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Patients' creative work and 'expressive possibilities'<sup>1</sup> in *New Moon*, *Under the Dome*, and *The Hydra*, 1844-1918

Emily Jessica Turner

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<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Reiss, 'Letters from Asylumia: The "Opal" and the Cultural Work of the Lunatic Asylum, 1851-1860', *American Literary History*, 16.1 (2004), 1-28 (p.3).

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature: Emily Jessica Turner

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## Summary

This thesis examines ‘patient publications’ produced at various points in the period between 1844 and 1918 within three particular mental health hospitals in England and Scotland, in order to explore how creative expression was used by staff and patients in treatment and recovery.

My analysis, based upon a body of new archival research, is structured around a collection of case studies: *New Moon*, the journal produced by the patients at Crichton Royal Hospital at Dumfries from 1844 until 1937; *Under the Dome*, the patient and staff magazine of London’s Bethlem Royal Hospital published from 1892 to 1920; and *The Hydra*, created by patients at the Edinburgh institution, Craiglockhart War Hospital between 1917 and 1918.

By focusing on select numbers of these magazines - the first twelve issues of *New Moon*, the 1892 to 1903 numbers of *Under the Dome*, and the full catalogue of the short-lived *The Hydra* - in chronological order, the thesis analyses the limited runs of these magazines as diverse literary and historical objects, and explores the ways in which the titles demonstrate the development of the patient publication form.

Following archival work on a range of patient publications in the period 1837 to 1995, these three publications were selected for analysis owing to their demonstration of the diversity and development of the patient publication form. The analysis of these three publications - as distinct but thematically related literary objects, and as representational of the wider chronology of the form - provides an inquiry into both the individual journals and their roles within the ‘asylum journal’ format, and also into the format itself. The thesis aims to open up discussion of ways in which patient publications demonstrate newfound emphasis in sanatoria on creative expression in mental health care during this period. The study demonstrates ways in which individual hospital’s ‘asylum journals’, as complex products and reflections of their institutions, and the different expressions that the format has taken, variously represent ideological changes -

specifically the introduction and development of moral treatment or moral therapy and its emphasis on humanitarian interactions between patient and staff - in asylum healthcare during the period.

While acknowledging the discursive impact of the mental health institution on those who created writing and visual art for these titles, this thesis aims to centralise the voices and creative expressions of the patients in its analysis of *New Moon*, *Under the Dome*, and *The Hydra*.

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## Introduction

This thesis examines ‘patient publications’ produced at various points in the period between 1844 and 1918 within two mental health hospitals in Scotland and one in England. Structured around a collection of case studies which highlights some of the different expressions that the format of patient publications has taken – and traces the evolution of the format during this period - this study, which explores how creative expression was used by ‘asylum’ staff and patients in treatment and recovery, is, to my knowledge, the first of its kind. For the purposes of clarity, and to ensure that adequate attention is paid to individual titles, the study focuses on selected literary and visual creative examples from three patient publications in print during this period and within this geographical confine.

Chronicles adorned with ornate illustrations, journals professionally printed on in-house presses, delicate handwritten magazines held together by stitched spines: the material forms of hospital publications of the long nineteenth century created by ‘asylum’ patients are widely varied, demonstrating the greatly ranging origins and contents of these works, as well as the scope of contributor identities. This thesis aims to provide an initial insight into the patient publication format as a category which includes magazines, journals and pamphlets created by those who lived and were treated at mental health institutions. From the earliest patient publication identified so far, published at Gartnavel Royal Hospital in Glasgow in 1837, through to the last titles published in the late 1970-90s during the ‘retreat from the asylums’<sup>2</sup>, such magazines and journals featured a variety of literary forms, including poetry, journalism, short stories, columns, and sporting reports. Several patient publications, which have also been

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<sup>2</sup> By the 1960s, better medication and other treatments had 'brought obsolescence' to ‘asylums’, suggests Sarah Rutherford in her book *The Victorian Asylum* (p. 5). The closure of these institutions meant that patient publications did not have a centralised base or community, and individuals or non-‘asylum’ affiliated groups of mental health patients would not have had access to equipment such as hospital printing presses.

referred to as ‘house organs’ and ‘asylum journals’<sup>3</sup> in previous scholarship, also emphasise the visual alongside the literary, showcasing artworks created by contributors in a range of mediums, from wood engraved prints to cartoon sketches. However, although the printed material of patient publications took a variety of forms, this thesis argues that patient publications constitute a specific form of media production. I demonstrate that despite the form’s diversity, such publications should be considered as various examples of a collective ‘type’: regardless of differences in appearance, content and production, patient publications share many commonalities - in origin, purpose, and contents.

