



University of  
Chester

**To what extent did the Royal Albert Asylum  
portray societal notions of ‘idiots’ and  
‘imbeciles’ within the Victorian era?**

HI6100 - History Dissertation 2016/2017 Liam  
Barnard J00378 Supervisor - Dr. Clare Hickman



# **Contents**

**Acknowledgements**

**Introduction**

**Chapter One - The Locus of Care for Idiots an Imbeciles**

**Chapter Two - ‘Comfort the Feeble-Minded’: Case Study of The Royal Albert Asylum**

**Chapter Three - Stigmata of Degeneration**

**Conclusion - Legacy of the Royal Albert Asylum**

**Bibliography**

## Acknowledgements

This dissertation has been a labour of willpower and coffee-induced stress. There are many people with whom I dedicate this work to, for helping me along the way, and ensuring that I stay on course. My first thanks had to go to my Supervisor, Clare Hickman, as without her guidance, this work would not have reached its full potential. An additional thanks must also go to my wonderful girlfriend, Lucy, as without her support throughout this process I would have felt powerless and unmotivated; thank you for always steering me in the right direction! Lastly, of course, my undivided thanks has to go to my family for their support, especially Niamh, which without, this dissertation would hold no meaning.

## Introduction

This thesis will concentrate on societal notions and ideas surrounding idiocy within the Victorian era, using the Royal Albert Asylum as a case study to ascertain how ideas transformed, and the consequence this had on societal underpinnings. The notions of idiocy will be primarily from a medical standpoint, relying heavily on medical notes from voluntary asylums, alongside paramount medical discourse focused on the importance of pedagogical and treatment techniques regarding idiocy. As such, a variety of topics will be evaluated to come to a coherent understanding of Victorian thinking, primarily focusing on the societal shift from optimistic philanthropy to the Eugenic movement, which occurred from the mid-nineteenth century to the turn of the twentieth century. Using specific case studies from the Royal Albert, which generally portrayed an optimistic viewpoint, comparisons will be made between the philosophies regarding the treatment and education of idiocy.

In terms of historiography regarding idiocy, it becomes wholly apparent that, as an area of history, this subject has been significantly neglected by scholars. Anne Digby asserts that 'historically, the social marginality of people with learning disabilities has been mirrored by their academic marginality.'<sup>1</sup> Within the history of psychiatry there has been a plethora of research devoted to subjects, such as asylums in general and the causes of madness.- However, the study of idiocy has paled in comparison. C.F. Goody reiterates this by stating that 'social constructions of madness are common currency among... historians of psychiatry,'<sup>2</sup> whereas 'the history of idiocy has scarcely been written.'<sup>3</sup>

This is demonstrated through the works and research conducted by the main figureheads of the history of psychiatry – Roy Porter and Andrew Scull.- Although both place a heavy focus on institutional care within asylums and society's perceptions of patients, idiocy, on the other hand, is scarcely considered. For instance, in his influential study of asylums in Britain and how treatment and confinement developed for those deemed insane, Scull merely mentions idiocy in passing; instead, choosing to marginalise such a vast proportion of the asylum populace.-

Nevertheless, this is not to state that idiocy has altogether been neglected by scholars. On the contrary, Porter even acknowledges that more could be done regarding research into idiocy. Porter states that 'Madness continues to exercise its magic, but mindlessness holds no mystique.'- Thus, demonstrating that there has been less academic interest in idiocy as it seems as though, certainly within the discipline, that madness and asylums have taken the forefront of research.

Moreover, scholars have attempted to understand as to why subjects, such as idiocy, and even disability in history, have been marginalized. One main reason is that historically, contemporaries have portrayed idiocy in terms of lunacy, due to such distinctions at the time. Thus making it difficult to truly understand the portrayal of idiocy historically. For instance, the Lunacy Acts did not distinguish between lunacy and idiocy, highlighted by the fact that the Report of the Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy in 1844 documented both imbeciles and idiots as two of its nine categories.- Both Anne Digby and David Wright assert that it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that categories of idiocy and imbecility were progressively distinguished from lunacy –

emphasised with the legislature of the Lunacy Acts and the passing of the Idiots Act in 1886.-

Nevertheless, it has become apparent that steps have been taken within historiography to reduce the marginalisation of idiocy, and care has been taken to ensure that the history is not extinguished. David Wright asserts that the two-principal works dedicated to the study of idiocy were Leo Kanner's *A History of the Care and Treatment of the Mentally Retarded* in 1964, and Richard Scheerenberger's *A History of Mental Retardation* in 1984.- Moreover, a nuanced study into both European and American alienists, particularly their theories and concepts of idiocy, has been developed by German Berrios.- Such works have noted how alienists have differed in their views and established how idiocy became to be understood as a 'defect of intellectual function different from insanity or dementia,' and focused on the reasoning and decisions behind classifications of idiocy that was developed within the nineteenth century.- Such distinctions are paramount as it aids understanding regarding public perceptions and ideologies of idiocy within history.

Stef Eastoe, in her 2016 PhD thesis, claims that 'many groups were denied access to the limited resource of the over-stretched and under-financed mixed economy of welfare,' concluding that these exclusions were primarily due to both administrative and financial factors.- Additionally, Eastoe claims that by portraying idiocy and imbecility as having a 'lower social capital' only serves to perpetuate the negative narrative that revolves around such subjects; and thus, produces a devalued depiction of society's

views and perceptions within the nineteenth century.-

## **Chapter One – The Locus of Care for Idiots and Imbeciles**

Throughout the nineteenth century, the French physician, Dr. Édouard Seguin – regarded as one of the most respected minds at the time in relation to the training of idiots – sought to further develop ideas surrounding idiocy.- Seguin began his career at the Hospital for Incurables in Paris in 1841, and ended up developing his beliefs at the Bicetre Hospital, under the guide of Phillippe Pinel.- Pinel was most famously known for his involvement in the development of the revolutionary method of treatment, called ‘moral treatment,’ whereby the insane patients were intended to be treated humanely.- Clare Hickman asserts that moral treatment can be described as ‘a mild regimen centred around the placement of the patient in a carefully designed environment, and one that tried to minimise the use of physical forms of restraint.’- This treatment was also followed closely by some practitioners most notably involved with the Quaker movement in England throughout the nineteenth century; the York Retreat being the main proponent of such methods.-

Within France during the early nineteenth century, alienists purported differing ideas of idiocy, paying close attention to the subject of education.- Seguin developed the thinking that idiocy could be treated successfully, which polarised already established philosophies.- For instance, Itard and Pinel adopted the notion that idiocy was both incurable and untreatable, with Seguin stating that ‘Itard never so much as hinted at the possibility of systematising his views for the treatment of idiots at large, nor at

organising schools for the same purpose.’ - However, Jean Esquirol purported that ‘idiots had their special place in an asylum,’ and thus called for ‘the establishment of spaces exclusively devoted to the treatment of the mentally afflicted.’ - Consequently, this demonstrates polarising opinions surrounding the provision for idiots and imbeciles which was occurring across Europe, and therefore indicates that Seguin’s groundbreaking thinking and ideologies projected relatively forward-thinking philosophies, and signified that revolutionary notions were being adopted.

Seguin regarded moral treatment to be ‘the systematic action of a will upon another, in view of its improvement; in view for an idiot, of his socialisation.’ - As such, not only was the idiot’s treatment paramount, Seguin also believed that the patients could be assimilated back into society.- For Seguin, then, it became apparent that not only was moral treatment significant when it came to idiocy, educating the patient was equally important.- For instance, Seguin claimed that ‘idiots do not seem to possess that natural curiosity – mother of the beautiful and of all progress – but the teacher can excite it in him.’ - Moreover, Seguin proposed the theory that certain behaviour of idiots was not particularly the ‘natural’ outcome of idiocy, the result of a fundamental flaw – a defect between the will of the individual and the nervous system; thus idiots were viewed as being in a perpetual state of loneliness due to this state of mind.-

Moral treatment unequivocally focused on treating the patient with kindness and understanding, and ensured to create a humane environment in which the patient would appropriately receive care and attention.- Hence, moral treatment aimed to aid the

individual and allow them to enter into the 'sphere of activity, of thinking, of labor, of duty and of affectionate feeling.'- Moral treatment began to become integrated into the treatment within institutions as notions of how patients should either be treated or educated changed – this was emphasised through its adoption amongst several asylums, such as the York Retreat and Ticehurst Asylum.- Therefore, once the treatment and education of idiocy became an integral subject worth considering, Seguin's ideas surrounding the treatment and education of idiocy, and the successfulness of asylums purporting the use of moral treatment, these notions became the springboard for other institutions to follow suit, such as the Royal Albert Asylum.

