1 seat), Southwark (2 members – disenfranchised 1885)

Surrey MPs concerned with lunacy administration (e.g., - as members of parliamentary Select Committees, Visiting Committees of County Asylums)

MPs of other constituencies also involved in lunacy administration and living in Surrey

## Appendix C

### **Some problems in the research into Poor Law and Lunacy Reform in the Nineteenth Century**

The purpose of the study to which this appendix and its associated annexe refers is concerned with the history of the provision of resources for the care and treatment of the mentally ill in one English county in a period within the nineteenth-century. The number of those suffering from mental illness was made up of those for whom care and treatment could be paid for either in private asylums or as single patients (the number of single patients was, and remains, a matter of uncertainty) but by far the greatest number were paupers. As paupers, first and foremost, they were subject to the poor laws. As pauper lunatics they were subject, in addition (not instead of), to the regulations contained in lunacy legislation. The study of the provision of resources for their care and treatment requires research of the effects of both the poor laws and lunacy legislation – in particular how dual legislation was administered at national and local level.

Bartlett in his book *The Poor Law of Lunacy: The Administration of Pauper Lunatics in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England* makes a strong case for asserting that the county asylum, the principal resource for the care and treatment of the insane, was essentially a poor law institution. He bases his argument on the fact that county asylum legislation originated from the poor laws, that these asylums and the poor law resources worked in tandem not as opposing systems and that, at local level, they were administered by the same people. It is an attractive argument, but one that needs more searching examination than was offered in his book.

It requires examination of the relationship between the national or central authorities, the PLC and its successors and the CL; between the central and local authorities; and between the local authorities, the Boards of Guardians which managed the Poor Law Unions and the Committees of Visiting Justices which managed the county asylums. The principal source of information from which an assessment of those relationships can be made are the administrative records which are available at national and local level. The wealth of available information, however, poses considerable problems to the researcher best summed up by M A Crowther in her book *The Workhouse System: the history of an English social institution*. Crowther states:

‘The Poor Law also offers a striking example of central policy contending against local independence. Its history must avoid generalisations which give no idea of the great differences of practice in the localities, but also avoid the maze of colourful yet disconnected details in which this subject abounds. Source material is voluminous and confusing, and thousands of volumes of correspondence between guardians and Poor Law authorities survive as memorials of these struggles. The huge bulk of documents, in the Public Record Office and county archives daunts the single researcher. No historian can consult more than a small number of them, and he will not know whether the area he selects is exceptional.’

Source: Crowther, *op.cit*, p 6.

The purpose of this appendix and its annexe is to lay out the sources of information available for one county (albeit made up of distinct Metropolitan and rural areas) in the national and local Record Offices. The sources displayed are not the only sources available. Attention also has to be paid to Parliamentary Papers which contain Reports from appropriate Parliamentary Select Committees, Boards and Commissions and the various Returns and Abstracts called for from the localities.

## Annexe to Appendix C

**Files available at Surrey History Centre,  
London Metropolitan Archives,  
National Archives  
concerned with Poor Law Unions of Surrey and correspondence from  
the Poor Law Commission, Poor Law Board or  
Local Government Board to such Unions, 1834 – 1890**

### General

The purpose of the following notes is to provide guidance on the sources and a brief description of information which will assist in determining the activities of the Poor Law Unions of Surrey and the relationship between those unions and the various central authorities with which those unions had to deal in the period 1834 – 1890.

### Surrey History Centre

The non-Metropolitan Poor Law Unions of Surrey were all established in 1835 –36. The ten Poor Law Unions in non-Metropolitan Surrey each have a separate collection of files under generic heads BG1 to BG10 (does not include Croydon –see separate note). Each Union has a number of files contained within the generic head. The amount of information available for each Union varies though all have more or less complete files of Minutes of Board of Guardians meetings (each Minute file covers a period of 2 – 3 years providing minutes of meetings which took place initially weekly but later weekly in winter, fortnightly in summer).

The following is a list of files available at the centre concerned with meetings of the Guardians, workhouses and lunatics for the period 1834 to 1890 (many records go on to well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century). Each Union was allocated a number by the PLC.

**BG1**            **Chertsey** (formed 6 November, 1835)    PLC No 451  
from Parishes of Bisley, Byfleet, Chertsey, Chobham, Horsell, Pyrford,  
Walton-on-Thames, Weybridge, Windlesham.  
Workhouse - Ottershaw

BG1/11/1 – 17 Minutes of Board of Guardians Meetings    Nov 1835 – Jul 1892

**BG2**            **Dorking** (formed 10 June, 1836)    PLC No 453  
from Parishes of Abinger, Capel, Dorking, Effingham, Mickleham,  
Newdigate, Ockley, Wotton. (in 1883 part of W Horsley, Wisley and  
Ockham added to Ockham and Abinger)  
Workhouse – by road to Dorking Glory Wood

BG2/11/1 – 13 Minutes of Board of Guardians Meetings    June 1836 – Jul 1894

BG2/14/19 – 21 Relief Order Books    Jan 1848 – Dec 1872

BG2/31 Papers related to building of new Workhouse and later adaptation

**BG3**            **Epsom** (formed 31 May, 1836)    PLC No 454  
from Parishes of Ashted, Banstead, Great Bookham, Little Bookham,  
Carshalton, Cheam, Chessington, Cobham, Cuddington, Epsom, Ewell,

Fetcham, Leatherhead, Stoke D'Abernon, Sutton.  
Headley transferred from Reigate 1879  
Workhouse – Dorking Road, Epsom (Infirmary 1883)

BG3/11/1 – 18 Minutes of Board of Guardians Meetings June 1836 – Sept 1893  
BG3/13/1 – 45 General Ledger 1836 – 1930  
BG3/31/1 – 3 Papers on erection of workhouse 1836 – 1852  
BG3/36/1 – 19 Admissions and Discharges Book

**BG4**        **Farnham** (formed 27 February, 1846)    PLC No 455  
from Parishes of Aldershot, Dockinfield (Hants), Farnham, Frensham,  
Frimley and shortly after Waverley  
(Ash, Aldershot, Searle, Puttenham, Long Sutton (Hants) refused earlier  
to dissolve their incorporation on passing of Poor Law Amendment Act,  
1834)  
Farnham was a Gilbert Union pre-1846 with Frensham and Frimley  
(under local act)  
Ash, Searle incorporated in 1864 under powers of 31 & 32 Vict, c 122,  
s 6 by which PLB was given power to peremptorily dissolve existing  
Gilbert Unions

BG4/11/1 – 5 Minutes of Board of Guardians Meetings Oct 1872 – Sept 1895 (Note  
1846 – 1871 missing)  
BG4/13/1 – 41 General Ledger 1841 – 1930

In 1868 there were some 'severe charges' made about the Guardians. Paper 4052/1 is a signed statement in support of Guardians from the 'Ratepayers and Inhabitants'. The nature of the charges is not revealed in statement. It may refer, however, to charges made in the *Lancet* on 19 October, 1867 about 'The State and Management of the Workhouse of the Farnham Union'. The article was written by Dr Francis Edmund Anstie, MD but proof read by Dr Joshua Harrison Stallard, MD (Stallard was the author of critical papers about the treatment of paupers in workhouses) thereby implicating him. The article led to an inquiry conducted by a Mr Lambert, Poor Law Inspector, and Dr Edward Smith, Poor Law Inspector and Medical Officer of the PLB. The inquiry is fully reported in PP 1867 – 68 (134) LX, p 37. The Guardians were largely exonerated but there were several recommendations for improvement of conditions subsequently endorsed by the PLB.

**BG5**        **Godstone** (formed 31 October, 1835)    PLC No 457  
from Parishes of Bletchingly, Caterham, Chelsham, Crowhurst,  
Farleigh, Godstone, Horne, Limpsfield, Oxted, Tandridge, Tatsfield,  
Titsey, Warlingham, Woldingham.