I further argue that patient publications should also be considered independently from publications produced by ex-patients following their discharge from hospital, as well as from other material produced by ‘asylum’ patients, such as artwork or writing that was not published in a house organ. Journals and magazines produced by patients who were living and being treated at hospitals - or those recently discharged patients who maintained close contact with their institutions - showcase creative output which has been shaped by the hospitals which have enabled their publication, and by ‘asylum’-specific conditions of publication. Patient publications were usually produced in-house by individual patients or teams of ‘service users’, often working in tandem with and supported by members of staff, and sometimes printed on the hospital’s own printing presses. The production of these journals, therefore, is intrinsically linked with the institutional conditions in which the patients were able to produce work. Furthermore, ‘house organs’, as a distinct subcategory of ‘asylum’ patient-produced media, not only represent a discursive interaction between patient and institution, but also one between creator and audience. That is to say that work produced for publication presupposes a reader or viewer - a

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<sup>3</sup> Erving Goffman uses the phrase ‘house organs’ in his *Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates* (Transaction Publishers, London: 2009). ‘Asylum journals’ is used by George MacLennan in his *Lucid Interval: Subjective Writing and Madness in History* (New Jersey: Associated University Presses, 1992). However, the term ‘asylum journal’ is more frequently used in scholarship to indicate publications printed by or for medical professionals.

consideration not necessarily present in creative work produced for private consumption, or for analysis by medical staff. Patient-contributors' work, therefore, was impacted by the circumstances of their hospitalisation and by their understandings of their magazine's circulation and reception. These key contexts provide a framework for defining and understanding the 'patient publication' as a unified type: examples of the format, although widely varied, necessitate the involvement of patient, 'asylum', and presumed audience.

The patient publications under consideration in this thesis are the journal *New Moon*, produced by the patients at Crichton Royal Hospital at Dumfries from 1844 until 1937, *Under the Dome*, the patient and staff magazine of London's Bethlem Royal Hospital published from 1892 to 1920, and Craiglockhart War Hospital's *The Hydra*, created by patients at the Edinburgh institution between 1917 and 1918. By focusing on specific numbers of these magazines - the first twelve issues of *New Moon*, *Under the Dome*'s 1892 to 1903 editions, and the full catalogue of the short-lived *The Hydra* - this thesis will analyse the limited runs of these magazines as diverse literary and historical objects, and explore how these titles demonstrate the development of the patient publication form<sup>4</sup>. As will be discussed, *New Moon*, *Under the Dome*, and *The Hydra* are also linked by thematic similarities in the content produced for each title. Analysis of these three publications - as different but thematically related literary objects, and as representational of the wider chronology of the form - provides an initial inquiry into the individual journals and their roles within the 'asylum journal' format, as well as the format itself.

Here, a note must be made about the language used within this thesis. Stavroula Varella, in her essay discussing the contemporary use of historic language surrounding mental health diagnosis and treatment, states that 'the nomenclature of mental illness deserves special scrutiny,

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<sup>4</sup> Refer to Appendix B for full versions of the articles from *New Moon*, *Under the Dome*, and *The Hydra* referenced throughout this thesis.



