than or equal to the inter-pterygoid width, and is only very rarely greater.

5.—The arching of the palate has nothing to do, as regards height, with premature synostosis of the skull-base.

6.—The differences in the palatal measurements of various mouths are so slight and so various that it is difficult to see of what service a palatal investigation can be in affording a clue to the mental faculties.

Bethlem Royal Hospital. By Daniel Hack Tuke, M.D., F.R.C.P.

(Read at the Quarterly Meeting of the Medico-Psychological Association at Bethlem Royal Hospital, May 10th, 1876.)

The chief point of interest in the subject to which this paper has reference, centres in the questions where and what was the provision made for the insane in England in the earliest period in which we can discover traces of their custody? As this enquiry at once leads us to Bethlem Hospital, I thought when Dr. Williams, some weeks ago, asked me to contribute a paper to the next Quarterly Meeting of the Association, that it might fittingly occupy a portion of our time this evening.

Many, I suppose, are familiar with the fact of the original foundation in 1247 of a Priory in Bishopsgate-street, for the Order of St. Mary of Bethlem, but few are aware at what period it was used for the care or confinement of lunatics, and still fewer have any knowledge of the form of the building which I shall invariably designate, to avoid confusion, as the first Bethlem Hospital—the word "Bethlem" soon degenerating into *Bedlam*.

Before entering upon the less known facts, I will remind you that an alderman and sheriff of London, Simon Fitzmary, gave in the 31st year of the reign of Henry III., 1247, to the Bishop and Church of Bethlem, in Holyland, all his houses and grounds in the parish of St. Botolph without Bishopsgate, that there might be thereupon built a Priory for a prior, canons, brethren, and sisters of the Order of Bethlem or the Star, wherein the Bishop of Bethlem was to be entertained when he came to England, and to whose visitation and correction all the members of the house were subjected.*

* Dugdale's "Monasticon," Vol. vi., pt. iii., p. 621.

The following is the wording of the original grant, slightly abridged :—

To all the children of our Mother holy Church, to whom this present writing shall come, Simon, the Son of Mary, sendeth greeting in our Lord, * * * * having special and singular devotion to the Church of the glorious Virgin at Bethelem, when the same Virgin brought forth our Saviour incarnate, and lying in the Cratch, and with her own milk nourished ; and where the same child to us there born, the Chivalry of the Heavenly Company, sange the new hymne, Gloria in excelsis Deo. * * * a new Starre going before them, as the Honour and Reverence of the same child, and his most meek mother, and to the exaltation of my most noble Lord, Henry King of England, * * * and to the manifold increase of this City of London, in which I was born : and also for the health of my soul, and the souls of my predecessors and successors, my father, mother and my friends, I have given, and by this my present Charter, here, have confirmed to God, and to the Church of St. Mary of Bethelem, all my Lands which I have in the Parish of St. Buttolph, without Bishopsgate of London, * * in houses, gardens, pools, ponds, ditches, and pits, and all their appurtenances as they be closed in by their bounds, which now extend in length from the King's high street, East, to the great Ditch, in the West, the which is called Deep Ditch; and in breadth to the lands of Ralph Downing, in the North ; and to the land of the Church of St. Buttolph in the South ; * * * to make there a Priory, and to ordain a Prior and Canons, brothers and also sisters, and in the same place, the Rule and Order of the said Church of Bethelem solemnly professing which shall bear the Token of a Starre openly in their Coapes and Mantles of profession, and for to say Divine Service there, for the souls aforesaid, and all Christian souls, and specially to receive there, the Bishop of Bethelem, Canons, brothers, and messengers of the church of Bethelem for ever more, as often as they shall come thither. And that a Church or Oratory there shall be builded, as soon as our Lord shall enlarge his grace, under such form, that the Order, institution of Priors, &c. to the Bishop of Bethelem and his successors shall pertain for evermore. * * * And Lord Godfrey, bishop of Bethelem, into bodily possession, I have indented and given to his possession all the foresaid Lands; which possession he hath received, and entered in form aforesaid.

And in token of subjection and reverence, the said place in London shall pay yearly a mark sterling at Easter to the Bishop of Bethelem.

This gift and confirmation of my Deed, & the putting to of my Seal for me and mine heirs, I have steadfastly made strong, the year of our Lord God, 1247, the Wednesday after the Feast of St. Luke the Evangelist.

From this it appears that Simon Fitzmary's land extended from the King's Highway on the east (Bishopsgate-street

without) to the fosse called Depeditch on the west. The land of Saint Botolph Church bounded it on the south, and the property of a Ralph Downing on the north.

A considerable portion of this site is occupied at the present day by Liverpool-street, and the Railway Stations which have sprung up there.

The topographer in search of the old site, finds to-day striking proofs of the changes which 600 years have brought with them. He is surrounded by the Metropolitan, North London, and the Great Eastern Railways, while Bethlem Gate, the entrance to the Hospital from Bishopsgate-street, is superseded now-a-days by boardings covered with the inevitable advertisement of the paper which enjoys the largest circulation in the world. Deep Ditch is now Bloomfield-street. The name of Ralph Downing, whose property is mentioned in the charter as bounding Bethlem on the north, is, I suspect, represented after the lapse of six centuries, by Dunning's Alley and Place.