BG5/11/1 – 20 Minutes of Board of Guardians Meetings Nov 1835 – Sept 1891  
4301/1 is a printed booklet giving Godstone Union accounts for the half year in 1874

**BG6**        **Guildford** (formed 11 April, 1836)    PLC No 458  
from Parishes of Albury, Artington, E Clandon, W Clandon, Compton,  
Godalming, Guildford Holy Trinity, Guildford St Mary's, Guildford  
St Nicholas's, E Horsley, W Horsley, Mellow, Ockham, Pirbright,

Send & Ripley, Shere, Stoke, Wanborough, Wisley, Woking,  
Worplesdon  
Puttenham in 1869 on peremptory dissolution of Ash Gilbert Union  
Workhouse – Cowhide, Stoke

BG6/11/1 – 23 Minutes of Board of Guardians Meetings April 1836 – April 1891

**BG7**            **Hambledon** (formed 25 March, 1836)    PLC No 459  
from Parishes of Alfold, Bramley, Chiddingfold, Cranleigh, Dunsfold,  
Elstead, Ewhurst, Hambledon, Hascombe, Haslemere, Peper Harow,  
St Martha's-on-the-Hill, Shalford, Thursley, Witley, Womersh  
Workhouse – Petworth Road, Hambledon (existing, 1796, then  
enlarged)

BG7/11/1 – 12 Minutes of Board of Guardians Meetings April 1836 – April 1891

BG7/13/1 – 44 General Ledger 1836 – 1930

**BG8**            **Kingston** (formed 4 June, 1836)    PLC No 460  
from Parishes of Long Ditton, Thames Ditton, Esher, Kingston-on-  
Thames, Malden, E Molesey, W Molesey, Wimbledon, Hampton,  
Hampton Wick, Teddington (Middlesex)  
Workhouse – Coombe Lane, Kingston

BG8/11/1 – 21 Minutes of Board of Guardians Meetings Sept 1839\* - Dec 1890

\* the first book has not survived but some records of meetings during this period  
(1836 – 1839) can be found in a booklet on the Kingston Union BG8/81/1.

BG8/11 also contains extensive records of the finance and other committee meetings.

BG8/22/1 Lunacy Register – admissions 1880 – 1931

BG8/43/1 Lunatic Examinations Book 1873 – 1890

BG8/47/1 – 2 Visiting Committee Report Books (i.e., lunatics) 1872 – 73, 1894, 1903

BG8/59/1 – 3 Orders for Reception of Lunatics 1860 – 1873

**BG9**            **Reigate** (formed 25 March, 1836)    PLC No 464  
from the Parishes of Betchworth, Buckland, Burstow, Chaldon,  
Charlwood, Chipstead, Gatton, Headley, Horley, Kingswood, Leigh,  
Merstham, Nutfield, Reigate Borough, Reigate Foreign,  
Walton-on-the-Hill  
Workhouse – Earlswood Common

BG9/11/1 – 16 Minutes of Board of Guardians Meetings Feb 1836 – March 1893

BG9/13/1 – 40 General Ledgers 1836 – 1930

**BG10**          **Richmond** (formed 6 June, 1836)    PLC No 465  
from Parishes of Barnes, Kew, Mortlake, Petersham, Richmond  
Workhouse – Grove Road, Kingston

BG10/11/1 – 22 Minutes of Board of Guardians Meetings June 1836 – Aug 1891

BG10/13/1 – 35 General Ledgers 1836 – 1930

BG10/33/1 – PLB and LGB Orders

BG10/55 – Applications and Report Books of Relieving Officer 1867 – 1912



There some further records in Richmond Local Collections held at the Central Reference Library

### **Croydon Local Studies Centre**

The Centre now holds the Poor Law Union Records for Croydon Poor Law Union PLC No 452.

### **London Metropolitan Archives**

The Surrey Metropolitan Poor Law Union records are held at the London Metropolitan Archives. Shortly after the enactment of the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834 the following unions were established all within the period 1835 - 36:-

Bermondsey  
Camberwell  
St George the Martyr, Southwark  
Lambeth  
Newington St Mary's  
St Olave's, Southwark  
Rotherhithe  
St Saviour's, Southwark  
Wandsworth & Clapham

There were changes made to this original 9 PLUs which took place before 1890 (mainly in 1869) given below. The preserved records, even from the original constitution date, are grouped into 5 main areas (Bermondsey, Camberwell, Lambeth, Southwark and Wandsworth, i.e., by the modern London Boroughs). The records of the Boards do not keep to a uniform series of headings. The enormous difference between a Metropolitan PLU and a rural PLU in terms of population and range of issues is made very apparent. Bermondsey presents a somewhat confusing picture the records for which are:-

#### **Bermondsey**

The following appear under the generic heading BBG. Guardians of the Poor of St Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, Guardians of the Poor of St Mary's, Rotherhithe, Board of Guardians, St Olave's. In 1869 Bermondsey and Rotherhithe were added to St Olave's.

#### **Minutes of meetings of Board of guardians**

Guardians of the Poor of St Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey (formed 21 March, 1836)  
PLC No 449

BBG001 to BBG019 Minutes of meetings 1836 May – 1838 Nov to 1869 May – 1870 Sept.

Guardians of the Poor of St Mary's, Rotherhithe (formed 1 February, 1836)  
PLC No 466

BBG020 to BBG021 Minutes of meetings 1838 April – 1840 Sept to 1852 June – 1855 March (note that some minutes must be missing)

Board of Guardians, St Olave's (Parishes of St Olave's, St Thomas's, St John, Horsleydown) (formed 1 February, 1836)  
PLC No 463

BBG022 to BBG058 Minutes of meetings 1836 Feb – 1837 June to 1890 April – 1891 April

From 1869 the large union of St Olave's used various committees for particular issues, e.g., relief (including labour scales), settlement and visiting committees to workhouses.

#### Correspondence

BBG489 to BBG513 From PLC and successors  
BBG514/001 Incoming from Government Departments

#### Settlement and Relief: Lunatics

BBG540/001 to BBG540/014 Orders for the Reception of Lunatics 1865 – 1899

#### Registers of Lunatics

BBG550/001 to BBG550/003 Registers of Lunatics 1863 – 1881

#### General Ledgers

BBG643/001/001 to BBG643/001/002 General Ledgers 1836 - 1858

**Camberwell** (formed 24 November, 1835)  
from the Parish of St Giles – a single parish PLU throughout.  
PLC No 450

#### Minutes of meetings of Board of Guardians

CaBG001 to CaBG031 Minutes of meetings 1835 Nov – 1837 May to 1890 Sept – 1891 Aug

#### Orders from Government Departments

CaBG149/001 – 003 Orders from Government Departments

#### Correspondence

CaBG150/001 – 007 Letters from Government Departments 1859 – 1892  
CaBG151/001 – 025 Letters from Government Departments 1838 May – 1848 Oct

### Settlement and Relief: Lunatics

CaBG171/001 to CaBG171/011 Orders of Adjudication 1857 to 1890

### Registers of Lunatics

CaBG172/001 to CaBG172/006 Registers of Lunatics 1868 to 1890

### General Ledgers

CaBG217/001\* to CaBG217/003 General Ledgers 1840 to 1879

- First volume is unfit for viewing

**Lambeth** (formed 28 December, 1835)

from the Parish of St Mary's – a single parish PLU throughout.

PLC No 461

### Minutes of meetings of Board of Guardians

LaBG1 – 98 Minutes of meetings 1836 to 1930 (since dates of volumes are not shown it is not possible to give number for years up to 1890)

### Orders and Rules of the PLC

LaBG126/1 – 2 Orders and Rules of the PLC

LaBG127 Extract from rules, regulations and orders of PLC 1836

### Correspondence

LaBG133/1 – 94 Letters from Government Departments 1836 – 1930

LaBG134/1 – 11 Registers of Letters

LaBG135/1 – 30 Letters to Government Departments

LaBG136/1 – 4 Registers of Letters to Government Departments

LaBG136/5 – 9 Registers of Letters to Government Departments

### **Southwark**

The following appear under the generic heading SoBG

St George the Martyr, St Mary Newington, St Saviour's.