As such, France was integral to the changing attitudes towards idiocy, certainly when regarding the individual's treatment and educational benefits.- With Sequin demonstrating that moral treatment could be beneficial and purporting differing ideas surrounding idiocy from popular medical perceptions of the time – regarding idiocy to be both treatable and curable, for example – Europe began to adopt such viewpoints; most notably in the mid-nineteenth century.- For instance, after seeing the success at the Bicetre in Paris, and inspired by Seguin's beliefs concerning idiocy, Johann Jacob Guggenbuhl, a Swiss medical student, primarily focused on the causes of 'cretinism,' sought to understand and manage such conditions.-

Alienists defined cretinism as a condition caused by a thyroid deficiency, resulting in either mental or physical defects.- Within Switzerland during the 1830s, cretinism was seen as an endemic, particularly in the Swiss valleys. Guggenbuhl claimed that institutional care was paramount, whereby individuals could be educated and cared for,

and believed that high altitudes benefited the individuals.- Therefore, Guggenbuhl pursued to establish his own institution in Switzerland. Thus, subsequently, in 1840, the Adenberg Institution was established. Interestingly, Guggenbuhl fervently petitioned for the institution to be built on the side of the Adenberg Mountain; this was due to the miasmatic belief that the bad air of the Swiss swamps was a primary cause of the high rate of cretinism in Switzerland.- Therefore, such developments within Europe witnessed a surge of interest in the subject of idiocy, and the individuals afflicted began to be considered – be that morally, educationally and socially. Leo Kanner purports that the Adenberg was praised throughout Europe for its major reformatory measures regarding the care and education of idiots; even going as far to state that ‘the hundreds of institutions now in existence derive in direct line from the Adenberg.’- Such a statement seems to hold considerable weight, as many of the techniques being practiced in the institutions were transparent in several asylums in Europe.

For instance, Europe began to adopt the belief that the landscape was a prevalent factor when caring for individuals. In 1841, Samuel Tuke stated that ‘the cultivation and extension of the remaining healthy feelings and associations forms one of the most important parts of moral management.’- Moreover, W.A.F Browne asserted that his idealistic asylum would be one placed upon a high altitude, whereby the patients could obtain several therapeutic advantages.- However, although both Tuke and Browne were referring to the care of lunatic patients, Seguin and Guggenbuhl purported very much the same ideals and philosophies. Therefore, highlighting that within the 1840s, a consensus, particularly across Europe, began to emerge regarding the

institutionalisation of idiocy. Furthermore, these notions also transcended into the establishment of voluntary asylums within the mid-nineteenth century. For instance, Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, heavily influenced by European notions – especially regarding landscapes for asylums – highlighted the importance of ‘the removal of a sufferer to a pure, breezy, and invigorating air,’ whilst also stating that an elevated site would be most beneficial. Hence, highlighting the immense influence Europe had regarding institutional techniques and concepts in Britain.

Throughout the mid-nineteenth century, there was not a clear distinction between the states of idiocy and lunacy. In 1844, the Report of the Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy, regarded congenital idiots and congenital imbeciles to be classed as two categories of lunacy.- As such, idiocy was considered under the Lunacy Acts, whereby a lack of understanding of particular needs and care led to them occupying various institutions; these were primarily either the workhouses, prisons or lunatic asylums. Anne Digby asserts that principal factors leading to individuals being placed in such institutions were financial, as well as ‘social, educational or medical suitability.’- Serena Trowbridge reiterates this notion by stating that lunatics were either classed as chronic or acute. Chronic lunatics were individuals deemed to be incurable and in need of constant specialist care, such as those deemed idiots, the old and infirm.- Trowbridge claims that the workhouses were seen as a cheaper and effective alternative when compared to new public asylums.- Gwendoline Ayers states that by 1859, in Britain there were considered to be around 36,000 lunatics in all forms of care in Britain – 7,000 occupied workhouses.- Notwithstanding, it is impossible to distinguish how many

of these individuals suffered from idiocy, thus highlighting that by the mid-nineteenth century, certain distinctions between mental disorders and how to accommodate idiots and imbeciles was neglected.

Nevertheless, this is not to convey that the issue of individuals with idiocy not being adequately accommodated was not considered by contemporary philanthropists. David Wright asserts that a multitude of observers were appalled at the current situation, such as idiot children being placed with possibly violent adult lunatics, and sought to amend the current climate, whereby idiots and imbeciles could be cared and treated humanely.- For instance, William Twining visited the Adenberg institution in 1843, and subsequently addressed his findings to the British Association for the Advancement of Science Annual Conference. Twining enthusiastically and empathetically discussed Guggenbuhl's methods and emphasized the successfulness of the institution. Moreover, Twining published a pamphlet entitled *Some Accounts of Cretinism, and the Institution for Its Cure, on the Adenberg, Near Interlachen, in Switzerland*, which was dispersed throughout Britain.- Twining hailed Europe's methods of treating idiocy and attempted to garner support for institutions, similar to these be established in Britain.

Additionally, Dr Edward Denis de Vitre published his pamphlet *Observations On The Necessity Of An Extended Legislative Protection To Persons Of Unsound Mind* advocating for separate accommodation and specialised care for idiocy.- Thus, DeVitre's efforts reiterated that there was a minute faction within British society that were fervently focused on this philanthropic endeavour. Such enthusiasm paralleled

John Conolly's visit to the Bicetre in Paris, in 1845, whereby Conolly highly praised the educational facilities for idiots and remarked that 'nothing more extraordinary can well be imagined.'- Moreover, Samuel Gaskell, Medical Superintendent to Lancaster Asylum, also visited the Bicetre to understand how moral treatment was cultivated and how individuals were cared for; particularly focussing on Seguin's philosophies. As such, Gaskell published three separate articles in the *Chambers Edinburgh Journal*, demonstrating his positive findings.- Consequently, Gaskell attempted to replicate these notions by establishing an idiot ward within Lancaster Asylum, with the assistance of Dr. De Vitre, who had previously portrayed his interest regarding the subject.- Therefore, it is apparent that there was a small faction within British society that was fervently focused on this philanthropic endeavour.

Patrick McDonagh claims that the substantial influence of such reports being circulated throughout Britain led to almost immediate change regarding institutional care.- For instance, heavily influenced by such reports, Charlotte White established the Bath Institution in 1846, which was modelled on European methodologies.- Furthermore, in 1847, the National Idiot Asylum was established by Andrew Reed – an already prominent philanthropic figure regarding orphanages and asylums – also demonstrating European beliefs.- Subsequently, a debate began to emerge regarding the appropriate locus of care for idiocy, particularly regarding individuals already inhabiting workhouses and lunatic asylums.- Benevolent undertakings, such as the Bath Institution, highlighted new, humane environments, whereby individuals could receive specialised care and treatment – away from current environments that were arguably not benefiting the

individuals – and only aided pertinent arguments surrounding workhouses being overcrowded and how the state should delegate care and attention.