for it can never be value-neutral'<sup>5</sup>. This consideration is also central to Sarah Chaney's work on 'survivor archives', which has informed my thesis. Like Varella, Chaney draws attention to the need to be critical when considering loaded terms such as 'recovery'<sup>6</sup>. Throughout this thesis, I will be using language that has rightfully come under critical examination due to its stigmatizing and non-scientific connotations; terms such as 'asylum', 'lunatic', 'mad', 'idiot', 'imbecile', 'inmate' and 'institutional' are among those which have been analyzed and dismissed by medical practitioners and 'service users' for their lack of medical clarity and linguistic specificity. Today it is understood that these words carry ableist connotations and perpetuate stigma-based or outmoded perceptions of mental health experiences, symptoms, and treatment. However, within a historical study such as this, it is occasionally necessary to use these terms, partly due to the specificity of the word being used, and also because modern readers cannot retroactively diagnose patients with modern definitions of the illnesses for which they were treated. In addition, as Varella suggests, it is crucial to acknowledge where and how such language was used, and, with regard to this thesis, how it may have informed the creation and production of patient publications. For this reason, I will employ such terms, specifically 'inmate', 'asylum', and 'institution', where appropriate.

'Mental illness' and 'madness' are terms here employed to refer to the varied and often unclear categorisations and definitions of mental illnesses and mental disabilities experienced by asylum patients in the long nineteenth century. The exception is Chapter Three, which focuses on a publication produced by officer-patients at Craiglockhart suffering from shell shock.

Craiglockhart was a war hospital dedicated to healing a community of individuals, all of whom were experiencing symptoms of a specific, although also unclearly defined, illness. Partly due to

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<sup>5</sup> Stavroula Varella, introduction to Gillian Edom, Rachel Johnston, Sarah Rance-Riley, Katherine Slay, Maureen Wright, *Beneath the Water Tower: The Graylingwell Heritage Project* (Chichester: Graylingwell Heritage Project, 2015), 6 (p. 6).

<sup>6</sup> Sarah Chaney, *Where is the survivor archive?* (2016) <<http://blog.wellcomelibrary.org/2016/12/where-is-the-survivor-archive/>> [accessed 3 January 2017].

this lack of specificity, I have not used the illnesses, symptoms, and circumstances of any individual contributors in reference to published work, therefore historical diagnoses will not form part of my analysis of the primary sources. Instead, this thesis has categorised contributors as ‘patient-writers/artists’ and ‘patient-readers’ or alternative categories such as staff member, governor, or ‘Friend’ of a hospital. The emphasis is structural, focusing on the role of patients as members of a community and agents within an institution, working jointly with the wider hospital support team to produce a publication.

By consciously circumventing psychiatric taxonomies, this thesis can produce readings which avoid delimiting patient publication contributors simply to their roles as medical subjects. Readings of patient works based on individuals’ medical circumstances can limit interpretation, as they can echo the biases or power imbalances of the institutional or psychiatric discourses which define and record such circumstances. A reading which applies personal medical contexts to patient work also critically positions such art and writing as predominantly or even solely linked to an individual’s medical circumstances, limiting interpretive possibilities of the material.

Furthermore, Joanne Winning suggests that Michel Foucault’s description of the processes which create a ‘docile body’, which then ‘may be subjected, used, transformed and improved’ by an authority, might be applied to the medical humanities. Specifically Winning applies this Foucauldian notion to ‘the docility of the body in the clinical encounter’<sup>7</sup>, suggesting that such a body in this context can be defined as one which has ‘lost full use of its sensory organs’<sup>8</sup>. Patients’ creative works demonstrate clear examples in which individuals consciously engage with their circumstances, both physical and psychological, and as such represent a resistance to this medically-imposed docile desensitisation. Patient-contributors’ visual and

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<sup>7</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage, 1995), p. 136.

<sup>8</sup> Joanne Winning, ‘Afterword: the body and the senses’, in *The Edinburgh Companion to the Critical Medical Humanities*, ed. by A. Whitehead, and A. Woods, A. (Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), pp. 325-335 (p.329).

literary works are examples of individuals negotiating their physical and emotional spaces within and beyond a psychiatric context, and this should be recognised in critical interpretation of the material.

## 1 - Contexts

The patient publications under consideration were produced at various points between 1844 and 1918, an era in which treatment in mental health hospitals developed. Evolving social and medical contexts are reflected in the content of the patient publications produced within this period and the following section will provide some general context pertaining to mental health treatment within the long nineteenth century, as well as the medical profession's changing attitudes towards those with psychological or neurological illness. I will argue that these evolving aspects of treatment impacted upon cultural production within mental health facilities, as demonstrated by the source material. Such historical contexts will be used to establish a broad background to the three patient publications upon which I focus; the individual contexts of each publication will be explored in more detail in each chapter.