St George the Martyr and St Mary Newington joined with St Saviour's in 1869 though the Board of St George the Martyr remained in office until March 1871

**St George the Martyr** (formed 26 October, 1835)

PLC No 456

### Minutes of meetings of Board of Guardians

~~So~~BG1 to 23 Minutes of meetings 1835 Nov – Feb 1837 to 1869 July – March 1871  
(1 and 3 are unfit for viewing)

**St Mary Newington** – The Governors and Guardians of the Poor were established by Local Act in 1814 and as such were subsequently exempt from the Poor Law Act, 1834. A Board of Guardians was set up on 9 May, 1836 to carry out registration functions and act as a Workhouse Committee. The Board did not so act for long and its functions were carried out by the Guardians of the Poor until 1867 when the Board of Guardians was re-established. LMA records of the Board commence from 6 September, 1867 until it joined with St Saviour's in 1869. Records for the Guardians of the Poor and the Board of Guardians prior to 1867 appear in the parish records of St Mary Newington. Relevant references preserved are:

P92/MRY/295 to 312 - Guardians of the Poor Minute Book from 3 Jan, 1832 to 18 Sept, 1895

P92/MRY/315 to 316 – Board of Guardians acting as Workhouse Committee from 18 May, 1836 to 21 March, 1839

P92/MRY/317 to 318 – Governors and Guardians of the Poor meetings from 28 June, 1849 to 18 Sept 1883

There are extensive Registers of Admissions to the workhouse and P92/MRY/332 is a Register of Lunatic Reception Orders with Index – 8 Nov, 1859 to 14 May, 1864.

P92/MRY/333 – Register of Lunatics by chronology and institution with index – 1841 - 1868

PLC No is 462 (it appears in MH12 - see National Archives notes)

#### Minutes of meetings of Board of Guardians

SoBG37/1 to 2 Minutes of meetings 1867 Sept – 1869 April to 1869 May – 1870 Sept

**St Saviour's** (formed 11 February, 1836)

PLC No 467

#### Minutes of meetings of Board of Guardians

SoBG39/1 to 53 Minutes of meetings 1836 Feb – 1837 Dec to 1890 Dec – July 1891

Even after amalgamation the parishes continued to hold separate sub-committee meeting for the 3 constituent parishes.

#### Correspondence

SoBG70/1 – 17 Letters from Government Departments 1836 – 1890

SoBG72/1 – 35 Letters outgoing 1869 – 1891

#### Reception Orders for Lunatics

SoBG93/1 – 11 Reception Orders for Lunatics 1870 - 1894

#### **Wandsworth**

Wandsworth and Clapham combined to form the PLU.

**Wandsworth & Clapham (formed 25 March, 1836)**

from the Parishes of Wandsworth, Putney, Clapham, Battersea, Streatham and Tooting Graveny  
PLC No 468

Minutes of meetings of Board of Guardians

WaBG1 to 48 Minutes of meetings 1836 April – 1837 Aug to 1890 Nov – 1891 Jan  
(24 is unfit for viewing)

Orders of and Correspondence with Government Departments

WaBG98/1 – 3 Orders in Council of PLB and LGB 1836 – 1888  
WaBG99/1 – 8 Correspondence with Local Government Board 1877 – 1890  
WaBG101/1 – 2 Outgoing with LGB 1887 – 1890

Registers of Lunatics in asylums

WaBG119/1 – 3 Registers of Lunatics 1868 – 1897

Lunatic Admission Order Book

WaBG124/1 – 8 Lunatic Admissions Orders 1873 – 1890

General Ledgers

WaBG180/1 – 3 General Ledgers 1836 - 1884

**National Archives, Kew**

Most of the records concerned with the poor laws and lunacy are to be found in Ministry of Health files which have the prefix **MH**. There are also some records in the files with the prefixes **HO** and **HLG**. The following is a list of relevant MH files with the total number of volumes for each file given in brackets:

MH1 Poor Law Commission Minute Books (35)  
MH2 Poor Law Commission: Rough and Classified Minute Book (37)  
MH3 Poor Law Commission: Appendices to Minutes (3)  
MH4 Poor Law Commission and Successors: Extracts from Minutes and Abstracts of Correspondence (6)  
MH9 Poor Law Commission and Successors: Paid Officers Department and Metropolitan Department: Registers of Paid Officers (37)  
MH10 Ministry of Health and predecessors: Circular Letters (198)  
MH12 Local Government Board and predecessors: Correspondence with Poor Law Unions and other Local Authorities (16741)  
MH14 Poor Law Board and Local Government Board: Architect's Department and Metropolitan Department: Poor Law Union Plans (383)  
MH15 Local Government Board and predecessors: Subject Indexes of Correspondence (107)

MH17 Poor Law Commission and successors: Correspondence with Asylum Districts and Boards (167)

MH19 Local Government Board and predecessors: Correspondence with Government Offices (290)

MH20 Local Government Board and predecessors: Register of Correspondence with Government Offices (87)

MH25 Local Government Board and predecessors: Miscellaneous Correspondence and Papers (189)

MH32 Local Government Board and predecessors: Assistant Poor Law Commissioners and Inspectors, Correspondence (193)

MH33 Local Government Board and predecessors: Assistant Poor Law Commissioners: Registers of Correspondence (38)

MH34 Local Government Board and predecessors: Legal Department and Order Department: Workhouse Expenditure, Registers of Authorisations (11)

MH50 Lunacy Commission and Board of Control: Minutes and Seals (86)

MH51 Lunacy Commission and Board of Control: Correspondence and Papers (849)

MH83 Lunacy Commission and Board of Control: Building of Asylums and Hospitals, Correspondence and Papers (364)

MH85 Lunacy Commission and Board of Control: Representative Case Papers of Patients (173)

MH86 Lunacy Commission and Board of Control: Selected Patient Precedent Files (75)

MH94 Lunacy Commission and Board of Control: Patients Admission Registers

There are a number of Home Office files (HO) concerned with poor law issues and the relationship between the Home Office and the PLC and its successors. The following have been identified though none has been assessed.

HO40 – Home Office: Disturbance Correspondence, 1812 – 1855. There are 59 volumes in this file giving reports on various civil disturbances among which were those resulting from the implementation of the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834. Most of these occurred in the north of England, but it is possible that some instances of reaction to the new law in Surrey may have been worthy of report, e.g., at Farnham and Hambledon where objections to unionisation were voiced.

HO41 – Home Office: Disturbance Entry Book, HO45 – Registered Papers, and HO52 – Home Office: Counties Correspondence, are all forms of registers in which specific incidents can be identified (however, the latter comprises 26057 volumes extending well into the twentieth-century, and clearly needs very precise information input to pinpoint a specific incident).

HO44 and HO 45 –see further note below

HO73 – Home Office: Various Commissions: Records and Correspondence, contains some letters exchanged between the Home Office and the PLC. The specific volumes are HO73/51 – 56 – Letters and papers, 1835 - 1840 (there may be some cross reference with MH1)

HO119 – Law Officers Reports and Opinions,

The Home Secretary or his department (Department for Home Affairs) was involved with pauper lunatics – the following papers are so concerned and have, or may have a relevance to studies of Surrey. The Home Secretary initially was responsible for the appointment of the Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy and received the annual

reports of the commissioners until his power of appointment was transferred to the Lord Chancellor in 1832. The Home Secretary, however, retained particular responsibilities for criminal lunatics. Reference to Surrey criminal lunatics will require examination of a range of HO files not included in this annexe.

One HO file, though dealing with private asylums outside the period covered by this annexe is, nonetheless, of interest.