There was a churchyard on the property, which was enclosed for the use of adjoining parishes by Sir Thos. Rowe, Lord Mayor of London, at a much later period (1569). Probably the inmates were buried there also. The Broad-street Railway Station booking-office is situated upon part of its site. In connection with this, I may refer to a statement in Mr. Buckland's "Curiosities of Natural History," to the effect that a skeleton, on which fetters were riveted, was found in 1863, in St. Mary Axe, by some workmen engaged in excavations. Mr. Buckland states, on the authority of Mr. Hancock, that Sir Thos. Rowe gave ground in St. Mary Axe, for the use of Old Bethlem Hospital, and certain adjoining parishes. Mr Buckland, therefore, concluded that the skeleton was that of a man who had been a patient in Bedlam, and buried in his chains. He was good enough to place them at my disposal this evening, but as I can find no evidence that Sir T. Rowe did more than what I have above stated, I think there is no connection proved between the skeleton in irons and Bedlam, and have therefore not availed myself of Mr. Buckland's kindness. Bethlem has sufficient sins to answer for, without our adding to the catalogue any which cannot be clearly established.

In this churchyard was buried Ludwig Muggleton—an appropriate resting-place, considering its proximity to a madhouse. Also John Lilburne; four thousand persons, it is said, attending his funeral.

Mr. Roach Smith, who formerly lived in Liverpool-street, informs me that on one occasion an incident proved the former existence of a burial ground on this spot. He writes, "Opposite my house (No. 5) on the other side of the street, was a long dead wall, which separated the street from a long piece of garden-ground which faced some high houses standing, probably, on the site of Bedlam. This garden may have stood on the burial ground. When my man buried in it a deceased favourite cat, he said he came upon the remains of human skeletons. But revolution brought about the disturbance of the cat which had disturbed some of old London's people. A few years since the cat's coffin and her epitaph were brought before the Directors of a Railway as a very puzzling discovery." The engineers of the North London and Great Eastern Railways inform me that many bones were dug up in excavating for the Broad-street and Liverpool-street Stations.

The locality of the first Bethlem Hospital is, I hope, now clearly before you. I will describe the form of the buildings shortly, but will first trace the history of the convent to the time of Henry VIII.

In the year 1330, eighty-three years after its foundation, it is mentioned as a "Hospital," in a license granted by King Ed. III., to collect alms in England, Ireland and Wales, but it must not be inferred from this that it was *necessarily* used for the sick, as the word Hospital was then, and long after, employed as "a place for shelter or entertainment." (Johnson). It is so employed by Spencer in the "Faerie Queene:"—

> They spy'd a goodly castle, plac'd
> Foreby a river in a pleasant dale,
> Which chusing for that evening's *Hospital*
> They thither march'd.

Very shortly after this, namely, in 1346, the monastery or Hospital was so miserably poor that the master applied to the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London to be received under their protection. This was agreed to, and they were governed afterwards by two aldermen, one chosen by the mayor and the other by the monastery.

Then we come to an important event—the seizure of Bethlem by the Crown. This was in 1375, the 48th year of Edw. III. It was done on the pretext that it was an alien or foreign priory. There was not therefore any seizing of the monastery by Henry VIII. as is usually stated. That had been done

already. The master of Bethlem stated at this time that the annual value of the House was 6 marcs; and that he paid 13s. 4d. a-year to the Bishop of Bethlem, and 40s. rent to the Guildhall for the benefit of the city. Disputes afterwards arose between the Crown and the City as to their right to appoint the Master of the House, but the former triumphed, and Richard II., Henry IV., Henry VI., and Henry VIII. insisted upon and exercised their right of presentation.

It appears that the City had let some house to the Hospital for which they received rent. And further, that afterwards when disputes arose, they actually pretended that the Hospital itself was originally theirs.

I now call your attention to the year 1403, the 4th year of Hen. IV. It appears that Peter, the porter of the House, had misbehaved himself in some way, and it was deemed sufficiently important to necessitate an "Inquisition," to ascertain the condition and management of the monastery. And it is here that we meet with the earliest indication of Bethlem being a receptacle for the insane. I have examined the report of the Royal Commission, and find they state that six men were confined there who were lunatics (sex homines mente capti). The number, therefore, was very small at that time. As might be expected, the glimpse we get of their mode of treatment reveals the customary restraints of former days. The inventory records "Six chains of iron, with six locks; four pairs of manacles of iron, and two pairs of stocks." I do not here, or elsewhere, find any reference to the use of the whip. I may remark, by the way, that the Commissioners observe that whereas originally the Master of the house wore the Star of the Order of Bethlem, the Master at that time did not. The original star contained 16 points, which we may consider to indicate, appropriately, the words *Estoile de Bethlem.*

On the arms of Bethlem, was also a basket of bread, in reference to the Hebrew etymology, "House of Bread." The bread is described as wastell cake, a word first met with in a statute 51 Hen. III., where it is described as white bread well baked.

Chaucer says of the "Prioress"—

> Of small houndes hadde she, that she fedde
> With roasted flesh, and milk and wastel brede.

The derivation of the word, according to Douce's "Illustrations of Shakespeare," is from gasteau, now *gâteau*, anciently

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written gastel, and, in the Picard dialect, ouastel or watel, a cake; and not from wassail, as has been stated by some writers.