Nonetheless, a variety of these philanthropists had a mutual overarching connection - they were integrally involved in the Nonconformist Movement. These were primarily Protestants who regarded themselves to be disassociated from the church recognised by the state.- Patrick McDonagh asserts that 'the role of Nonconformist Christians in the asylum movement is... striking.'- For instance, several individuals that had visited France, such as Samuel Gaskell and William Twining, were connected to the movement; which heavily influenced ideas surrounding Britain's involvement in caring and educating idiots and imbeciles.-

Although the 1834 Poor Law Reform Act attempted to replace the 'old' poor law system, such as unregulated outdoor relief, with the establishment of workhouses throughout England and Wales, by the mid-nineteenth century it became apparent that these institutions had instead developed into makeshift infirmaries and asylums.-

Subsequently, by the 1850s the 633 active workhouses were witnessing a saturation crisis that needed to be drastically remedied. For instance, within London over 70 per cent of the 27,000 inmates were classed as either sick, old or infirm; including 10 per cent of these being classed as either idiots or imbeciles.- As a response to these paramount arguments, the Commissioners in Lunacy, created under the 1845 Lunacy Act, attempted to investigate the care, administration and management of the insane; particularly focusing on conditions in workhouses and lunatic asylums-. As the principal

regulatory body for these points of inquiry, Stef E contends that their investigations 'provide an invaluable insight into how the conditions were understood by lay professionals,' and further highlighted management and administration of idiots and imbeciles.- However, the fact that numerous Nonconformists were so active in the early asylum movement was no coincidence. For example, the Tuke family - coming from a staunch Quaker background - elicited the use of moral treatment, and appeared to be main figureheads within the moral therapy movement.- moreover, many philanthropists were also interconnected via their professional partnerships. An example of this is that when Edward de Vitre was eliciting support for the erection of the Royal Albert in Lancaster, he requested the assistance of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth; due to his connections and political presence.- Both individuals had attended the University of Edinburgh and had graduated within the same year, therefore it can be constructed that they were both personal and professional associates.-

The Nonconformist movement had a continually vast impact on the asylum movement, with critical philanthropists, such as Andrew Reed, propelling the movement. The role of nonconformity signified a nuanced attempt to perpetuate a fully ecumenical idiot asylum movement. As Owen states, 'there can be no doubt that charity held a place of some importance in the Victorian world.'- Due to this, it is justifiable why Nonconformist Christians adopted such notions when appealing to lay audiences. For instance, when addressing at a public meeting held for financial aid to Earlswood Asylum, John Conolly stated: 'It is for the poor, poor idiot we plead - for the idiot, the lowest of all the objects of Christian sympathy, - for the idiot, the most needing charity, and for whom charity has

done nothing.’-

Nonconformists began to reconstruct the basic understanding of idiocy, and greatly emphasised the role of ‘innocence’ and the profound effect the had on individuals. This was a continuation of ideas purported throughout the eighteenth century, when Parish Officials predominantly cared for idiots.- Nevertheless, such imagery spawned numerous pamphlets and propaganda pieces disseminated throughout Britain, specifically for the purpose to gather support for the cause.

The 1834 Poor Law Reform Act attempted to replace the ‘old’ poor law system, such as unregulated outdoor relief, with the establishment of workhouses throughout England and Wales. By the mid-nineteenth century, it became apparent that these institutions had instead developed into makeshift infirmaries and asylums.- Subsequently, by the 1850s, the 633 active workhouses were witnessing a saturation crisis that needed to be drastically remedied. For instance, within London over 70 per cent of the 27,000 inmates were classed as either sick, old or infirm; including 10 per cent of these being classed as either idiots or imbeciles.- As a response to these paramount arguments, the Commissioners in Lunacy - created under the 1845 Lunacy Act - attempted to investigate the care, administration and management of the insane; particularly focussing on conditions in workhouses and lunatic asylums.- As the principal regulatory body for these points of inquiry, Stef Eastoe contends that their investigations ‘provide an invaluable insight into how the conditions were understood by lay professionals,’ and further highlighted management and administration if idiots and imbeciles.-

Therefore, in 1859, the Commissioners in Lunacy published a report which focused on the issue of workhouse inmates, with particular focus on idiots and imbeciles.- The report appeared as an appendix to the Commissioners in Lunacy twelfth annual report, and raised the subject of suitable accommodation for those deemed the 'incurable insane;' thus living conditions and how they were cared for were foremost points of interest. The report purported that conditions were particularly appalling – main issues raised being overcrowding, unsanitary conditions and unsatisfactory medical care. Thus the report concluded that to allow individuals to stay in such institutions would allow them to 'sink into further degenerate bodily and mental states.'

Hence, the report brought attention to the fact that the workhouse was seen one of the worst institutions for idiots and imbeciles to reside in, as it did not provide the necessities for them to live a 'fulfilled life', such as securing work and managing their own affairs. Consequently, the Lunacy Commissioners advocated for: 'The erection of inexpensive buildings adopted for the idiotic, chronic and harmless patients, in direct connexion with, or at a convenient distance from, the existing institutions. These auxiliary asylums... would be intermediate between union workhouses and the principal curative asylums.'

Moreover, *The Lancet* was also integrally involved in the workhouse reform movement and further reinforced the view that appalling living conditions and inadequate sanitary conditions needed to be addressed. *The Lancet Sanitary Commission for Investigating*

*the State of the Infirmaries of Workhouses* published in 1866, further highlighted these issues and focused on particular workhouses that required immediate attention.- For instance, the report stated that individuals were: 'Moping about in herds, without occupation whatever; neither classified nor amused, nor employed; congregated in a miserable day-room, where they sit and stare at each other or at bare walls ... they pass a life uncheered.'

Therefore, by the mid-nineteenth century, particular philanthropists and governing bodies focused on the treatment and care of idiots and imbeciles had coherently demonstrated that the care and treatment of idiots and imbeciles was a subject that needed to be fervently addressed to solve problems, including unsanitary living conditions and unsatisfactory medical attention. A surge of interest developed focused on how to adequately accommodate and treat idiots and imbeciles, with ideologies transcending from Europe, such as Seguin's studies of idiocy at the Bicetre in Paris and Guggenbuhl's focus on cretinism in Switzerland. Subsequently, financial and administrative issues surrounding asylums and workhouses, highlighted by *The Lancet* and the Lunacy Commissioners, gave the impetus of establishing separate institutions for the sole purpose of educating and caring for idiots and imbeciles.

## **Chapter 2 - 'Comfort the Feeble-Minded': Case Study of The Royal Albert Asylum**

*God help the Imbecile! More dark their lot  
Than dumb, or deaf, the cripple, or the blind;*

*The closed soul vision theirs; the blighted mind;  
Babes through full grown; the page of life a blot.*

*Yet say, shall their affliction be abhorred?  
Their need o'er looked? Shall charity pass by?  
Leave them to perish with averted eyes?  
Forbid the love that burns to save her Lord!*

The charitable efforts of the Bath Institution and of Andrew Reed and John Connolly, with the establishment of the National Idiot Asylum, throughout the 1840s, placed emphasis on the care and treatment of idiots and imbeciles. In addition, it demonstrated that a movement was beginning to emerge – a philanthropic endeavour to appropriately care and educate the ‘poor idiot.’ These charitable and voluntary institutions dedicated to the cause of idiots and imbeciles led to an impetus of nationwide expansion of voluntary institutions being built, primarily focusing on treatment and education.- David Gladstone asserts that the National Idiot Asylum, later renamed the Royal Earlswood Asylum, significantly influenced the other institutions, and thus the initial establishments were modelled on techniques implemented at Earlswood.- Nevertheless, such ideas were already being successfully implemented throughout Europe, such as at the Bicetre in France by Seguin. John Connolly’s excursions to such establishments throughout Europe, highly influenced his ideas surrounding the education and treatment of idiocy, and methods implemented at Earlswood demonstrated this.

Throughout the 1860s and 1870s institutions were established, following on from the legacy of Earlswood. These were as follows: Royal Eastern Counties Asylum in 1859; Western Counties Asylum in 1864; Midlands Counties Asylum in 1868, and the Northern Counties Asylum (Royal Albert Asylum) in 1870.- Although it can be suggested that these institutions were a continuation of the 'vision' that Reed and Connolly proposed within the 1840s, it can also be argued that these were a continuation of European ideology. This further reiterates the impact Europe had on British methodology and philanthropic overtures – whilst also highlighting the shifting perceptions and ideas revolving around idiocy within Britain. Steven Taylor states that although these voluntary institutions provided sufficient opportunities to improve the provision of idiots and imbeciles, these asylums were only available to a minute section of the population who could potentially benefit.- As such, by 1881, only 3 per cent of an estimated 29,542 idiots and imbeciles occupied these institutions; thus, such establishments represented 'a small but significant niche.'