Scholars such as Andrew Scull and Roy Porter<sup>9</sup> have suggested that from the eighteenth century, treatment of the mentally ill was characterised by a movement away from oppressive methods. As Sarah Rutherford discusses in *The Victorian Asylum*, this change in medical practice occurred 'as philosophers began to place faith in the power of human reason. [As a result,] doctors started to recommend greater personal freedom for insane patients'<sup>10</sup>.

Rutherford's reference to philosophy highlights the discipline's impact on mental health treatment in the late eighteenth century. Exemplifying this philosophical shift was 'moral

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<sup>9</sup> See Andrew Scull, *Madness: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), and Roy Porter, *Madness: A Brief History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

<sup>10</sup> Sarah Rutherford, *The Victorian Asylum* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2012), p. 9.

therapy’ or ‘moral treatment’, a method of mental health care which formed the basis of the regimen employed at The Retreat, the Quaker charitable asylum in York which opened in 1796: this ‘was the first hospital to promote the use of moral treatment in Britain [...] Their work ethic ensured that, even in confinement, the insane could contribute to the general benefit of the community’<sup>11</sup>. The Tuke family, who operated the institution, used ‘humanity, reason and kindness, combined with restraint only where necessary’<sup>12</sup>. Such practice at The Retreat ushered in, as Jenny Bourne-Taylor and Sally Shuttleworth suggest, a ‘new humanitarian system of treatment known as moral management [in which] inmates were to be governed more by the moral force of ‘desire of esteem’ than by physical control’<sup>13</sup>. In his book *This Way Madness Lies: The Asylum and Beyond*, Mike Jay states:

“‘Moral’ is misleading to modern ears - we would probably say ‘social’ - but its significance was as an alternative to ‘medical’ [...] Moral treatment [...] offered individual care that was designed to nurture a stable personality through useful occupation and religious devotion, with the aim of restoring the patient to normal society’<sup>14</sup>.

In short, moral therapy emphasised humane staff-patient interaction, a degree of freedom, reintegration into the community, the philosophy of self-improvement and refinement, and patient regime and occupation.

Although originating in the eighteenth century, such treatment had significant impact upon asylum management systems and care practices throughout the nineteenth century. As Jane Ussher suggests, institutional mental health care of this era ‘tends to be cited as an exemplary

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<sup>11</sup> Maureen Park, Robert Hamilton, ‘Moral treatment of the insane: Provisions for lifelong learning, cultural engagement, and creativity in nineteenth-century asylums’, *Journal of Adult and Continuing Education*, 16.2 (2010), 100-113 (p.103).

<sup>12</sup> Sarah Rutherford, *The Victorian Asylum* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2012), p. 9.

<sup>13</sup> Jenny Bourne-Taylor, Sally Shuttleworth, ‘Insanity and Nervous Disorders’, in *Embodied Selves: An Anthology of Psychological Texts 1830-1890*, ed. by Jenny Bourne-Taylor, Sally Shuttleworth (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1998), pp. 227-230 (p.227).

<sup>14</sup> Mike Jay, *This Way Madness Lies: The Asylum and Beyond* (London: Thames & Hudson Limited, 2016), p. 94.