I would here draw your attention to the site of St. Martin's Lane, and the adjoining district. At the south-west corner of St. Martin's Lane, in the angle formed by it and Charing Cross, was situated a religious house, of the foundation of which I can discover nothing. The point of interest to us in connection with it is this: that at a very early period lunatics were confined there. Stow, in his "Survey of the City of Westminster," says—"On the north side (that is, after proceeding westward from Temple Bar), to a lane that turneth to the parish church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and stretcheth to St. Giles-in-the-Fields, then had ye an house, wherein some time were distraught and lunatick people; of what antiquity founded, or by whom, I have not read, neither of the suppression; but it was said that some time a king of England, not liking such a kind of people to remain so near his Palace, caused them to be removed further off to Bethlem-without-Bishopsgate, of London, and to that hospital the said house by Charing Cross doth yet belong" (Strype's Stow, 1720, p. 2).

I have spent considerable time in endeavouring to discover who this king was, but without success. If we assume that this was the first time that Bethlem received lunatics within its walls, we must refer the event to a date prior to 1403, because we know, as I have pointed out, that there were mad people in Bethlem at that date. Whoever the king was, he appears to have been rather fastidious, considering the proximity is not very close between Charing Cross and the Royal Palace of Westminster. Possibly, as the Royal Mews was at Charing Cross, his Majesty may have sometimes visited his falcons, which were "mewed," or confined there—long before the same place was used for stables—and been disturbed by the sounds he heard.* It is interesting in this connection to learn that Chaucer was clerk of the Charing Cross Mews. On the site of the Mews stands now the National Gallery, and the religious house for lunatics must have been situated in Trafalgar Square, about where Havelock's equestrian statue stands.

You will have observed that in the passage cited from Stow, the house at Charing Cross is described as belonging to

* Some derive the term from the moulting of falcons.

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Bethlem Hospital. It did not belong to Bethlem when the latter was founded in 1247, and when it acquired it I do not know; but it is certain that it possessed it as early as 1399, and in all probability at the time of the transfer of lunatics to Bishopsgate Street by order of the unknown king. Certain, also, it is that the Charing Cross property belonged to Bethlem Hospital until 1830, when it was sold or exchanged in order to allow of the improvements which were shortly afterwards made there in laying out Trafalgar Square and building the National Gallery.

We know, then, that from about 1400, if not earlier, Bethlem received lunatics, on however small a scale; and we have here an explanation of the fact which has surprised some, that before the time of the charter of Henry VIII., whose name is inscribed over the pediment of the building in which we meet, the word "Bedlam" is used for a madman or madhouse. Thus Tyndale makes use of the word some twenty years before the Royal Grant in his "Prologue to the Testament," a unique fragment of which exists in the British Museum, where he says it is "bedlam madde to affirme that good is the natural cause of yvell."

Speaking of Wolsey, Skelton, who died in 1529, says in his "Why come ye not to Court?"—

> He grinnes and he gapes,
> As it were Jacke Napes,
> Such a mad Bedlam.

Our familiar expression "Jackanapes" is evidently a corruption of the above.

And Sir Thomas More, in his Treatise "De Quatuor Novissimis," says, "Think not that everything is pleasant that men for madness laugh at. For thou shalt in Bedleem see one laugh at the knocking of his own hed against a post, and yet there is little pleasure therein." And, again, in the "Apology" made by him in 1533 (thirteen years before the Grant), in which he gives a most curious account of the treatment of a poor lunatic: He was "one which after that he had fallen into that frantick heresies, fell soon after into plaine open franzye beside. And all beit that he had therefore bene put up in Bedelem, and afterward by beating and correccion gathered his remembraance to him and beganne to come again to himselfe, being thereupon set at liberty, and walkinge aboute abrode, his olde fansies beganne to fall againe in his heade." Although the next paragraph has

nothing to do with Bethlem, I cannot avoid quoting it, as it illustrates so graphically the whipping-post treatment of that day. "I caused him," he says, "as he came wanderinge by my doore, to be taken by the connstables and bounden to a tree in the streete before the whole towne, and ther they stripped [striped] him with roddes therefore till he waxed weary and somewhat lenger. And it appeared well that hys remembrance was goode ineoughe save that it went about in grazing [wool gathering!] til it was beaten home. For he coulde then verye wel reherse his fautes himselfe, and speake and treate very well, and promise to doe afterward as well." Sir Thomas More ends with this delicious sentence: —"And verylye God be thanked I heare nowe harme of him now."*

To return to Bethlem Hospital. I can discover nothing of interest in regard to it between 1403 and 1523; except, indeed, that I observe in the "Memorials of London," 1276-1419, a man was punished by the pillory for pretending to be a Collector for the Hospital of "Bedlem," in 1412. He was to remain for one hour of the day there, the money box he had used being "in the meantime placed and tied to his neck." At the date just mentioned, according to Stow, Stephen Jennings, previously Lord Mayor of London, gave a sum of money in his will towards the purchase of the patronage of Bethlem Hospital. Three and twenty years later (1546) the citizens of London are said to have purchased "the patronage thereof, with all the lands and tenements thereunto belonging." But there is no evidence that they did give any money for this patronage. Sir John Gresham, the Lord Mayor, petitioned the King in this year to grant Bethlem Hospital to the City; and the King did grant it along with St. Bartholomew's Hospital, on condition that the City should expend a certain amount of money on new buildings in connection with the latter. It is only in this sense, I believe, that they "purchased" Bethlem Hospital; and further, it must be understood that the City obtained the patronage or government only, and not the freehold of the premises, although in process of time the Crown ceased to claim or possess any property in the Hospital.