Nevertheless, philanthropic and charitable efforts were not confined to voluntary idiot asylums. For instance, agreeing with the Lunacy Commissioners proposal for 'auxiliary asylums', Gathorne Hardy, President of the Poor Law Board, reiterated their importance.- These establishments would accommodate the 'harmless chronics' occupying the already overcrowded workhouses and lunatic asylums, and sought to diminish administrative and managerial issues. Hardy also purported that a new body – the Metropolitan Asylum Board – should govern these asylums.- The Metropolitan Poor Act in 1867 granted the MAB responsibility for a plethora of institutions dedicated to a

variety of issues; including the accommodation of idiots and imbeciles. The MAB oversaw the management and functioning of two principal institutions – Caterham and Leavesden – which were intended to provide suitable accommodation for idiots and imbeciles. These asylums were to be state funded; constituting a stark contrast to the already emerging voluntary institutions that relied solely on charitable donations and public provision. Moreover, another marked difference was that although such asylums focused on the ‘notion of restoration and cure,’ the voluntary asylums were primarily educational facilities.- Instead, they were dedicated to industrial training and remedial care.- Subsequently, changing landscapes regarding idiocy highlighted that perceptions had shifted, whilst also further reiterating that there were divergent ideas on accommodating and educating idiots and imbeciles.

Therefore, this chapter will primarily focus on the establishment of the Royal Albert Asylum, centring on methods and techniques implemented throughout the asylum, such as industrial training and emphasis on rehabilitation into the community. As such, the concentration on the Royal Albert Asylum will demonstrate a coherent depiction of how idiots and imbeciles were both cared for and educated, particularly within the Northern Counties of England.

The Royal Albert Asylum was conceived by two influential local Lancastrians who expressed a desire to establish an institution focusing on the provision on idiots and imbeciles within the northern counties.- These were James Brunton, a Quaker businessman and Dr. Edward Denis de Vitre, the visiting physician to Lancaster County

Lunatic Asylum, and twice mayor of Lancaster.- Indebted to this philanthropic venture, Brunton, a devoted member of the Society of Friends, donated £2,000 to the cause and looked to de Vitre for assistance.- As such, de Vitre established a provisional committee of ten gentlemen; including Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth.- De Vitre had always seemed interested in the provision for idiots and imbeciles, showcased within his pamphlet *'Observations On The Necessity Of An Extended Legislative Protection To Persons Of Unsound Mind'*; as well as the aforementioned assistance he bestowed to Samuel Gaskell's 'idiot ward' in Lancaster Asylum.- Throughout the Royal Albert's history, it is interesting to note that a variety of substantial individuals had been on the Committee. Granted Royal Patronage by Queen Victoria, who also donated 100 Guineas, supports the assertion that the Asylum was, to some extent, supported by the upper echelons of society.- This is reiterated by the fact that individuals such as, Sir Titus Salt, William Forester - advocate of the 1870 Education Act - and, Sir John Hibbert also supported it.- Hence, it is plausible to state that, certainly within its prime, the Royal Albert received the support to ensure philosophies of the Idiot Asylum Movement were enacted.

Hence, in 1864, at a meeting focused on plans to establish the purpose-built institution for the treatment and education of idiots and imbeciles, de Vitre, who chaired the meeting, argued that pertinent factors diminishing the lives of idiots and imbeciles needed to be addressed, and thus proposed that such an institution should be established in Lancaster.- This institution would be neither a workhouse nor a lunatic asylum, and would justly address the issues of overcrowding and unsanitary conditions, whilst also ensuring that idiots and imbeciles were offered a suitable environment to

prosper.-

Therefore, to ensure that a suitable environment was provided, the Committee enlisted the assistance of the prevalent firm of Sharpe and Paley, with Edward Graham Paley becoming the chief architect. Despite Paley being a prominent architect within Lancaster who primarily focused on ecclesiastical buildings, such as St. Peter's Church, which would later become Lancaster Cathedral, Paley agreed to design the asylum.- Nevertheless, as Paley was not well-versed with secular architectural design, he enlisted the assistance of Hubert Austin, who would later become his business partner. For instance, in a letter to Austin, Paley visibly highlights his frustrations and concerns, exclaiming: 'I have done nothing at the Asylum & and the Committee are beginning to ask for plans.'- As such, Paley initially planned to model the asylum off the designs of W.B Moffatt's Earlswood Asylum.- However, as the design of Earlswood is that of a Jacobean style, and Paley's architectural style being predominantly Gothic, the finished design was heavily influenced by his previous architectural work, and thus the Asylum reflected key similarities.

As such, the plans were submitted in May 1866, with the ceremony of laying of the foundation stone taking place on 17<sup>th</sup> June 1868.- This procession was viewed as a significant historical occasion for the inhabitants of Lancaster – witnessing between 8000 and 9000 spectators – mainly from key Northern counties for which patients would be admitted.- The foundation stone was laid by the Earl of Zetland, whom used the mallet which was used to lay the foundation stone of St. Paul's Cathedral by King

Charles II in 1673.- Therefore, such an occasion drew much attention to Lancaster and the cause of the provision of idiots and imbeciles, which, in turn, provided the Asylum much needed publicity, whilst also garnering significant public sympathy. Built on Christian ideology and values, the Asylum proceeded to reflect that in the 'grandeur of its design,' which also gained support and financial aid – a key principle of the Central Committee – ensuring that the Royal Albert could sustain itself and, thus provide adequate provision.- Michael Barrett states that the Asylum was intended to be 'a source of pride not shame.'- This sense of grandeur is embodied with the addition of the central tower in 1873, commissioned by the Central Committee, with Sir Titus Salt, a fellow nonconformist, donating £5,000 to the cause-. The tower personified Christian values, which the Asylum portrayed in its treatment and education, providing a sense of importance and opulence. Thus, Barrett argues: 'this establishment was meant to be seen and admired.'-

Moreover, the Central Committee made a conscious effort to integrate the Asylum into the community. For instance, twice a week, the public were permitted to visit to understand how it functioned and how patients benefited.- Similarly, the Royal Albert also welcomed influential individuals integral to the medical research surrounding idiocy. In 1873, Seguin visited the institution to witness how his philosophies and ideologies were being implemented. The response was optimistic, with Seguin expressing 'the great pleasure his visit had afforded him and approved most cordially the provision made here for the education of the imbecile.'- Additionally, this trend continued with a visit from J. A. Lippestad, Superintendent of a private establishment in Norway,

commissioned by the government to visit Asylums dedicated to the pedagogy and care of idiots and imbeciles. As such, Lippestad was especially positive regarding the Royal Albert, professing: 'The Royal Albert Asylum, in every way, is the most beautiful and one of the best managed I have ever saw. I am highly delighted with the lovely care they take of the children in this Asylum, and I am very thankful for the many instructions I have received from the teachers and especially from the excellent Medical Superintendent, Dr. Shuttleworth.'

Furthermore, the Royal Albert was also visited by affluent individuals, who procured an interest into how idiocy was considered within Britain. In the Central Committee Report of September of 1871, it was noted that Pedro II and his wife, the Emperor and Empress of Brazil, had paid the Asylum a visit.- The Report demonstrated that they had shown their approval and confidence in the workings of the Asylum, in which referenced 'the cheerfulness of the inmates, and their surprise at the progress the children were making.'- Additionally, their entry into the Visitors Book expressed their approval by stating: 'It is a charitable and superb establishment, which God will bless.'