HO44/51 – A series of 18 folios (to which reference has been made in the study) providing reports of visits conducted by MCL in 1829 – 30 and 1830 –31 which includes those made to Metropolitan Surrey licensed houses some of which continued in operation after 1834.

HO45/984 – Boroughs Giving Notice of Assumption of Responsibility for Asylums

HO45/1436, 4753 and 5488 – Lunatic Asylums Act: adoptions of Act by various towns.

HO45/4875 – Estimates for the erection of various asylums.

HO45/5170 and 5517 – Pauper Lunatic Asylum for London

HO45/5495 – Difficulties in allowing relatives access to asylum records.

HO45/6660 – Informal contract of purchase of land for asylum not approved by Secretary of State. Law Officers recommend subsequent approval and also application of deed of conveyance of land.

HO45/6749 – Wandsworth Asylum: proposal to enlarge; quarter session refused to buy additional land so Secretary of State would not sanction.

HO45/7269 – Lunacy Bill: guardians call for share in control of asylum. Clauses regarding lunatics and lunatic wards in workhouses.

HO45/7512 – Chronic lunatics: removal to workhouse; s 8, Lunacy Acts Amendments Act, 1862 and read with other Lunacy Acts authorized removal of chronic lunatics from asylum to their own Union workhouse only and not to any other workhouse.

HO45/7512 - Chronic Lunatics: removal to workhouse; Lunacy Acts Amendments Act 1862 and Lunacy Acts Amendment Act 1863. Such lunatics remain under control of asylum visitors and should remain on books of the asylum. Same fund is chargeable for maintenance as though lunatic remained in asylum.

HO45/7592 – Plans under s 45 of Lunatics Asylum 1853, require approval of Secretary of State irrespective of expenditure involved.

HO45/8056 – Medical Superintendents of county asylums or hospitals: private practice not allowed in rules at this time by Lunacy Commissioners.

HO46 – Out letters to the Commissioners in Lunacy.

There are some Ministry of Housing and Local Government files (HLG) concerned with the issue of Orders by the PLC and its successors. These are listed below (none has been assessed).

HLG26 – PLC and successors: Legal Department and successors: Orders, 1842 – 1978. Of particular relevance are:

HLG26/22 – 31 – Asylum Districts (these include the Metropolitan Asylum Districts), 1845 – 1902.

HLG26/35 – 36 – Guardians Orders (not dated).

HLG26/61 – 286 – Poor Law: LGB to Unions (PLUs are listed by name, alphabetically).

The above are listed in the registers contained in HLG66 – PLC and successors: Legal Department and successors: Registers and Indexes, the specific references for which are:

HLG66/7 – Unions No 413 – 497 (within which Surrey PLUs fall), 1835 – 1870

HLG66/11 – 12 – Unions 449 – End (i.e., of Union Nos), 1871 – 1875  
HLG66/13 – 21 – Unions (listed by name, alphabetically), 1876 – 1901

The following gives details of MH files which are relevant to the study of Surrey in the period **1834 – 1890**. Some of these files have been merely assessed for content, others have been to subject of more detailed examination.

**MH1** – MH1/1 – 35 record the Minutes of the meetings of the PLC from 1834 until July 1842. Each volume contains two, three or four month periods of time. No minutes for the period after July 1842 until the establishment of the PLB in 1847 appear to have been retained. MH1 is to some extent supplemented by MH2, MH3 and MH4 (see list above)

**MH9** (assessed only) – provides details of appointments, dismissals or resignations of all administrative (e.g., Relieving Officers), professional (e.g., Medical Officers), and institution (e.g., Workhouse Masters) staff of Poor Law Unions.

The 37 volumes which make up this file list the unions alphabetically in England and Wales (excluding London). MH9/1 –19 lists the unions from Aberaeron to York – e.g., MH9/1 Aberaeron – Aysgath, etc. Thus Dorking Poor Law Union will be found in MH9/6 Darlington – Exeter.

MH9/20 – 37 Lists the unions alphabetically in the London Districts – thus Bermondsey will be found in MH9/21 Bermondsey to Bethnal Green, and Camberwell in MH9/23 Camberwell to Chelsea.

**MH10** (assessed only) – contains circulars and orders issued by the PLC and its successors to PLUs, APLCs and other local officials from 1834 – 1962 (the number of files, therefore, concerned with the period 1834 – 1890 will be substantially less than the 198 total of files). Within the file are registers from 1846 (MH10/86 – 91) and indexes from 1848 (MH10/92 - 99)

**MH12** This file presents a formidable challenge to research on poor law matters but is, nonetheless, a useful source of information on the relationship between central and local authorities. Its 16,741 volumes provide the records of correspondence between the Poor Law Commission, and its successors, and the Poor Law Unions of every county in England and Wales (including London). A single volume can be up to five inches in thickness. The following notes are concerned only with the County of Surrey (comprising the Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Poor Law Unions) between the years 1834 – 1890. From 1890, as a result of the Local Government Act, 1889, the boundaries of the county were changed. Researchers into poor law matters after 1890 will continue to find MH12 a useful source of information.

The relevant volumes for Surrey start at MH12/12102 and end at MH12/12742. It should be noted (with some relief) that not all the 640 volumes concerned with Surrey are about poor law matters. A few relate to other matters, principally, sanitary and health issues. The following is a list of the Surrey-related volumes of the MH12 file.

**Bermondsey** (formed 21 March, 1836) PLC No 449

MH12/12102	Bermondsey	1834 – 1842
" /12103	"	1843 – 1846
" /12104	"	1847 - 1850



" /12105	"	1851 – 1855 *
" /12106	"	1862 – 1866
" /12107	"	1867 – 1869

- 1856 – 1861 missing.

Bermondsey combines with St Olave's in 1869

**Camberwell** (formed 24 November, 1835) PLC No 450

MH12/12108	Camberwell	1834 – 1842
" /12109	"	1843 – 1848
" /12110	"	1849 – 1854
" /12111	"	1855 - 1857
" /12112	"	1858 - 1861
" /12113	"	1862 – 1864
" /12114	"	1865 – 1866
" /12115	"	1867
" /12116	"	1868 – 1869
" /12117	"	1870 – 1871 Aug 18
" /12118	"	1871 Aug 19 – 1872
" /12119	"	1873
" /12120	"	1874
" /12121	"	1875
" /12122	"	1876
" /12123	"	1877 – 1878
" /12124	"	1879 – 1880
" /12125	"	1881 – 1882
" /12126	"	1883 – 1884 July
" /12127	"	1884 Aug – 1886 June
" /12128	"	1886 July – 1887
" /12129	"	1888
" /12130	"	1889
" /12131 – 32	"	1890

**Chertsey** PLC No 451

MH12/12143	Chertsey	1834 – 1838
" /12144	"	1839 – 1842
" /12145	"	1843 – 1846
" /12146	"	1847 – 1849
" /12147	"	1850 – 1853
" /12148	"	1854 – 1857
" /12149	"	1858 – 1860
" /12150	"	1861 – 1864
" /12151	"	1865 – 1866
" /12152	"	1867 – 1868
" /12153	"	1869 – 1871 Aug
" /12154	"	1871 Sept – 1874 Aug
" /12155	"	1875 – 1876
" /12156	"	1877 – 1879
" /12157	"	1880 – 1882

" /12158	"	1883
" /12159	"	1884 – 1885
" /12160	"	1886 – 1887
" /12161	"	1888
" /12162	"	1889 – 1890
" /12163 –64	"	Up to 1896