In the Indenture of the Covenant made 27th December, 1546, between the King and the City of London granting St. Bartholomew's Hospital and Bethlem, there is no mention of

* "The Workes of Sir Thomas More," vol. vii., p. 901. Edit. London, 1557.

appropriating the latter to the use of lunatics (for this, as we have seen, had been done already), but it is simply said "the King granted to the said citizens that they and their successors should thenceforth be masters, rulers, and governors of the hospital or house called Bethlem, and should have the governance of the same and of the people there, with power to see and to cause the rents and profits of the lands and possessions of the same hospital to be employed for the relief of the poor people there, according to the meaning of the foundation of the same, or otherwise as it should please the King for better order to devise." The charter was granted in the 13th of January, 1547. The King died on the 29th. The value of the estate at this period is said to have been £504 12s. 11d.*

I wish to reproduce before you the form of the buildings of Bethlem (or, as we ought now to designate it, Bethlem or Bethlehem Royal Hospital) at the time of Henry the Eighth, and for long before and after that time. I have, I believe, consulted every important map of old London, and have found it no easy task to obtain a clear notion of the appearance of the building at that period. No print of the first hospital is in existence; at least, I have never been able to find it, or met with anyone who has seen it. I believe, however, that a good idea of the premises can be formed from a comparison of the map of Ralf Aggas, made not very long after the death of Henry VIII. (1560), and that of Braun and Hogenberg in their "Civitates Orbis Terrarum," made a little later still (1572). I have reconstructed an elevation of the hospital, which will, I believe, convey to you a fairly correct notion of the extent and character of the premises. I am gratified to know that you will see, I believe, for the first time, so distinct a representation on a fair sized scale of the first Bethlem—the real old Bedlam of Sir Thomas More, of Tyndale, and Shakespeare—within the walls of Bethlehem Royal Hospital itself. Shakespeare, I may here say, uses the word Bedlam six times. You observe a rectangular area surrounded by buildings. In the centre is the church with its chapel. This was taken down in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and other buildings erected in its place.

The oldest written description of any portion of the building which is extant mentions "below stairs a parlour, a kitchen, two larders, a long entry [corridor] throughout the

* Malcolm's "Londinum Redivivum," 1803, vol. i., p. 351.

house, and twenty-one rooms wherein the poor distracted people lie; and above the stairs eight rooms more for servants and the poor to lie in."*

You will observe that there was a gate on the west side, and another on the east side.

Eight years after the death of Henry the Eighth (1555)—the second year of Philip and Mary—it was ordered that the Governors of Christ's Hospital should be charged with the oversight and government of Bethlem, and receive the account of rents, &c., instead of the City Chamberlain; but this arrangement lasted only a short time, for in Sept., 1557 (the fourth year of Queen Mary) the management was transferred to the Governors of Bridewell (which had been given to the City by Edward VI. in 1553), subject, of course, to the jurisdiction of the citizens. The same treasurer was appointed for both. This union of the hospitals was confirmed by the Act 22 Geo. III., c. 77, and continues, as is well known, to the present day. It was not until this Act that the *paramount* authority of the City passed away, and the government now in force was established, by which it was distinctly vested in a President, Treasurer, the Court of Aldermen, and the Common Council, and an unlimited number of governors, elected by ballot. So that now the only sense in which Bethlem continues to belong to the City is that the Aldermen and Common Councilmen are *ex-officio* governors. As there are at the present time upwards of two hundred governors, they are in a decided minority.

Time was when Bethlem Hospital did not possess the magnificent income which she now enjoys. She knew, as we have seen, what poverty meant; and even if we make due allowance for the increased value of money, we can hardly read without surprise that in 1555 the income from all the possessions of the hospital only amounted to £40 8s. 4d. Of course, considerable sums were collected as alms. Nearly a century after, the valuation of real estates showed an annual value of £470. Several annuities had also been bequeathed, as that of Sir Thomas Gresham in 1575, for "the poor diseased in their minds in Bethlem."

The revenues, however, fell far short of the requirements of the hospital—namely, about two-thirds of the yearly charge—and at a court held in 1642 preachers were directed to preach at the Spital of St. Mary, in Bishopsgate Street,

* Charity Commissioners' Report, 1837, from which much valuable information has been derived.

informing the public of the need of pecuniary help, and exciting them to the exercise of charity.

Again, in 1669 a deputation waited on the Lord Mayor to acquaint him with the great cost of Bethlem, and to request that no patient should be sent until the president was informed, in order that he might fix on the weekly allowance, and obtain some security of payment.

I need not say that since the period to which I refer, the income of Bethlem Hospital has, in consequence of gifts, and the enormously greater value of house property in London, been immensely increased, and that what with its annuities, its stocks of various kinds, and its extensive estates, it is today in the position of doing, and without doubt actually does an immense amount of good.