The notion of Christian charity, and its profound importance within the idiot asylum movement was paramount – leading to one anonymous contemporary to assert that idiocy had for: *'Too long [been a] neglected branch of Christian love and charity... gradually extending itself in the hearts and sympathies of the benevolent British public.'*

Subsequently, the Royal Albert, unequivocally endorsed Christian charity to procure both financial aid and public sympathy. Rev. Andrew Reed had utilised similar

techniques to build support for Earlswood Asylum, which had garnered mass support. These successes demonstrated public sympathies to the cause of idiots and imbeciles, thus the Royal Albert harnessed parallel methods. Pamphlets were published, such as Dora Greenwell's 'On the Education of the Imbecile,' with all the proceeds going to the Asylum.- Greenwell focused on the subject of Christian charity, stating that the need for voluntary asylums was vital as idiots and imbeciles 'were not free to fulfil their God-given potential, going on to state that 'there is no sight that out world so full of sorrowful ones, can offer so deeply tragic as that of idiocy.'- The Royal Albert also elicited the assistance of prominent writers, such as Hesbra Stretton, who's works focused on the notion of philanthropy; particularly concentrating on Christian values. For example, in 1885 Stretton published "The Royal Albert Asylum: "One of God's Palaces" in *The Sunday Magazine* with the purpose to propose benefits of educating and caring for idiots and imbeciles.- Thus, whilst sticking to the Christian doctrine and emphatically eliciting the plight of idiocy, these pamphlets not only ascertained public support, it also highlighted that 'the promise is clear: the idiot, after a long exile, is being welcomed into the social and economic activities of the family and the nation.'

Due to the voluntary nature of the asylums, it heavily influenced negotiations regarded patient admission and who secured a place at the asylum.- To ensure that a patient secured an admission, a subscriber could sponsor them and places allocated depending on the amount donated to the asylum. For instance, at the Royal Albert, a five-guinea donation secured a vote for life, whereas half-a-guinea also secured a vote for life; however, this was only as long as the sponsor kept up the subscription.-

Moreover, it was also highly regular for the candidate's family to contribute towards costs of maintaining the asylum, with the money acquired through subscriptions financing the upkeep and running of the Royal Albert. Thus, this highlights how heavily dependent the Royal Albert was on public provision and subscriber contribution, as being a voluntary Christian establishment, not receiving state aid, sympathy and charity were foremost imperatives to the continuation of the Asylum. As the chart demonstrates, the number of patients correlated with the amount contributed, hence the Royal Albert critically evoked the importance of provision.

	Patients	Amount Contributed (£)
Lancashire	20	31,824
Yorkshire	12	15,731
Durham	5	1,915
Westmorland	4	2,306
Cumberland	3	975
Cheshire	3	982
Northumberland	3	703

Nevertheless, although admission to the Royal Albert revolved around subscriptions, Daniel Hack Tuke asserts that these voluntary asylums were 'mainly intended, not for the highest, nor yet for the very lowest class of society, but rather for the upper lower class and the lower middle class'.- Moreover, the Central Committee argued that patients who depended on poor law relief should be classed as ineligible. This was mainly for two principal factors - the committee worried about losing popular public sympathy and support, whilst also adopting the notion that it would be deemed unsuitable 'to relive the ratepayer at the expense of the benevolent public.'-

Additionally, the Committee also chose not to enlist cases deemed 'hopeless,' as they could not sufficiently benefit from training, such as those deemed epileptic.- In addition to this reasoning, another significant factor could be that the Committee feared being ostracised from society. For instance, Barrett asserts that the public judged each individual institution on its success in securing 'personal development' of the patient, enabling them to become valuable members of society. Therefore, Barrett argues that the Royal Albert would highlight substantial success stories to demonstrate 'institutional pride' whilst also sustaining public compassion.-

The most widely known success story at the Royal Albert Asylum is that of Diogenes. This patient was admitted at the age of twelve and had lived the majority of his life inside a tub (sugar hogshead), and thus suffered from severe leg deformities.- Hence, on arrival, Dr George Shuttleworth aptly nicknamed him Diogenes. This was also due to his sarcastic nature and frequent quips, which was reminiscent of the original Greek philosopher. In 1875, the *Manchester Examiner and Times* paid a visit to the Asylum, focusing on the industrial training shops and the impact it had on patient development.- As such, during the visit they came across Diogenes and directed most of the attention to this particular patient. The article notes that when Diogenes was admitted he: 'Kicked, and swore, and spat, and would not be pacified until his tub was restored to him. In the tub he sat with his deformed legs and toes coiled under him, observing what went on around him from a sort of bunghole.'

The Case Study of Diogenes, taken from G.E. Shuttleworth's *Mentally Deficient*

Children-



Nevertheless, the Royal Albert was commended on its training methods, such as moral treatment and Christian values as the patient had been 'surprisingly altered for the better,' by these methods. This is highlighted by that fact that Diogenes no longer needed the tub, and even visibly showed 'contempt' towards the notion. As such, the interviewer decided to interact with Diogenes, asking questions surrounding his work as a mat-maker.- For instance, when quizzed about the importance of book-keeping, Diogenes retorted: 'I'll have ready money.' Moreover, when asked jokingly whether he was nearly finished creating his mat, which he had only started ten minutes prior, he responded, 'No. Do you think I can make it in half a day? Slow and well – that's what I

intend!’- This article not only demonstrated normality with Asylum life, but also humanised the patients, thus showing a positive perception to society, regarding idiots and imbeciles. The Asylum is depicted from an optimistic standpoint as it clearly demonstrates success and curability within its patients. As such, the case of Diogenes ‘shows that the moral sense is carefully cultivated in the Asylum.’-

### **Chapter Three – Stigmata Of Degeneration**

Dr G. E. Shuttleworth, in his most widely acclaimed work, *Mentally-Deficient Children: Their Treatment and Training* – first published in 1895, and reprinted for five editions – used the case of Diogenes to assert the positive nature of the Royal Albert, and to demonstrate how specific techniques integrated at the Asylum were beneficial to the patients.- For instance, whilst discussing certain aspects of moral treatment, Shuttleworth purports the use of exercise, and as to why this was vital to the curative state that Diogenes developed within his seven years of tenure at the Asylum – pointing to the fact that Diogenes was eventually able to use a tricycle specifically built for him.- Moreover, the Central Committee focused on the positive aspects of the Asylum, publishing in their Annual Reports cases of patients whom had visited home for a short period, and had shown visible differences from their initial admittance. For instance, one father wrote: ‘Joseph was a very good boy whilst at home. I am very well pleased with the improvement in him. He did not hesitate to come Home, as he called the Asylum, the best evidence of kindly and proper treatment I could have.’-

The father also referenced the patient’s anxiousness to return to the Asylum, claiming

that 'as soon as he got sight of the building.... [He] ran up the hill as fast as he could to rejoin his companions at the Asylum.'- Therefore, the Royal Albert enthusiastically portrayed the Asylum in such positive light – not only reinforcing the notion that patients could be assimilated back into society – but also vastly contributed to public opinion.

Dr. George Edward Shuttleworth was regarded as one of the leading medical minds in the field of mental deficiency, thus his work, and professional opinion was importantly considered when regarding discussions pertaining the treatment and education of idiocy. Before becoming the Medical Superintendent at the Royal Albert, Shuttleworth was Assistant Medical Officer to Dr. John Langdon Down, at Earlswood Asylum, and was significantly influenced by Down's ideas surrounding idiocy; such as classification.- Throughout his career, Shuttleworth published widely on the subject of idiocy, and although much of his work was intended for fellow medical colleagues, it was also considered of interest to 'the increasing number of the Public who take an interest in the special education of mentally deficient children.'- Shuttleworth fervently believed that through coherent education and treatment, idiots and imbeciles could become viable members of society, and thus dedicated his life to the cause.