case of the Victorian Enlightenment [as] the discourse of madness as illness began to gain pre-eminence [...] [c]are, exercise and cleanliness replaced brutal incarceration as appropriate treatments for the afflicted'<sup>15</sup>. Victorian asylums have an enduring reputation within modern culture for inhumane treatment and unnecessary incarceration<sup>16</sup>, although, rooted as they were within this shift in healthcare philosophy which orientated towards the humanitarian<sup>17</sup>, it has been argued that asylums 'were actually constructed as benevolent and compassionate facilities for vulnerable people'<sup>18</sup>. Institutional confinement - and the regularity and security it entailed<sup>19</sup> - became, as Rutherford states, an 'accepted part of [...] treatment[,] and the therapeutic role of employment and exercise grew'<sup>20</sup> throughout the nineteenth century within the asylum system. Informed by neurological discoveries and changes within nationwide law and localised healthcare management systems, early nineteenth-century mental health care was highly experimental. Asylums employed a range of new medical treatments, including injections of morphia and other chemicals, alongside 'non-chemical methods [such as] the application of electricity, the Turkish bath, and hot and cold shower baths'<sup>21</sup> - practices worth noting here as their generally agreed-upon failure led to the introduction of moral therapy. 'The dismal lack of medical success,' Rutherford states, 'led to moral therapy being used as the treatment with the

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<sup>15</sup> Jane Ussher, *Women's Madness: Misogyny or Mental Illness?* (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), p. 65.

<sup>16</sup> See Sarah Wise's *Inconvenient People: Lunacy, Liberty, and the Mad-Doctors in Victorian England* (London: Vintage, 2013).

<sup>17</sup> This is not to say that brutality did not occur, either as a result of failure of individual staff or institutional systems to adhere to the Hippocratic oath, or simply due to medical ignorance. Certain procedures or treatments utilised in good faith by carers can seem cruel or unjust to a modern audience, but were presumably applied with medical intent to treat and heal. See Mark Jackson, *The History of Medicine* (London: Oneworld Paperback, 2014), p. 112.

<sup>18</sup> Sarah Rutherford, *The Victorian Asylum* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2012), p. 5.

<sup>19</sup> Both internal (or systemic), and external (or corporeal), asylum construction was informed by and furthered the contemporary philosophies within mental health care. The very architectural form of the buildings 'was held to aid in the healing process' (William Bynum, *The History of Medicine: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 65): each asylum was based within a great building, often with adjacent parks or gardens, providing security, necessary regulation of inhabitants and resources, and a sense of community.

<sup>20</sup> Sarah Rutherford, *The Victorian Asylum* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2012), p. 9.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, p. 32.

potential for cures'<sup>22</sup> in the Victorian asylum. 'Moral' psychiatric treatment, therefore, superseded the traditional 'medical' interventions which were not producing the required results. Practices informed and inspired by the methods of care introduced at The Retreat were phased into institutions throughout the nineteenth century, whereas incarceration, isolation, restraint, and chemical treatments were no longer at the forefront of psychiatric care.

Instead, many mental health hospitals began to phase in practices which emphasised humanitarian interactions between staff and patients, and valued patients' needs as individuals with social, emotional, and practical needs. Within the practice of moral treatment, patients' work was advocated and highly valued - asylum inhabitants were encouraged to take part in activities such as working the land, housework, and artisanal jobs. Similar to the hypothesised ability of employment to regulate, reform and aid recovery, recreation was considered essential to treatment. Amusement was provided at many nineteenth-century asylums, such as regular theatricals and concerts. Airing courts were built in hospital grounds, dances were held for staff and patients throughout the year, and patients were encouraged to pursue activities such as reading, crafts, and sports. Throughout the nineteenth century, the environment created and sustained by this medical credo can be seen to begin placing an increased emphasis on creativity. Possibly identified by Victorian medical practitioners as an industrious amalgamation of work and play, patient creativity took on a key role in mental health treatment that developed and increased in importance throughout the nineteenth century and into the era of the Great War, wherein it acquired even greater significance. Creative outlets such as drawing, painting, and sculpting had been encouraged for patients since the early Victorian era: art, 'one of the most popular occupations [for patients,] became a touchstone for the ideas that were transforming attitudes to mental illness'<sup>23</sup>. Writing played a similar role in patient care at certain mental health

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid, p. 33.

<sup>23</sup> Mike Jay, *This Way Madness Lies: The Asylum and Beyond* (London: Thames & Hudson Limited, 2016), p. 157.

hospitals during this period<sup>24</sup>; the acts of reading, reflecting, translating, interpreting, and writing served as bibliotherapy. Creative activities, thought to benefit patients' care and recovery, played roles in institutions' asylum journals. George MacLennan identifies a direct link between social and medical changes and the production of patient publications: 'the various asylum journals which were being produced [at this time], he states, 'were products of the asylum reform movement, inspired by the therapeutic ideal of moral treatment'<sup>25</sup>. Such publications, as this thesis will demonstrate, reflected these changes, and played complex medical, social, and cultural roles within their hospital communities.