Half a century after Henry the Eighth's death, Bethlem Hospital was reported to be so loathsome as to be unfit for any man to enter. There were then twenty patients. I do not know, however, that any action was taken in consequence. Thirty-four years afterwards (1632), I observe that the buildings were enlarged, and mention is made of "one messuage, newly builded of brick at the charge of the said hospital, containing a cellar, a kitchen, a hall, four chambers, and a garret, being newly added unto the old rooms." Also, "a long waste room now being contrived and in work, to make eight rooms more for poor people to lodge where there lacked room before."*

In 1624, and I daresay at many other periods, the patients were so refractory that it was necessary to call in the flax dressers, whose Tenter boards may be seen in the adjoining field in the maps of London of this period, in order to assist the keepers in their duties!

Just about the same date (1632) I notice that an Inquisition mentions various sums being expended on fetters and straw. The governor at that time, I should add, was a medical man. This is the first mention of such being the case. His name was Helkins Crooke.

Ten years later (1642) there was a still further addition to Bethlem. Twelve rooms were built on the ground floor, over which there were eight for lunatics. The hospital, however, only accommodated some fifty or sixty patients, and it is observed in "Stow's Survey of London," that besides being too small to receive a sufficient number of distracted

* Charity Commissioners' Report, p. 390.

persons of both sexes, it stood on an obscure and close place near to many common sewers.

Smith, in his "Ancient Topography of London," says—and the authority for most of his statements was Mr. Haslam—"The men and women in old Bethlem were huddled together in the same ward." It was only when the second Bethlem was built that they had separate wards.

In Hollar's Map of London, engraved 1667, which gives the most distinct representation of Bethlem Hospital at that period, there are no additional buildings given, although we know they had been made. Nor are those inserted which were built on the site of the church in the centre of the Quadrangle.

I will now pass on to the close of the chapter of this the first Bethlem Hospital, with the remark in passing that Charles the First confirmed the Charter of Henry the Eighth in 1638,* and will direct attention to the year 1674, when the old premises having become totally unfit for the care—to say nothing of the treatment—of the inmates, it was decided to build another hospital. The City granted a piece of land on the north side of London wall, extending from Moor Gate, 740 feet, to a postern opposite Winchester street, and in breadth 80 feet—the whole length of what is now the south side of Finsbury Circus. At the present time Albion Hall, at the corner of London Wall and Pavement, with the houses to the east, marks this spot, the grounds in front of the Hospital being, of course, situated in what is now Finsbury Circus.

Smith's plates, in his "Ancient London," show the back and west wing of the asylum very well; and an elevation showing its front which looked north towards what is now the London Institution, is represented in an engraving frequently met with in the print shops. Circus Place now runs through what was the centre of the building. The building, intended for 120 patients (but capable of holding 150), was commenced in April, 1675, and finished in July of the following year, at a cost of £17,000. It was 540 feet long by 40 feet broad.

Of this building, Gay wrote—

> Through fam'd Moorfields, extends a spacious seat,
> Where mortals of exalted wit retreat;
> Where, wrapp'd in contemplation and in straw,
> The wiser few from the mad world withdraw.

* This charter appears to grant more than the mere patronage of the Hospital.

As the Hospital was opened in 1676, it is noteworthy that it is now just two centuries since the first asylum was built for the sole and express object of providing for the insane in England. This is the building in Moorfields so familiar to our forefathers for nearly a century and a half, and known as Old Bethlem by print dealers, and, indeed, by almost everyone else; for the memories and traditions of the genuine Old Bethlem, which I have endeavoured to resuscitate to-day, have almost faded away.

Let me bring before you for a moment the condition of Moorfields in those days. Finsbury was so called from the finny district in which it lay. Skating was largely practised here. In the old maps Finsbury fields lie on the north-east side of Moorfields. Now Finsbury Circus and Square correspond to the site of a part of Moorfields. Formerly Moorfields extended up to Hoxton, "but being one continued marsh, they were in 1511 made passable by proper bridges and causeways. Since that time the ground has been gradually drained and raised."*

It was a favourite resort for archers. An association called the Archers of Finsbury was formed in King Edward the First's time. There is an old book on Archery, entitled "Ayme for Finsbury Archers," 1628. An anonymous poem in blank verse, published in 1717, entitled "Bethlem Hospital," but attributed to John Rutter, M.A., contains the following lines, referring to the appropriation of the ground for drying clothes:—

> Where for the City dames to blaunch their cloaths,
> Some sober matron (so tradition says)
> On families affairs intent, concern'd,
> At the dark hue of the then decent Ruff
> From marshy or from moorish barren grounds,
> Caused to be taken in, what now *Moorfields*,
> Shaded by trees and pleasant walks laid out,
> Is called, the name retaining to denote,
> From what they were, how Time can alter things.
> Here close adjoining, mournful to behold
> The dismal habitation stands alone.

The following is the description of the building given by Smith in his "Ancient Topography of London:"—

The principal entrance is from the north, of brick and free-stone, adorned with four pilasters, a circular pediment, and entablature of the Corinthian Order. The King's arms are in the pediment, and

* Noorthouck's "London," 1773.

those of Sir Wm. Turner above the front centre window. * * It certainly conveys ideas of grandeur. Indeed it was for many years the only building which looked like a palace in London. Before the front there is a spacious paved court, bounded by a pair of massy iron gates, surmounted with the arms of the Hospital. These gates hang on two stone piers, composed of columns of the Ionic Order, on either side of which there is a small gate for common use. On the top of each pier was a recumbent figure, one of raving, the other of melancholy madness, carved by Caius Gabriel Cibber. The feeling of this sculptor was so acute, that it is said he would begin immediately to carve the subject from the block, without any previous model, or even fixing any points to guide him. I have often heard my father say that his master, Roubiliac, whenever city business called him thither, would always return by Bethlem, purposely to view these figures.—Smith, p. 32.