**Croydon** (formed 21 May, 1836) PLC No 452

MH12/12167	Croydon	1834 – 1842
" /12168	"	1843 – 1847
" /12169	"	1848 – 1849
" /12170	"	1850 – 1851
" /12171	"	1852 – 1854
" /12172	"	1855 – 1856
" /12173	"	1857 – 1859
" /12174	"	1860 – 1863
" /12175	"	1864 – 1866
" /12176	"	1867 – 1868
" /12177	"	1869 – 1871 Aug
" /12178	"	1871 Sept – 1872 June
" /12179	"	1872 July – 1873
" /12180	"	1874
" /12181	"	1875
" /12182	"	1876
" /12183	"	1877
" /12184	"	1878
" /12185	"	1879
" /12186	"	1880
" /12187	"	1881 Jan – Sept
" /12188	"	1881 Oct – 1882 April
" /12189	"	1882 May – Dec
" /12190	"	1883 Jan – Aug
" /12191	"	1883 Sept – 1884 Feb
" /12192	"	1884 March – July
" /12193	"	1884 Aug – 1885 Feb
" /12194	"	1885 March – Sept
" /12195	"	1885 Oct – 1886 Feb
" /12196	"	1886 March – June
" /12197	"	1886 July – 1887 Jan
" /12198	"	1887 Feb – Sept
" /12199	"	1887 Oct – 1888 April
" /12200	"	1888 May – Dec
" /12201	"	1889 Jan – June
" /12202	"	1889 July – Dec
" /12203	"	1890 Jan – May
" /12204	"	1890 June – Dec
" /12205 – 212	"	1891 – 1896

**Dorking** PLC No 453

MH12/12219	Dorking	1834 – 1839
" /12220	"	1840 – 1842
" /12221	"	1843 – 1846
" /12222	"	1847 – 1852
" /12223	"	1853 – 1861
" /12224	"	1862 – 1866
" /12225	"	1867 – 1871 Aug
" /12226	"	1871 Sept – 1874
" /12227	"	1875 – 1876
" /12228	"	1877 – 1879
" /12229	"	1880 – 1882
" /12230	"	1883 – 1885
" /12231	"	1886 – 1888
" /12232	"	1889 – 1892
" /12233	"	1893 – 1896

**Epsom PLC No 454**

MH12/12235	Epsom	1834 – 1837
" /12236	"	1838 – 1840 June
" /12237	"	1840 July – 1842
" /12238	"	1843 – 1847
" /12239	"	1848 – 1852
" /12240	"	1853 – 1856
" /12241	"	1857 – 1861
" /12242	"	1862 – 1866
" /12243	"	1867 – 1871 Aug
" /12244	"	1871 Sept – 1872 April
" /12245	"	1872 May – 1873
" /12246	"	1874
" /12247	"	1875 – 1876
" /12248	"	1877 – 1878
" /12249	"	1879 – 1880
" /12250	"	1881 – 1882
" /12251	"	1883
" /12252	"	1884
" /12253	"	1885
" /12254	"	1886
" /12255	"	1887
" /12256	"	1888
" /12257	"	1889 – 1890 March
" /12258	"	1890 April – Dec
" /12259 – 62	"	1891 – 1896

**Farnham PLC No 455**

MH12/12270	Farnham	1834 – 1846
" /12271	"	1847 – 1850
" /12272	"	1851 – 1854

" /12273	"	1855 – 1859
" /12274	"	1860 – 1863 June
" /12275	"	1863 July – 1864
" /12276	"	1865 – 1866
" /12277	"	1867 – 1868
" /12278	"	1869 – 1871 Aug
" /12279	"	1871 Sept – 1872
" /12280	"	1873 – 1874
" /12281	"	1875 – 1876
" /12282	"	1877 – 1878
" /12283	"	1879 – 1880
" /12284	"	1881 – 1882
" /12285	"	1883 – 1884
" /12286	"	1885
" /12287	"	1886
" /12288	"	1887 Jan – June
" /12289	"	1887 July – Dec
" /12290	"	1888
" /12291	"	1889 – 1890 April
" /12292	"	1890 May – 1891 June
" /12293 – 96	"	1890 July – 1896

**St George the Martyr, Southwark (formed 26 October, 1835) PLC No 456**

MH12/12300	St George	1834 – 1836
" /12301	"	1837 – 1838
" /12302	"	1839 – 1842
" /12303	"	1843 – 1846
" /12304	"	1847 – 1849
" /12305	"	1850 – 1852
" /12306	"	1853 – 1856 June
" /12307	"	1856 July – 1857
" /12308	"	1858 – 1859
" /12309	"	1860 – 1861
" /12310	"	1862 – 1864
" /12311	"	1865 – 1866 July
" /12312	"	1866 Aug – 1867
" /12313	"	1868 – 1870

Added to St Saviour's 1869

**Godstone PLC No 457**

MH12/12314	Godstone	1834 – 1842
" /12315	"	1843 – 1846
" /12316	"	1847 – 1850
" /12317	"	1851 – 1855
" /12318	"	1856 – 1861
" /12319	"	1862 – 1865
" /12320	"	1866 – 1868
" /12321	"	1869 – 1871 Aug

" /12322	"	1871 Sept – 1874 June
" /12323	"	1874 July – 1876
" /12324	"	1877 – 1880
" /12325	"	1881 – 1882
" /12326	"	1883 – 1885
" /12327	"	1886 – 1888
" /12328	"	1889 – 1892
" /12329 – 30	"	1893 – 1896

**Guildford PLC No 458**

MH12/12333	Guildford	1837 June – 1838
" /12334	"	1839 – 1842
" /12335	"	1843 – 1846
" /12336	"	1847 – 1851
" /12337	"	1852 – 1854
" /12338	"	1855 – 1858
" /12339	"	1859 – 1861
" /12340	"	1862 – 1864
" /12341	"	1865 – 1867
" /12342	"	1868 – 1871 Aug
" /12343	"	1871 Sept – 1873
" /12344	"	1874 – 1876
" /12345	"	1877 – 1878
" /12346	"	1879
" /12347	"	1880
" /12348	"	1881
" /12349	"	1882
" /12350	"	1883
" /12351	"	1884
" /12352	"	1885
" /12353	"	1886
" /12354	"	1887
" /12355	"	1888
" /12356	"	1889 – 1890 June
" /12357	"	1890 July – 1891 May
" / 12358 – 62	"	1891 June – 1896

**Hambleton PLC No 459**

MH12/12370	Hambleton	1834 – 1842
" /12371	"	1843 – 1846
" /12372	"	1847 – 1853
" /12373	"	1854 – 1858
" /12374	"	1859 – 1861
" /12375	"	1862 – 1863
" /12376	"	1864
" /12377	"	1865 – 1866
" /12378	"	1867 – 1869
" /12379	"	1870 – 1871 Aug

" /12380	"	1871 Sept – 1874
" /12381	"	1875 – 1876
" /12382	"	1877 – 1879
" /12383	"	1880 – 1882
" /12384	"	1883 – 1885
" /12385	"	1886 – 1888
" /12386	"	1889 – 1892
" /12387	"	1893 – 1896

**Kingston PLC No 460**

MH12/12389	Kingston	1834 – 1838
" /12390	"	1839 – 1842
" /12391	"	1843 – 1846
" /12392	"	1847 – 1850
" /12393	"	1851 – 1853
" /12394	"	1854 – 1855
" /12395	"	1856 – 1857
" /12396	"	1858 – 1859
" /12397	"	1860 – 1861
" /12398	"	1862 – 1863
" /12399	"	1864 – 1865
" /12400	"	1866 – 1867
" /12401	"	1868 – 1869 June
" /12402	"	1869 July – 1871 July
" /12403	"	1871 Aug – 1872 May
" /12404	"	1872 June – Dec
" /12405	"	1873
" /12406	"	1874
" /12407	"	1875 Jan – June
" /12408	"	1875 July – Dec
" /12409	"	1876 Jan – May
" /12410	"	1876 June – Dec
" /12411	"	1877 Jan – June
" /12412	"	1877 July – 1878 April
" /12413	"	1878 May – Dec
" /12414	"	1879
" /12415	"	1880
" /12416	"	1881 Jan – Aug
" /12417	"	1881 Sept – 1882 April
" /12418	"	1882 May – Dec
" /12419	"	1883 Jan – Aug
" /12420	"	1883 Sept – 1884 April
" /12421	"	1884 May – Dec
" /12422	"	1885 Jan – July
" /12423	"	1885 Aug – 1886 March
" /12424	"	1886 April – Nov
" /12425	"	1886 Dec – 1887 March
" /12426	"	1887 April – July
" /12427	"	1887 Aug – 1888 April