Shuttleworth was heavily influenced by the pedagogical methods enacted by Seguin, and purported parallel positive reinforcement and methodology within the Royal Albert.- As such, moral treatment and industrial training was a key part of Asylum life, highlighting a continuation of philanthropic values and techniques devoted to idiocy. Throughout his career, Shuttleworth was determined to further his understanding of

idiocy, and thus would visit other asylums, such as his tour of Idiot Asylums in America in 1876.- In addition to this, he was close associates with fellow experts on idiocy, including Fletcher Beach and William Ireland – both Superintendents of Idiot Asylums, hence Shuttleworth amalgamated ideas surrounding idiocy to produce coherent and medically thorough investigations. In addition, organisations and government bodies frequently approached Shuttleworth to aid with certain discussions and debates. For instance, in 1899, the Royal Commission on the Blind, Deaf, and Dumb, focusing on the treatment of what the report referred to as ‘educational imbeciles’ or the ‘feeble-minded, questioned both Shuttleworth, alongside James Diggins, secretary to the Royal Albert.- As such, within the obituary dedicated to Shuttleworth, the BMJ professed that ‘there can be few psychiatrists throughout the civilised world to whom his name is not familiar.’-

Nevertheless, although throughout his career Shuttleworth had purported an optimistic depiction on the pedagogy and treatment of idiocy, by the end of the nineteenth century it became apparent that growing concerns of eugenic ideas and degenerative notions were affecting ideas surrounding the usefulness and the importance of educating and training idiots and imbeciles.- Although the voluntary asylum movement had concentrated on the importance of education and treatment, proposing that individuals could become viable members of society, this began to be met with skepticism and pessimism. Instead, organisations and individuals began to invoke the imperatives of understanding the specific causes and symptoms of idiocy; with a prominent focus on the class deemed ‘feeble-minded.’ J. Harris asserts that there was multitude of widely

differing ideas from medical minds and organisations alike.- Prominent figures, such as Charles Darwin and even Shuttleworth, contributed to this discussion, with correspondence between the two alluding to the idea that marriage between first cousins could be a key contributor.- Nevertheless, Shuttleworth always fervently professed that regardless of the cause, education and treatment was a necessity. On the other hand, a variety of individuals were virtually unanimous in their belief that the condition was largely incurable.’ Subsequently, this signified a stark contrast to the optimism that was purported throughout the idiot asylum movement, and focus on Christian charity, whereby ‘the idiot’ was capable of redemption.

In 1882, D. H. Tuke expressed his concern of degenerative philosophy permeating common discourse regarding idiocy, stating: ‘There may be times when, desiring to see the ‘survival of the fittest’, we may be tempted to wish that idiots and imbeciles were stamped out of society. But... there is a compensation for the continued existence of so pitiable population in our midst in... that our sympathies are called forth on their behalf... those who are strong should help the weak.’-

However, by the turn of the century, it became apparent that discussions on idiocy, were contrastingly focused on national efficiency; whereby concerns were expressed whether those deemed ‘feeble-minded’ could potentially become viable members of society. Rose asserts that due to degenerative and eugenic thinking, idiots and imbeciles were conveyed as less of a ‘challenge for scientific and philanthropic pedagogy than as a burden on the nation.’- Thus, this reinforces a stark contrast to the

1870s, such as de Vitre's appeal for the erection of the Royal Albert, in which sympathy and Christian philanthropy were forefront methods utilised to garner public support.

The ideas of degeneration and the negative connotation of 'feeble-mindedness' was spearheaded by a variety of individuals. For instance, Francis Galton, first cousin to Charles Darwin, is most commonly attributed with coining the term 'eugenics', which Galton defined as: 'The science which deals with all influences which improve the inborn qualities of a race; also with those which develop them to the utmost advantage.'- Due to the influential connection to Darwin, it is understandable as to why Galton harnessed the notion of 'survival of the fittest,' and as to why Galton dedicated his career to understanding hereditary notions and whether mental traits could be passed generation to generation.- Throughout his career, it is apparent that Galton took a keen interest in disability. For example, Galton visited Darenth Asylum, governed by Dr. Fletcher Beach, in which he took fingerprints of 'the worst idiots' in London, concluding that he found 'prints of eminent thinkers and of eminent statesmen that can be matched by those of congenital idiots.'- Such experiments highlighted Galton's views and demonstrated that he believed that idiocy was completely hereditary. As such, in 1907, the Eugenics Society was formed to construct such notions and to focus on these topics.-

Nevertheless, this is not to convey that Galton was the first prominent figure to focus on degenerative notions on idiocy. On the contrary, throughout the 1870s, Charles Darwin's son, George Darwin, had studied the effect of first cousins marrying;

subsequently stating that 'civilised nations needed to act quickly to legally bar marriages between the unfit.'- Such a supposition demonstrates that eugenic thinking was being purported prior to the Eugenics Society, and further highlights that individuals had differing ideas surrounding ideas. However, it appears it was the turn of the century, whereby ideas concerning degeneration and eugenics truly permeated popular discourse.

Another important figure who had a substantial contribution to pressing ideas surrounding pedagogy and managing the feeble-minded, which became adopted within the early twentieth century, was Mary Dendy. In 1898, Dendy published a pamphlet entitled *The Importance of Permanence in the Care of the Feeble-Minded*, in which she proposed her ideology and beliefs surrounding how to deal with pertinent issues revolving around feeble-mindedness.- Dendy focused her attention to the newly founded Lancashire and Cheshire Society for the Permanent Care of the Feeble-Minded (LCSPCFM), in which its main doctrine was to 'force upon the public a great, new principle of right-doing.'- In her eyes, Dendy professed that permanent segregation would deal with certain issues surrounding the feeble-mindedness.- For example, it could lower the crime rate, relieve the issues of overcrowding in state institutions, reduce poverty levels, and even encourage the social residuum to be self-sufficient.- Such issues had been considered by the National Association for Promotion the Welfare of the Feeble-Minded, which Dendy had played a significant role, in which the report stated: 'That above the grade of recognised idiots or imbeciles there was a class of defective beings who without special guidance would be apt to drift into immorality

and crime, and it was again to the State to diminish the number of paupers and criminals.’-

Therefore, Dendy dominated pertinent arguments and discourse surrounding the issues of feeble-mindedness, and greatly affected degeneracy and eugenic thinking. By reinforcing the view that this particular issue ‘had become the most pressing of all the social problems of our time,’ it strengthened degenerative concepts pervading society, whilst also demonstrating a clear shift regarding education and medical provision for those deemed either, idiots, imbecile or feeble-minded.-

In 1902, due to the strenuous efforts of the LCSPCFM, the Sandlebridge Colony was established in Cheshire, with the purpose of lifelong permanent segregation for its patients.- This differed considerably from already reputable voluntary asylums, where patients were admitted, predominantly children, for a set period of years; with the aim of equipping them with sufficient training for society. For instance, the Royal Albert admitted patients for seven years; the longest duration of the six principal asylums founded throughout the 1870s.- Mary Dendy advocated for a different approach and therefore criticised the practices of voluntary asylums. As such, when critiquing the Royal Albert she vehemently asserts: ‘The Royal Albert Asylum keeps its patients for seven years, the longest period devoted to training at any such institution. At a meeting of the supporters of this asylum in 1906 it was reported that since the foundation of the institution 1,502 patients have been discharged from it. It is worse than useless to deal

with idiots and other weak-minded persons in this way.’-

However, Mark Jackson claims that ‘in spite of her claims to have established a permanent colony for the feeble-minded, it is not clear that the policies and practices adopted at Sandlebridge differed substantially from those of the asylums.- Although Dendy’s critique of the Royal Albert reflects her negative standpoint that feeble-minded individuals were ‘pitiful specimen[s] of humanity’ – a stark contrast to the original philanthropic aim of the voluntary asylum movement – Sandlebridge and the Royal Albert shared a variety of similarities.-

In the response to Dendy’s staunch need for permanence, important figures, integral the management and upkeep of voluntary asylums, rejected suppositions professed within Dendy’s works. An example of this comes from W. G. Welch, member of the Central Committee for the Royal Albert, who refuted such claims, retorting that a ‘system of permanent care is at present in force in our institution, and has been from its commencement,’ therefore mirroring the notions on which Dendy established Sandlebridge.- For instance, the Asylum offered lifelong subscriptions for selective cases if it was deemed that after seven years they had not reached their full potential.-

Although permanent segregation was enacted throughout the Asylum, many cases were also viewed from an optimistic scope, such as the case of Diogenes, whereby through vigorous industrial training and compassionate care they could become viable members of society. Thus, echoing optimism shared by early proprietors of the early

asylums movement, such as John Conolly and Edward Denis de Vitre. On the other hand, by the end of the Victorian era, a stark contrast had occurred, whereby individuals exploited societal fears – poverty, crime and degeneracy – therefore highlighting the need for permanent segregation, as the definitive method of dealing with the ‘pathological and degenerative nature of feeblemindedness.’-

## **Conclusion - Legacy of the Royal Albert Asylum**

It is apparent that a major shift regarding societal norms of idiots and imbeciles have occurred within the nineteenth-century. Early proprietors had adopted optimistic portrayals, such as Seguin. However, throughout, changing medical underpinning had a drastic impact on social notions, as well as the procedures for the care and education of idiots and imbeciles.