Under an engraving of them by Stothard, are the lines:—

Bethlemi ad portas se tollit dupla columna;
Ἐικόνα τῶν ἐντός χώ λίθος ἑκτος ἔχει
Hic calvum ad dextram tristi caput ore reclinat,
Vix illum ad lævam ferrea vincla tenent.
Dissimilis furor est statuis; sed utrumq. laborem
Et genium artificis laudat uterq. furor.

Pope, in the "Dunciad," thus spitefully refers to these figures in connection with the sculptor's son, the comedian:—

Close to those walls where Folly holds her throne,
And laughs to think Monro would take her down,
Where o'er the gates by his famed father's hand
Great Cibber's brazen, brainless brothers stand.

Nettled at being made the brother of two madmen, Cibber retaliated in a lampoon upon Pope, which it is said (with what truth I know not) hastened his death.*

These figures, now banished to South Kensington Museum, and there incarcerated at the very top of the building, and only seen by special permission, are, of course, quite unsuitable for the entrance of the Hospital, but I should plead for their being placed somewhere in these premises, their natural habitat. As works of art, the Governors and Officers cannot but be proud of them. I suppose, however, their banishment is intended as a public protest against the old system of treatment which one of them exhibits, and from this point of view is no doubt creditable. I would here observe that the figure of the maniac is superior to that of the melancholiac, whose

* Pennant's "London," p. 267.

expression is rather that of dementia than melancholia. I think that when Bacon, in 1820, repaired this statue, he must have altered the mouth, because, in the engraving by Stothard, this feature, and perhaps others, are more expressive.

At Bethlem Hospital there were also certain gates called the penny gates, and on each side of them was a figure of a maniac—one a male, the other a female. "They are excellently carved in wood, nearly the size of life, have frequently been painted in proper colours, and bear other evidence of age. It is reported they were brought from Old Bethlem. In tablets over the niches in which they stand, is the following supplication:—'*Pray remember the poor Lunaticks, and put your Charity into the Box with your own hand.*'"*

There was a portrait of Henry VIII. in the Hospital, which was said to have been brought from the first Bethlem. The portrait is now in the Committee-room of the Hospital, in which we meet to-day.

The "penny gates" refer, I suppose, to the custom of allowing Bethlem to be one of the sights of the metropolis, the admission of any one being allowed for a penny, by which an annual income of at least £400 was realized. The practice was discontinued in 1770. This amount is, however, probably exaggerated, as it is difficult to believe that 96,000 persons visited the Hospital in the course of the year. Ned Wright, however, from whom I shall shortly quote, says the fee was 2d. in his time. If so, 48,000 may be about correct,

In the Rake's Progress, Hogarth represents two fashionable ladies visiting this Hospital as a show-place, while the poor Rake is being fettered by a keeper. The doctor, I suppose, is standing by. The deserted woman who has followed him in his downward course is by his side in the Hospital. The expression of the Rake has been said to be a perfect representation of

> Moody madness laughing wild, amid severest woe.

The maniac in the straw in one of the cells was taken by Hogarth from one of Cibber's figures. The chain is clearly visible.

In another cell, is a man who believes himself a king, and wears a crown of straw.

An astronomer has made himself a roll of paper for a telescope, and imagines that he is looking at the heavens. The

* Smith op. cit. p. 35.

patient by him has drawn on the wall the firing off a bomb, and a ship moored in the distance. Ireland, in his "Notes on Hogarth," says it was to ridicule Whiston's project for the discovery of the longitude, which then attracted attention, and had sent some people crazy. Then there is a mad musician with his music-book on his head; a sham Pope; and a poor man on the stairs "crazed by care, and crossed by hopeless love," who has chalked "Charming Betty Careless" upon the rail. One figure looks like a woman, holding a tape in her hands, but is intended for a tailor.*

In a poem, bearing the title of "Bedlam," and the date 1776, the writer, after bestowing praise on the building, adds:—

Far other views than these within appear,
And Woe and Horror dwell for ever here;
For ever from the echoing roofs rebounds
A dreadful Din of heterogenous sounds:
From this, from that, from every quarter rise
Loud shouts, and sullen groans, and doleful cries;
* * * * *
Within the chambers which this Dome contains,
In all her "frantic" forms, Distraction reigns:
* * * * *
Rattling his chains, the wretch all raving lies,
And roars and foams, and Earth and Heaven defies.