" /12428	"	1888 May – Dec
" /12429	"	1889 Jan – June
" /12430	"	1889 July – Dec
" /12431	"	1890 Jan – May
" /12432	"	1890 June – Dec
" /12433 – 40	"	1891 – 1896

**Lambeth** (formed 28 December, 1835) PLC No 461

MH12/12456	Lambeth	1834 – 1837
" /12457	"	1838
" /12458	"	1839
" /12459	"	1840
" /12460	"	1841 – 1842
" /12461	"	1843 – 1844
" /12462	"	1845 – 1846
" /12463	"	1847 – 1848
" /12464	"	1849
" /12465	"	1850 – 1851
" /12466	"	1852 – 1853
" /12467	"	1854
" /12468	"	1855 Jan
" /12469	"	1855 Feb – Dec
" /12470	"	1856
" /12471	"	1857 – 1858
" /12472	"	1859 – 1860
" /12473	"	1861 – 1863
" /12474	"	1864 – 1866
" /12475	"	1867
" /12476	"	1868 Jan – June
" /12477	"	1868 July – Dec
" /12478	"	1869 Jan – June
" /12479	"	1869 July – Dec
" /12480	"	1870 Jan – June
" /12481	"	1870 July – Dec
" /12482	"	1871 Jan – Aug
" /12483	"	1871 Aug – 1872 March
" /12484	"	1872 April – Dec
" /12485	"	1873 Jan – June
" /12486	"	1873 July – Dec
" /12487	"	1874
" /12488	"	1875 Jan – June
" /12489	"	1875 July – Dec
" /12490	"	1876 Jan – May
" /12491	"	1876 June – Dec
" /12492	"	1877
" /12493	"	1878
" /12494	"	1879
" /12495	"	1880
" /12496	"	1881

" /12497	"	1882
" /12498	"	1883 Jan – July
" /12499	"	1883 Aug – 1884 April
" /12500	"	1884 May – 1885 March
" /12501	"	1885 April – 1886 Feb
" /12502	"	1886 March – 1887 Feb
" /12503	"	1887 March – Dec
" /12504	"	1888 Jan – May
" /12505	"	1888 June – Dec
" /12506	"	1889 Jan – June
" /12507	"	1889 July – Dec
" /12508	"	1890 Jan – Aug
" /12509	"	1890 Sept – 1891 March
" /12 510 – 17	"	1891 April – 1896

**St Mary's Newington** (formed 9 May, 1836) PLC No 462 (see also LMA note)

MH12/12520	St Mary's	1834 – 1845
" /12521	"	1846 – 50
" /12522	"	1851 – 1854
" /12523	"	1855 – 1857
" /12524	"	1858 – 1861
" /12525	"	1862 – 1865
" /12526	"	1866 – 1867
" /12527	"	1868 - 1869

Added to St Saviour's 1869

**St Olave's Southwark** (formed 1 February, 1836) PLC No 463

MH12/12528	St Olave's	1834 – 1842
" /12529	"	1843 – 1846
" /12530	"	1847 – 1850
" /12531	"	1851 – 1854
" /12532	"	1855 – 1858
" /12533	"	1859 – 1861
" /12534	"	1862 – 1866
" /12535	"	1867 – 1869
" /12536	"	1870 Jan – June
" /12537	"	1870 July – Dec
" /12538	"	1871 Jan – Aug
" /12539	"	1871 Sept – 1872 April
" /12540	"	1872 May – Dec
" /12541	"	1873 Jan – June
" /12542	"	1873 July – Dec
" /12543	"	1874
" /12544	"	1875
" /12545	"	1876
" /12546	"	1877
" /12547	"	1878
" /12548	"	1879



" /12549	"	1880
" /12550	"	1881
" /12551	"	1882
" /12552	"	1883
" /12553	"	1884
" /12554	"	1885 Jan – July
" /12555	"	1885 Aug – 1886 July
" /12556	"	1886 Aug – 1887
" /12557	"	1888
" /12558	"	1889 Jan – Sept
" /12559	"	1889 Oct – 1890 May
" /12560	"	1890 June – Dec
" /12561 – 572	"	1891 – 1896

**Reigate PLC No 464**

MH12/12575	Reigate	1834 – 1842
" /12576	"	1843 – 1846
" /12577	"	1847 – 1851
" /12578	"	1852 – 1854
" /12579	"	1855 – 1858
" /12580	"	1859 – 1861
" /12581	"	1862 – 1863
" /12582	"	1864 – 1866
" /12583	"	1867 – 1869
" /12584	"	1870 – 1871 Aug
" /12585	"	1871 Sept – 1873
" /12586	"	1874 – 1876
" /12587	"	1877 – 1879
" /12588	"	1880 – 1882
" /12589	"	1883 – 1885 May
" /12590	"	1885 June – 1888
" /12591	"	1888 – 1891 May
" /12592 – 94	"	1891 June – 1896

**Richmond PLC No 465**

MH12/12597	Richmond	1834 – 1842
" /12598	"	1843 – 1850
" /12599	"	1851 – 1861
" /12600	"	1862 – 1866
" /12601	"	1867 – 1871 Aug
" /12602	"	1871 Sept – 1873
" /12603	"	1874
" /12604	"	1875 – 1876
" /12605	"	1877
" /12606	"	1878 – 1880
" /12607	"	1881 – 1882
" /12608	"	1883 – 1884 March
" /12609	"	1884 April – Dec

" /12610	"	1885 Jan – June
" /12611	"	1885 July – 1886 July
" /12612	"	1886 Aug – 1887 April
" /12613	"	1887 May – Dec
" /12614	"	1888
" /12615	"	1889 Jan – Nov
" /12616	"	1889 Dec – 1890 May
" /12617	"	1890 June – 1891 April
" /12618 – 23	"	1891 May – 1896

**Rotherhithe PLC No 466**

MH12/12632	Rotherhithe	1834 – 1840
" /12633	"	1841 – 1845
" /12634	"	1846 – 1851
" /12635	"	1852 – 1855
" /12636	"	1856 – 1861
" /12637	"	1862 – 1866
" /12638	"	1868 – 1869

Merged with St Olave's 1869

**St Saviour's PLC No 467**

MH12/12639	St Saviour's	1834 – 1842
" /12640	"	1843 – 1846
" /12641	"	1847 – 1850
" /12642	"	1851 – 1854
" /12643	"	1855 – 1857
" /12644	"	1858 – 1861
" /12645	"	1862 – 1866
" /12646	"	1867 – 1868
" /12647	"	1869
" /12648	"	1870 Jan – June
" /12649	"	1870 June – Dec
" /12650	"	1871 Jan – Aug *
" /12651	"	1872 Jan – June
" /12652	"	1872 July – Dec
" /12653	"	1873
" /12654	"	1874
" /12655	"	1875
" /12656	"	1876
" /12657	"	1877 – 1878 April
" /12658	"	1878 May – 1879
" /12659	"	1880
" /12660	"	1881
" /12661	"	1882
" /12662	"	1883 – 1884 Feb
" /12663	"	1884 Mar – 1885 Feb
" /12664	"	1885 March – 1886 Feb
" /12665	"	1886 March – 1887 Feb

" /12666	"	1887 March – Nov
" /12667	"	1887 Dec – 1888 April
" /12668	"	1888 May – Dec
" /12669	"	1889 Jan – July
" /12670	"	1889 Aug – 1890 Feb
" /12671	"	1890 March – Aug
" /12672	"	1890 Sept – 1891 Feb
" /12673 – 84	"	1891 Mar – 1896
• 1871 Sept – Dec is missing		