As the nineteenth-century progressed, popular ideas revolving around ‘the survival of the fittest.’ And how to deal with societal issues - crime, poverty, overcrowding etc - were attributed, to some extent, to those perceived as idiots and imbeciles. Due to these developments, asylums and influential individuals, purported the importance of degenerative action, such as permanent segregation, to overcome societal fears. For instance, Dr Douglas, Medical Superintendent of the Royal Albert in 1910, expressed the need for ‘life segregation and restriction of marriage,’ as by the turn of the century ‘training alone, has proved to be an impossibility.’- This was in stark contrast to the Royal Albert’s initial aim when it admitted its first patients in 1870, and strongly

demonstrates the significance eugenic thinking had on medical beliefs, once it permeated the societal norm.

With the passing of the Mental Deficiency Act in 1913 - aimed to 'establish eugenic control of disabled people' - a variety of institutions and individuals still purported the optimistic opinion fostered by Seguin and the early proprietors of the Royal Albert; country to pejorative notions. For instance, in 1921, Margaret MacDowall published *Simple Beginnings in the Training of Mentally Defective Children*, which was presented through a Christian discourse, and reflective of both Seguin's and Shuttleworth's pedagogical and treatment philosophies. MacDowall had previously gained experience at the Royal Albert, under the guise of Shuttleworth, thus her beliefs and guidance reflected this. Instead of viewing patients as irredeemable and without potential, MacDowall asserted that 'These unopen buds... all have a God-given soul with the possibility of perfection.' Such an assertion demonstrates that, regardless of society's changing approaches and perceptions regarding idiocy, the Royal Albert, and its initial aim, continually had an impact on the overall beliefs on matters concerning treatment and education of idiots and imbeciles.

## ***Bibliography***

### **Primary Sources**

Browne, W. A. F., *What Asylums Are, Were and Ought to Be*, 1937 – need pub

Conolly, John, "Notices Of The Asylums In Paris", in *The British And Foreign Medical Review, Volume 1*, (London: Maclachlan and Co., 1845)

"Cretins and Idiots: A Short Account Of The Progress Of The Institutions For Their Relief and Cure", (London : W. A. Wighton, 1853)

De Vitre, Edward Denis, *Observations On the Necessity Of An Extended Legislature Protection To Persons of Unsound Mind*, (London: Whittaker and Co., 1843)

Dendy, Mary, "Letter to Francis Galton" (London, 1909), University of London College Library, 138/8

Dendy, Mary, *The Importance of Permanence in the Care of the Feeble-Minded*, (Reprinted from *The Educational Review*, (Manchester, 1899)

Dendy, Mary, *The Problem of the Feeble-Minded*, (London: John Heywood, 1908)

Esquirol, Jean Etienne Dominique, *Mental Maladies: A Treatise on Insanity*, (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1845)

Fleury, Cross – *Time Honoured Lancaster: Historic Notes On The Ancient Borough Of Lancaster*, (Lancaster: 1891)

Flood, Everett, "Notes on the Castration of Idiot Children", *The American Journal of*

*Psychology*, 10 (1899)

Galton, Francis, "Eugenics: Its Definition, Scope, and Aims", *The American Journal of Sociology*, 10 (1904) <<http://galton.org/essays/1900-1911/galton-1904-am-journ-soc-eugenics-scope-aims.htm>> [accessed 13 March 2017]

Galton, Francis, *Finger Prints*, (London: Macmillan & Co., 1982)

Gaskell, Samuel, "A Visit to the Bicetre", *Chambers Edinburgh Journal*, 1847

Gaskell, Samuel, "Education of Idiots at the Bicetre", *Chambers Edinburgh Journal*, 1846. 71-73

Obituary, "George Edward Shuttleworth, M.D", *British Medical Journal*, 3518 (1918), 1004-1005

Greenwell, Dora, *On the Education of the Imbecile*, (London: Strahan & Company, 1869)

"Letter from Charles Darwin to George Shuttleworth", (London: 1874), Wellcome Library, MS4566/5134

"The Lancaster Idiot Asylum", *Manchester Examiner and Times*, 1875

MacDowall Margaret, *Simple Beginnings in the Training of Mentally Defective Children*, 2nd edn, (London: Local Government Press Co., 1921)

Pinel Philippe, "A Treatise on Insanity", (Sheffield: W. Todd, 1806), <<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/002103700>> [accessed 2 April 2017]

Report of the Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy to the Lord Chancellor, (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1844)

Report of the Proceedings at the Laying of the Foundation Stone of The Royal Albert Asylum, Lancaster, (1868), Lancashire Archives, DDT/130

Report of the Royal Commission on the Blind, Deaf and Dumb, (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1889) <<https://archive.org/details/b24398949>> [accessed 29 April 2017]

Royal Albert Asylum: Seventh Annual Report, (London: E. & J. L. Milner, 1872), Wellcome Library, WLM28.BE5R88

Royal Albert Asylum: Sixth Annual Report, (London: E. & J. L. Milner, 1870), Wellcome Library, WLM28.BE5R88

Royal Albert Asylum: Cash Books, 1864-1873, Lancashire Archives, HRRRA/35

Seguin, Edward, *Idiocy and its Treatment by the Physiological Method*, (New York: Brandow Printing Co., 1907)

Seguin, Edward, "Origin of the Treatment and Training of Idiots", *American Journal of Education*, 1856

Shuttleworth, G. E., and W. Potts, *Mentally Deficient Children: Their Treatment and Training*", 3<sup>rd</sup> edn, (London: H. K. Lewis, 1910)

<<https://wellcomelibrary.org/item/b21937849#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=8&z=0.277%2C0.7611%2C1.4945%2C0.7552&r=0>> [accessed 27 April 2017]

Shuttleworth, G.E., *Notes of a Visit to American Institutions for Idiots and Imbeciles*, (Lancaster: J. L. Milner, 1876) <<https://archive.org/details/b24762489>> [accessed 18 March 2017]

Shuttleworth, James Kay, *Thoughts and Suggestions on Certain Social Problems Contained Chiefly in Addresses to Meetings of Workmen in Lancashire*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1873)

<<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uva.x001273066;view=1up;seq=7>> [accessed 14 April 2017]

Speech of Dr. E. Denis De Vitre, at a Public Meeting Held in the Shire Hall Lancaster, 21 December 1864, (Preston: 1864), Lancashire Archives, HRRA/30/1

Stretton, Hesba, "The Royal Albert Asylum: One of God's Palaces, *The Sunday Magazine*, 1885 <<https://wellcomelibrary.org/item/b24762398#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0>>

[accessed 10 April 2017]

*The Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, Volume 28, (London: Brown & Green, 1827)

<<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=chi.79166944;view=1up;seq=9>> [accessed 12 March 2017]

The Royal Albert at Lancaster, Lancashire, *The Illustrated London News*, 1876

The National Association for Promoting the Welfare of the Feeble-Minded, *The British Medical Journal*, 1898

Tuke, Daniel Hack., *Chapters in the History of the Insane in the British Isles*, (London: Kegan Paul & Co., 1882)

Tuke, Samuel, *Review of the Early History of the Retreat*, (York, 1846)

Twining, William, *Some Accounts of Cretinism and the Institution for its Cure, on the Adenberg, Near Interlachen in Switzerland*, (London: John W. Parker, 1843)

Welch, W. G., *Life Care in the Royal Albert Institution*, (Lancaster: 1910)