Ned Ward, in his "London Spy," 1703, gives a graphic account of his visit with a friend to Bedlam:—

Thus, he says, we prattled away our time, till we came in sight of a noble pile of buildings, which diverted us from our former discourse, and gave my friend the occasion of asking me my thoughts of this magnificent edifice. I told him I conceived it to be my Lord Mayor's Palace, for I could not imagine so stately a structure to be designed for any quality inferior; he smiled at my innocent conjecture, and informed me this was Bedlam, an Hospital for mad folks. In truth, said I, I think they were mad that built so costly a college for such a crack-brained society; adding, it was a pity so fine a building should not be possessed by such who had a sense of their happiness: sure, said I, it was a mad age when this was raised, and the chief of the city were in great danger of losing their senses, so contrived it the more noble for their own reception, or they would never have flung away so much money to so foolish a purpose. You must consider, says my friend, this stands upon the same foundation as the Monument, and the fortunes of a great many poor wretches lies buried in this ostentatious piece of vanity; and this, like the other, is but a monument of the City's shame and dishonour, instead of its glory;

* Cf. Ireland's "Hogarth," for description of this plate.

come, let us take a walk in, and view its inside. Accordingly we were admitted in thro' an iron gate, within which sat a brawny Cerberus, of an Indico-colour, leaning upon a money-box; we turned in through another Iron-Barricado, where we heard such a rattling of chains, drumming of doors, ranting, hollowing, singing, and running, that I could think of nothing but Don Quevedo's Vision, where the lost souls broke loose and put Hell in an uproar. The first whimsey-headed wretch of this lunatic family that we observed, was a merry fellow in a straw cap who was talking to himself, "that he had an army of Eagles at his command," then clapping his hand upon his head, swore by his crown of moonshine, he would battle all the Stars in the Skies but he would have some claret. . . . . We then moved on till we found another remarkable figure worth our observing,who was peeping through his wicket, eating of bread and cheese, talking all the while like a carrier at his supper, chewing his words with his victuals, all that he spoke being in praise of bread and cheese: "bread was good with cheese, and cheese was good with bread, and bread and cheese was good together;" and abundance of such stuff; to which my friend and I, with others stood listening; at last he counterfeits a sneeze, and shot such a mouthful of bread and cheese amongst us, that every spectator had some share of his kindness, which made us retreat. P. 61.

Many other dialogues with the inmates of Bedlam are given, but they are evidently embellished, or altogether fictitious; true as I believe the description of the building and the uproar within to be.

Mr. Harvey, from his recollections of the Hospital in Moorfields, in the early part of this century, thus writes in 1863: "When I remember Moorfields first, it was a large, open quadrangular space, shut in by the Pavement to the west, the Hospital and its outbuildings to the south, and lines of shops with fronts, occupied chiefly by dealers in old furniture, to the east and north. Most of these shops were covered in by screens of canvas or rough boards, so as to form an apology for a piazza; and if you were bold enough, in wet weather you might take refuge under them, but it was at the imminent risk of your purse or your handkerchief. It was interesting to inspect the articles exposed for sale: here a cracked mirror in a dingy frame, a set of hair-seated chairs, the horse-hair protruding; a table, stiff, upright easy chairs, without a bottom, &c. These miscellaneous treasures were guarded by swarthy men and women of Israel, who paraded in front of their narrow dominions all the working day, and if you did but pause for an instant, you must expect to be dragged into some hideous Babel of frowsy chattels, and made

a purchaser in spite of yourself. Escaping from this uncomfortable mart to the Hospital footway, a strange scene of utter desertion came over you; long, gloomy lines of cells, strongly barred, and obscured with the accumulated dust, silent as the grave, unless fancy brought sounds of woe to your ears, rose before you; and there, on each side of the principal entrance, were the wonderful effigies of raving and moping madness, chiselled by the elder Cibber. How those stone faces and eyes glared! How sternly the razor must have swept over those bare heads. How listless and dead were those limbs, bound with inexorable fetters, while the iron of despair had pierced the hearts of the prisoned maniacs."*

It was in 1733 that two wings were added for incurable patients, but this proved insufficient in the course of time; and in 1793 an adjoining plot of ground was obtained, and more accommodation provided. Only six years later, however, surveyors appointed to inspect the premises reported that the Hospital was dreary, low, melancholy, and not well aired; and in 1804 the condition of the building was so dangerous that it was resolved to admit no more patients except those already petitioned for.† As the Asylum had been built upon the ancient ditch of the city, a large portion of the foundation was insecure. Serious settlements had taken place, and rendered it necessary to underpin the walls.‡ When one looks at the palatial building represented in the plate, one feels some surprise to find it described as so low and dreary; but doubtless it was quite time to erect another asylum, and seek a better and more open site.

I do not propose to enter upon the revelations made of the internal condition of Bethlem Hospital by the investigations of the Committee of the House of Commons in 1815;§ some of you are familiar with the prints exhibited at this Committee, of poor Norris who was secured by chains as there represented, consisting of (1) a collar, encircling the neck, and confined by a chain to a pole fixed at the head of the

* Malcolm, in his "Londinum Redivivum," 1803 (Vol. i., 351), says, "The back part of the hospital, next London Wall, is too near the street. I have been much shocked at the screams and extravagances of the sufferers when passing there. This circumstance is to be deplored, but cannot now be remedied."

† Proceedings of the Committee and Reports from Surveyors respecting the state of Bethlem Hospital in 1800 and 1804. London, 1805.

‡ Charity Commissioners' Report, 1837.

§ Bethlem expended £606 in 1814 and 1816 in opposing the Madhouse Regulation Bill.

patient's bed; (2) an iron frame, the lower part of which encircled the body, and the upper part of which passed over the shoulders, having on either side apertures for the arms, which encircled them above the elbow; (3) a chain passing from the ankle of the patient to the foot of the bed.