**Wandsworth & Clapham PLC No 468**

MH12/12689	Wandsworth & Clapham	1834 – 1838
" /12690	"	1839 – 1842
" /12691	"	1843 – 1844
" /12692	"	1845 – 1847
" /12693	"	1848 – 1849
" /12694	"	1850 – 1853
" /12695	"	1854 – 1856
" /12696	"	1857 – 1859
" /12697	"	1860 – 1861
" /12698	"	1862 – 1864
" /12699	"	1865 – 1866
" /12700	"	1867
" /12701	"	1868
" /12702	"	1869
" /12703	"	1870
" /12704	"	1871 Jan – Aug
" /12705	"	1871 Sept – 1872 May
" /12706	"	1872 June – Dec
" /12707	"	1873
" /12708	"	1874
" /12709	"	1875
" /12710	"	1876
" /12711	"	1877
" /12712	"	1878
" /12713	"	1879
" /12714	"	1880
" /12715	"	1881
" /12716	"	1882
" /12717	"	1883
" /12718	"	1884
" /12719	"	1885 Jan – July
" /12720	"	1885 Aug – Dec
" /12721	"	1886 Jan – May
" /12722	"	1886 June – Dec
" /12723	"	1887 Jan – July
" /12724	"	1887 Aug – Dec
" /12725	"	1888 Jan – May
" /12726	"	1888 June – Dec

" /12727	"	1889 Jan – June
" /12728	"	1889 July – 1890 Jan
" /12729	"	1890 Feb – July
" /12730	"	1890 Aug – 1891 March
" /12731 – 42	"	1891 April – 1896

**MH15** The file called ‘Subject Indexes of Correspondence’ is the register for MH12. It is made up of volumes with pages alphabetically indexed. Up to 1855 one volume is sufficient for one year. From 1856 – 1859 two volumes are required; from 1860 – 1863, 1864 – 1867, 1868 – 1871 three volumes are required; from 1872 – 1875 six volumes are required; from 1876 – 1881 nine volumes are required; from 1882 – 1892 thirteen volumes are required.

Looking up a subject in the alphabetical list (initially by a key word, later a phrase), various associations with that subject are listed. References are then given to the items of correspondence or pieces which are in the relevant MH12 file expressed in what appears to be an arithmetical fraction with the numbers of the pieces placed over a line beneath which is the PLC number of the union involved (see example below). This can best be illustrated by an example given below:-

Take MH15/21 Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 1 A – N, 1856 – 1859.

Under ‘L’ there are listed associations ‘Lunatic Asylums’, ‘Lunatic Certificates’, ‘Lunatic Chargeability’, ‘Lunatics, Property of’, ‘Lunatics, Removal of, to Asylums’, ‘Lunatics, Visiting and Reporting’, ‘Lunatics, Miscellaneous’.

Look for entries which have a Surrey Union PLC number as a ‘divisor’ for the ‘fraction’ (i.e., 449 – 468).

Examples of the correspondence registered to Surrey Unions are:-

Under ‘Lunatics, Property of’

<u>35700</u> (in 1859)	i.e <u>the piece number</u>
451	Union PLC No

‘Lunatic pauper in Workhouse entitled to a share in some property.’

This refers, therefore, to one letter between the PLB and Chertsey Union.

Under ‘Lunatics, Removal of, to an Asylum’

<u>42444. 43726. 49225(2). (in 1856). 51152. 1809.4211 (in 1857)</u>
464

‘Lunatic who was admitted upon an informal order.’

This refers to a series of letters over two years from the PLB to Reigate Union.

etc,etc

It is clearly a cumbersome and longwinded way of finding letters. It illustrates the enormous clerical task undertaken by the clerks of the PLC and its successors for every entry is hand-written. The example given above merely shows the result of looking up the word ‘Lunacy’. Other words or, later, phrases also have to be referred to such as ‘Pauper’, ‘Relief’, ‘Workhouses’ etc.

As can be seen by the increasing number of subject indexes, the volume of correspondence increased markedly with time.

The following is a list of MH15 files.

MH15/1 – 20	Subject Indexes of Correspondence	1836 – 1855
MH15/21	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 1 A – N	1856 – 1859
MH15/22	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 2 O – W	1856 – 1859
MH15/23	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 1 A – G	1860 – 1863
MH15/24	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 2 H – P	1860 – 1863
MH15/25	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 3 R – W	1860 – 1863
MH15/26	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 1 A – F	1864 – 1867
MH15/27	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 2 G – P	1864 – 1867
MH15/28	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 3 R – Y	1864 – 1867
MH15/29	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 1 A – D	1868 – 1871
MH15/30	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 2 E – P	1868 – 1871
MH15/31	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 3 R – W	1868 – 1871
MH15/32	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 1 A	1872 – 1875
MH15/33	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 2 B – D	1872 – 1875
MH15/34	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 3 E – J	1872 – 1875
MH15/35	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 4 L – O	1872 – 1875
MH15/36	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 5 P – R	1872 – 1875
MH15/37	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 6 S – W	1872 – 1875
MH15/38	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 1 A – Accounts(P)	1876 – 1881
MH15/39	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 2 Accounts(R) – Aud	1876 – 1881
MH15/40	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 3 B to Cons	1876 – 1881
MH15/41	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 4 Cont – F	1876 – 1881
MH15/42	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 5 G – L	1876 – 1881
MH15/43	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 6 M – Pau	1876 – 1881
MH15/44	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 7 Pen – Rel	1876 – 1881
MH15/45	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 8 Rem to S	1876 – 1881
MH15/46	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 9 T – Y	1876 – 1881
MH15/47	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 1 A – Accounts(M)	1882 – 1892
MH15/48	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 2 Accounts(O) – Accounts(End)	1882 – 1892
MH15/49	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 3 Act – Bor	1882 – 1892
MH15/50	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 4 Bou – Committees	1882 – 1892
MH15/51	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 5 Common – Emb	
MH15/52	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 6 Emi – H	1882 – 1892
MH15/53	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 7 I – Local Act	1882 – 1892
MH15/54	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 8 Local Authorities – Medical Officer of Workhouse	1882 – 1892
MH15/55	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 9 Medical Officer of Health – Poor Rate Chargeability	1882 – 1892
MH15/56	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 10 Poor Rate collect – Relief, Medical	1882 – 1892
MH15/57	Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 11 Relief, Non-resident – Select Vestry	1882 – 1892

**MH15/58** Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 12 Separate Pauper School – Transfer of Property 1882 – 1892

**MH15/59** Subject Indexes of Correspondence, Part 13 Travelling Expenses – Y 1882 – 1892

**MH17** – MH17 provides the correspondence between the PLB/LGB and the London districts post the Metropolitan Poor Act, 1867. MH17/1 is concerned with Kensington, Rotherhithe and Newington (1867 – 1872). MH17/2 – 31 with the Central and Poplar Districts. MH17/32 – 69 with the Metropolitan Asylum Districts (initially six in number each comprising four or five Unions) from 1867 – 1890. This file may, therefore, be relevant for research into parishes and Unions involved with sending patients to Caterham Asylum.

**MH19** – This is a sizeable file (290 volumes – though this extends into the 1920s). It includes correspondence with the then extant government departments – e.g., Foreign Office, Education Department, India Office, Treasury etc. Relevant files appear to be MH19/64 – 74 with the Home Office, MH19/84 – 112 Local Government Board (presumably with other departments within the LGB) and MH19/168 – 170 with the Lunacy Commission (which appears to be a surprisingly small amount of correspondence). **MH20** (not assessed) is a Register of Correspondence contained in MH19 consisting of 87 volumes.