## **Secondary Sources**

Alston, Joe, *The Royal Albert: Chronicles of an Era*, (Lancaster: Centre for North West Regional Studies, 1992)

Andrews, Jonathan, "Begging the Question of Idiocy: The Definition and Socio-Cultural Meaning of Idiocy in Early Modern Britain: Part 1", *History of Psychiatry*, 9 (1998), 65-95

Ayers, Gwendolyne M., *England's First State Hospitals and the Metropolitan Asylums Board, 1867-1930*, (London: Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine, 1971)

Barham, Peter, *Closing the Asylum*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (London: Penguin, 1997)

Barret, Michael, "From Education to Segregation: An Inquiry into the Changing Character of Special Provision for the Retarded in England, 1846-1918", (unpublished PhD, University of Lancaster, 1986)

Bartlett, Peter, *The Poor Law of Lunacy: The Administration of Pauper Lunatics in Mid-nineteenth Century England*, (London: Leicester University Press, 1999)

Bebbington, David, *Victorian Nonconformity*, (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2011)

Berrios, German E., *History of Mental Symptoms*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

Berrios, German E., "Mental Retardation", in *The History of Clinical Psychiatry*, (London: The Athlone Press, 2003)

Brandwood, Geoffrey K., *The Architecture of Sharpe, Paley and Austin*, (Swindon: English Heritage, 2012)

Burt, John R. F. and Kathryn Burtinshaw, *Lunatics, Imbeciles and Idiots: A History of Insanity in Nineteenth-Century Britain and Ireland*, (Pen and Sword History, 2017)

Carpenter, Peter, "The Bath Idiot and Imbecile Institution", *History of Psychiatry*, 11 (2000), 163-188

Charland, L. C., "Benevolent Theory: Moral Treatment at the York Retreat", *History of Psychiatry*, 18 (2007), 61-80

Cox, Catherine, and Hilary Marland, "'A Burden on the County': Madness, Institutions of Confinement and the Irish Patient in Victorian Lancashire", *Social History of Medicine*,

28 (2015), 263-287

Dale, Pamela, "Special Education at Starcross Before 1948", *History of Education*, 36 (2007), 17-44

Dale, Pamela, and Joseph Melling, *Mental Illness and Learning Disability Since 1850*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006)

Dan, Bernard, and Marc J. Abramowicz, "From Genetous Ailments to Genetic Disorders: Ireland's On Idiocy and Imbecility Revisited", *Developmental Medicine & Child Neurology*, 46 (2007), 646-647

Daniel, David Mills, "The Ineducable Children of Leeds: The Operation of the Defective Children and Mental Deficiency Legislation in Leeds, 1900-29", *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 29 (1997), 121-141

Digby, Anne, "Contexts and Perspectives", in *From Idiocy to Mental Deficiency: Historical Perspectives on People with Learning Disabilities*, (London: Routledge, 1997)

Digby, Anne, "Moral Treatment at the Retreat, 1796-1846", in *The Anatomy of Madness: Essays in the History of Psychiatry*, (London: Routledge, 1985)

Eastoe, Stephanie, "'Relieving Gloomy and Objectless Lives': The Landscape of Caterham Imbecile Asylum", *Landscape Research*, 41, (2016), 652-663

Eastoe, Stephanie, "Idiocy, Imbecility and Society in Victorian England: Caterham Imbecile Asylum, 1867-1911", (unpublished Phd, Birkbeck College, University of London, 2015)

Ferguson, Christine, *Determined Spirits: Eugenics, Heredity and Racial Regeneration in Anglo-American Spiritualist Writing, 1848-1930*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012)

Forsythe, Bill, and Joseph Melling, *Insanity, Institutions and Society, 1800-1914*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 1999)

Goodey, C.F., "The Psychopolitics of Learning and Disability in Seventeenth-Century Thought", in *From Idiocy to Mental Deficiency: Historical Perspectives on People with Learning Disabilities*, (London: Routledge, 1996)

Goodman, Joyce, "Pedagogy and Sex: Mary Dendy (1855-1933), Feeble-Minded Girls and the Sandlebridge Schools, 1902-33", *History of Education*, 34 (2005), 171-187

Harris, Jose, *The Penguin Social History of Britain: Private Lives, Public Spirit*, (London: Penguin, 1994)

Hickman, Clare, *Therapeutic Landscapes: A History of English Hospital Gardens Since 1800*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013)

Jackson, Mark, *The Borderland of Imbecility: Medicine, Society and the Fabrication of the Feeble Mind in Later Victorian and Edwardian England*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000)

Jones, Kathleen, *Lunacy, Law, and Conscience, 1744-1845*, (New York: Routledge, 2003)

Kanner, Leo, *A History the Care and Study of the Mentally Retarded*, (Michigan: C. C. Thomas, 1964)

Kanner, Leo, "Itard, Seguin, Howe: Three Pioneers in the Education of Retarded Children", *American Journal of Mental Deficiency*, 65 (1960), 2-10

Kevles, Daniel J., *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity*, (Cambridge: International Society for Science and Religion, 2007)

Knowles, Thomas, and Serena Trowbridge, *Insanity and the Lunatic Asylum in the*

*Nineteenth Century*, (London: Rutledge, 2016)

Lachapelle, Sofie, "Educating Idiots: Utopian Ideals and Practical Organisation Regarding Idiocy Inside Nineteenth Century French Asylums", *Science in Context*, 20 (2007), 627-648

McDonagh, Patrick, *Idiocy: A Cultural History*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008)

Murphy, Elaine, "Workhouse Care of the Insane, 1845-90", in *Mental Illness and Learning Disability Since 1850*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006)

Owen, David, *English Philanthropy*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1965)

Philo, Chris, *Convenient Centres and Convenient Premises: The Historical Geography of England's Nineteenth Century Idiot Asylums*, (University of Hull, Working Paper No. 3, 1987)

Porter, Roy, and David Wright, *The Confinement of the Insane*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Porter, Roy, *Mind-Forg'd Manacles: A History of Madness in England From the Restoration to the Regency*, (London: The Athlone Press, 1987)

Porter, Roy, "Mother Says It Done Me Good", *Review of Books*, 1997

Richardson, John G., *Common, Delinquent, and Special*, (Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2013)

Rose, Nikolas S., *The Psychological Complex*, (London: Routledge, 1985)

Rosner, Lisa, *Medical Education in the Age of Improvement: Edinburgh Students and Apprentices, 1760-1826*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991)

Scheerenberger, R. C., *A History of Mental Retardation*, (Baltimore: P.H. Brookes Pub.

Co., 1987\_

Scull, Andrew, *Madhouses, Mad-Doctors, and Madmen*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981)

Scull, Andrew, *The Most Solitary of Afflictions: Madness and Society in Britain, 1700-1900*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993)

Skaarbrevik, Karl Johan, and Jay Gottlieb, "Historical Trends and Present Status of Education for the Retarded in Norway", in *Education and Training of the Mentally Retarded*, 8 (1973) 3-9

Taylor, Steven, *Child Insanity in England, 1845-1907*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017)

Taylor, Steven, "'All His Ways Are Those of an Idiot': The Admission, Treatment of and Social Reaction to Two 'Idiot' Children of the Northampton Pauper Lunatic Asylum, 1877-1883", *Family and Community History*, 15 (2012), 34-43

Trent, James W., *Inventing the Feeble Mind: A History of Intellectual Disability on the United States*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994)

Walton, J. K., "Lunacy in the Industrial Revolution: A Study of Asylum Admissions in Lancashire, 1848-50", *Journal of Social History*, 13 (1979), 1-22

Wright, David, *Downs: The History of a Disability*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011)

Wright, David, *Mental Disability in Victorian England*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001)

Wright, David, "Learning Disability and the New Poor Law in England, 1834-1867", *Disability & Society*, 15 (2000), 731-745

Wright, David, "Mongols in Our Midst: John Langdon Down and the Ethnic Classification

of Idiocy, 1858-1924” in *Mental Retardation in America: A. Historical Reader*, (New York: New York University Press, 2004)

Wright, David, *The National Asylum for Idiots, Earlswood, 1847-1886*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993)