Time will not allow of my detailing the medical treatment pursued at this time at Bethlem, but I may just give the pith of it, as expressed in one sentence by Dr. Monro in his evidence before the Committee. He had been Visiting Physician since 1783. "Patients," he says, "are ordered to be bled about the latter end of May, according to the weather; and after they have been bled, they take vomits, once a week for a certain number of weeks; after that we purge the patients. That has been the practice invariably for years long before my time; it was handed down to me by my father, and I do not know any better practice." If in all this we are disposed to blame Bethlem, let us still more condemn the lamentable ignorance and miserable medical red-tapism which marked the practice of lunacy in former times.

I may here remark that, prior to the Monros, Dr. Thomas Allen was, in 1679, Visiting Physician to Bethlem, and that, as I have observed already, Helkins Crooke (1632) was the first medical man who is known to have been at the head of this hospital. Dr. Tyson was physician from 1684 to 1703. Mr. Haslam was appointed resident apothecary in 1795, and in 1815 gave evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons. At that time he said there were 122 patients; "not half the number," he stated, "which we used to have." For these there were three male and two female keepers: the former assisting the latter when the female patients were refractory. Ten patients he said were at that moment in chains, and we may be sure that the number was much larger before public feeling had been aroused to demand investigation. "The ultimatum of our restraint," said Mr. Haslam, "is manacles, and a chain round the leg, or being chained by one arm; the strait waistcoat for the best of reasons is never employed by us." Mr. Haslam, when asked whether a violent patient could be safely trusted when his fist and wrists were chained, replied, "Then he would be an innoxious animal." Patients, however, were frequently chained to the wall in addition to being manacled.

We now arrive at the close of the second act in the drama of the Royal Hospital of Bethlehem. The scene of Act the Third is laid in St. George's Fields, after a site at Islington

was fixed upon, but soon relinquished. The area of land covered about twelve acres. Provision was to be made for two hundred patients. In 1810 an Act of Parliament was obtained (50 Geo. III., c. 198), by which the City was authorised to grant the property to trustees for the governors of the hospital, for the purpose of erecting a new one on an enlarged scale—on lease for 865 years, at a yearly rent of 1s. The Corporation entered upon the spot occupied by the old hospital in Moorfields. The first stone was laid in April, 1812, and it was opened August, 1815, consisting of a centre and two wings, the frontage extending 594 feet. "The former has a portico, raised on a flight of steps, and composed of six columns of the Ionic order, surmounted by their entablature, and a pediment in the tympanum on which is a relief of the Royal arms. The height to apex is 60 feet." The funds were derived from the following sources :—

	£	s.	d.
Grant from Parliament	72,819	0	6
Benefactions from Public Bodies	5,405	0	0
Private Individuals	5,709	0	0
Amount of Interest upon Balances in hand	14,873	4	8
Contributed from funds of Hospital	23,766	2	3
	£122,572	7	5

Additional buildings were erected in 1838, the new stone being laid July 26th of that year, when a public breakfast was given at a cost of £464; and a narrative of the event at a cost of £140; a generous outlay of charitable funds.

Of the site of the third Bethlem Hospital a few words will suffice. The notorious tavern called "The Dog and Duck" was here, and there is still to be seen in the wall to the right of the entrance to the hospital a representation in stone of the dog, with the neck of a duck in its mouth. It bears the date of 1716. In Mr. Timbs' "London" it is mis-stated 1617. Doubtless in olden time there was a pond here, and a duck hunt was a common sport, and brought in much custom to the inn. After the "Dog and Duck," this site was occupied by a blind school, pulled down in 1811.

Shakespeare makes the Duke of York say in Hen. VI. :—

> Soldiers, I thank you all; disperse yourselves;
> Meet me to-morrow in St. George's Fields.
>
> 2 *Hen.* VI., *Act.* v., *Sc.* 1

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The only other reference in Shakespeare to this locality indicates that in his time there was a Windmill Inn in St. George's Fields, for he makes Shallow say to Falstaff:—

> O, Sir John, do you remember since we lay all night in the Windmill, in Saint George's Fields?
>
> 2 *Hen.* IV., *Act* iii., *Sc.* 2.

The subsequent history of Bethlem Royal Hospital; the considerable improvements which succeeded the investigation; the enquiry and admirable Report of the Charity Commissioners in 1837, from which it appears that at that time some of the patients were still chained, and that the funds of Bethlem had been to no slight extent appropriated to personal uses; its exemption from the official visitation of asylums required by the Act of Parliament passed in 1845 (8 and 9 Vict., c. 100); the unsatisfactory condition of the institution as revealed by the investigations made in 1851 (June 28 to December 4); the placing of the hospital in 1853 in the same position as regards inspection as other institutions for the insane (16 and 17 Vict. c. 96); the sweeping away of the old *régime*, and the introduction of a new order of things; the great lesson to be learned from this history being, as I think, the necessity of having lunatic asylums open to periodical visitation; and last, but not least, the establishment of a Convalescent Hospital at Witley within the last few years;—these important events I must content myself with merely enumerating, but I cannot close without expressing the satisfaction with which we must regard the present management of the hospital, all the more striking when we recall some of the past pages of its history; nor can I avoid congratulating the Resident Physician and the other officers of the institution upon this result.

I am much indebted to Mr. Gardiner, of St. John's Wood, and to Mr. Crase, of Dulwich, for permission to examine their splendid collections of prints and maps of London. My best thanks are also due to Mr. Coote, of the Map Department of the British Museum, and to Mr. Overall, of the Guildhall Library, for their valuable assistance.