**MH32** - MH32 is a large file (193 volumes) of correspondence between Assistant Poor Law Commissioners (APLC) and the PLC and its successors (note the appointment of APLCs ceased in 1871). However, MH32 also includes various sub-files containing correspondence from General Inspectors, Medical Inspectors, Engineering Inspectors and School Inspectors etc which considerably reduces the number of relevant files. APLCs were a vital source of information to the central authority reporting as they did on progress (or lack of it) on the implementation of the poor law legislation and its administration at local level. It should be borne in mind, however, that it was in the individual APLC's best interest to present the best picture possible of events and attitudes at local level.

APLCs were appointed to cover certain geographical areas so, as is the case for Surrey, one or more APLC might be at work within a county area. They were moved between areas quite frequently and thus, over the course of the period of their existence, Surrey was served by several APLCs. It is possible that APLCs not necessarily appointed to the Surrey area were called upon to undertake specific tasks (e.g. – Lambert, a Poor Law Inspector and Dr E Smith, a Poor Law Inspector and Medical Officer of the PLB conducted the inquiry into the management of Farnham workhouse in 1868 – see note above). Generally, they were men of substance – frequently JPs or landowners or with professions such as ex-Army officers, lawyers, and most were well educated. Gulson and Mott stand out as different, both coming from humble backgrounds but both having considerable experience of dealing with the poor. The following list of MH32 files concentrates on APLCs who are known to be involved with Surrey areas from 1834 – 1871 (the volumes are listed alphabetically not chronologically).

**MH32/1 – 2** Correspondence of Colonel A C A'Court 1834 – 1835  
(A'Court was APLC in the Sussex area but it is known that he worked with Charles Mott, the APLC for Surrey at the time, in deciding the areas of the Surrey Unions)

**MH32/13** Correspondence of Uvedale Corbett 1862 - 1876  
**MH32/24** Correspondence of H B Farnall 1857 – 1871 Aug 18  
**MH32/36 – 37** Correspondence of Richard Hall 1840 – 1857  
**MH32/38 – 40, 42 – 43** Correspondence of William Henry Toovey Hawley 1834 – 1846 and 1853 – 1874 (Hawley though appointed to the South Eastern and South Western Districts may have had some involvement with Surrey in these periods)  
**MH32/50** Correspondence of Dr James Phillips Kay (later Kay-Shuttleworth) 1838 – 1845  
**MH32/56** Correspondence of Charles Mott 1834 – 1837  
**MH32/60** Correspondence of Henry Walter Parker 1834 – 1845  
**MH32/61 – 62** Correspondence of Greville Piggot 1845 – 1864 (Piggot though appointed to South Western and South Midlands Districts may have had some involvement with the Surrey area)  
**MH32/69 – 71** Correspondence of Edward Carlton Tufnell 1835 – 1846  
**MH32/72** Correspondence with Edward Turner Boyd Twistleton 1839 – 1845  
**MH32/98** Correspondence of J S Davy 1876 – 1901 (Davy is listed as a ‘General Inspector’)  
**MH32/101** Correspondence of Herbert Jenner-Fust 1885 – 1898 (Jenner-Fust is listed as a ‘General Inspector’)

**MH33** (not assessed) consists of 38 volumes and is the Assistant Poor Law Commissioners: Registers of Correspondence

**MH34** (not assessed) consists of 11 volumes and is the Local Government Board and predecessors: Legal Department and Order Department: Workhouse Expenditure, Registers of Authorisations

**MH50** entitled Lunacy Commission and Board of Control: Minutes and Seals comprises 86 volumes. Most of these are concerned with the Board of Control. The following are concerned with the Lunacy Commission

**MH50/1 –26** Minutes of the Lunacy Commission 1845 Aug – 1889 Dec  
**MH50/39 – 41** are also listed as Minutes of the Lunacy Commission 1845 Aug – 1845 Nov (no explanation is immediately obvious for this later numbering)

**MH51** contains 846 volumes of correspondence and papers of the Lunacy Commission and Board of Control. However, over 80% of the contents are concerned with the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The file appears to have no discernable pattern – individual cases are mixed up in national matters, the nineteenth with the twentieth century, etc. The following is a cursory assessment of the file.

**MH51/28** - Concerned with Margaret Walsh a patient in the workhouse of St George the Martyr 1846

**MH51/36** – Concerned with Martha Rhodes, a patient at York House.

**MH51/56** – Concerned with James Latta, a patient discharged from Surrey County Asylum in 1863

**MH51/194** - An inspection of Surrey County Gaol - 1867 (one of the many inspections carried out at goals in England and Wales at this time).

**MH51/236 – 238** – Circular letters of the Commissioners to superintendents of asylums, proprietors of private asylums, justices, boards of guardians and other local authority officials for the period 1845 – 1913. They are subject indexed.  
**MH51/721** – Contains the letters of Lord Shaftesbury between 1875 – 1885.  
**MH51/747 – 844** – Contain the opinion of law officers on matters submitted by the Commissioners. Some typical examples are given in the following 3 files.  
**MH51/760** – Regulations for moving chronic patients from an asylum to a workhouse – 1867 (this had important repercussions at local level).  
**MH51/771** - As a result of the Metropolitan Poor Act, 1867, guidance on the responsibility for accepting a Union patient into an asylum.  
**MH51/772** – Definition of a pauper lunatic 1868

**MH83** contains 364 volumes – fortuitously divided up by county. It is concerned with building estimates and plans. The following are the volumes for Surrey:-

**MH83/256 – 259** Estimates and plans for extensions, land acquisition for Surrey County Asylum, Wandsworth 1846 - 1896.  
**MH83/260 – 263** Estimates and plans for extensions, land acquisition for Brookwood Asylum 1860 – 1872  
**MH83/264 – 267** Estimates for extensions and new buildings at Middlesex third asylum, Banstead, Surrey 1872 – 1903  
Though outside the period of study it should be noted that:-  
**MH83/268 – 270** is concerned with the building of Croydon Borough Asylum 1894 – 1909  
**MH83/271 – 272** is concerned with Netherne Asylum, Coulsdon, Surrey 1898 – 1910  
**MH83/273 – 274** is concerned with the first asylum (of five) built for the London County Council which began in 1898.

**MH85 and MH86** dealing as they do with individual patient cases may prove useful in a study more concerned with social and medical aspects of lunacy.

**MH94** – Patient Admission Registers which give patient's registration number, name, sex, institution, date of admission, discharge or death and whether private or pauper.  
**MH94/1 – 6** – Metropolitan licensed houses 1846 – 1900  
**MH94/7 – 11** - Provincial licensed houses 1846 – 1900  
**MH94/12 – 24** – County asylums and hospitals 1846 – 1878  
**MH94/25 – 82** – County asylums and hospitals 1879 – 1947  
**MH94/83 – 90** – County asylums and hospitals: rate aided and pauper patients 1879 - 1947  
**MH94/105 – 114** – Pauper patients in county asylums and hospitals 1883 – 1960



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- 51 Geo III, c 79 – Act to amend the Lunatics (Paupers or Criminals) Act, 1811
- 55 Geo III, c 46 – Act to amend the Lunatics (Paupers or Criminals) Act, 1815
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- 16 & 17 Vict, c 96 – Lunatics Care and Treatment Amendment Act, 1853
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MH14 Poor Law Board and Local Government Board: Architect's Department and Metropolitan Department: Poor Law Union Plans  
MH17 Poor Law Commission and successors: Correspondence with Asylum Districts and Boards  
MH32 Local Government Board and predecessors: Assistant Poor Law Commissioners and Inspectors: Correspondence  
MH33 Assistant Poor Law Commissioners: Registers of Correspondence  
MH34 Local Government Board and predecessors: Legal Department and Order Department: Workhouse Expenditure: Registers of Authorisations  
MH50 Lunacy Commission and Board of Control: Minutes and Seals  
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21<sup>st</sup> AR of CL to LC 1867 XVIII 201

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