## 2 - Previous Scholarship

Although the practice of encouraging patient artwork has been recognised in asylum heritage scholarship<sup>26</sup>, I suggest that scholarly consideration of the patient publication as a particular form would be beneficial to wider asylum studies. In terms of critical attention, patient publications have perhaps not been recognised for their potential to inform scholarship of the asylum experience in the long nineteenth century. Scholars such as Maryrose Eannace<sup>27</sup> have investigated and analysed specific patient publications, as demonstrated in my literature review outlining the critical writing produced in the field thus far from both historical and literary perspectives (Appendix A).

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<sup>24</sup> Such work was also thought to have the potential to aid medical practitioners in their work caring for mental health patients. By the end of the century, these creative activities were identified as 'therapeutic in more specific ways' as they could become 'tools for engaging with the patients who created them or diagnostic tests through which psychiatrists could glimpse the workings of the patient mind' (Mike Jay, *This Way Madness Lies: The Asylum and Beyond* (London: Thames & Hudson Limited, 2016), p. 157.).

<sup>25</sup> George MacLennan, *Lucid Interval: Subjective Writing and Madness in History* (New Jersey: Associated University Presses, 1992), p. 134.

<sup>26</sup> See, for example, Andrew Scull, *Madness in Civilisation: A Cultural History of Insanity* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2015) and Julia Nurse, *Art in the asylum* (2016) <<http://blog.wellcomelibrary.org/2016/12/art-in-the-asylum/>> [accessed 14 July 2017].

<sup>27</sup> See Maryrose Eannace, 'Lunatic Literature: New York State's The Opal, 1850-1860' (PhD dissertation, University at Albany, State University of New York, 2001).

My own primary research has been extensive, necessitating identification and location of patient publications, before gaining access to their archives, and structuring and collecting visual and literary findings. I have compiled this research into a short history and Appendix A provides this brief chronology of patient publications. As stated earlier, by examining three titles, selected from this wider chronology of the format, it is hoped that this thesis can provide an entry into further research regarding individual publications and their roles within the formation and development of the asylum journal.

Although there is some pre-existing research into the format, there exist very few examples of work which approach a history or analysis of patient publications as a specific type of media production. One exception is the work of Erving Goffman, who explores the then-contemporary form of patient publications in his 1961 work *Asylums: Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates*. Goffman refers to such publications as the ‘house organ [...] typically a weekly newspaper or a monthly magazine’<sup>28</sup>, in which ‘participation is relatively voluntary’<sup>29</sup>. He states:

‘It is possible to speculate on the many functions of these comings together, but the explanations seem far less impressive than the singular way in which these practices keep cropping up in every kind of total institution and in what would seem to be the poorest possible soil’<sup>30</sup>.

In addition to Goffman’s writings, a short overview of the patient publication format can be found in Mary de Young’s *Encyclopedia of Asylum Therapeutics 1750-1950s*, which features a section on ‘Writing and Editing’, in which de Young identifies the ‘creation and production of an

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<sup>28</sup> Erving Goffman, *Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates* (Transaction Publishers, London: 2009), p. 95.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, p. 94.

<sup>30</sup> Erving Goffman, *Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates* (Transaction Publishers, London: 2009), p. 95.



asylum newsletter, magazine or journal<sup>31</sup> as a therapeutic measure. Both Goffman and de Young reflect on the format of the patient-led publication, and offer some insight into the circumstances of their role in mental health institutions.

Of especial note in previous patient publication scholarship, however, is Benjamin Reiss's 2004 article, 'Letters from Asylumia: The "Opal" and the Cultural Work of the Lunatic Asylum, 1851-1860', which provides a valuable analytical framework for approaching the format. Firstly, to demonstrate the relevance of Reiss's article and the usefulness of his analytical framework to my discussion of patient publications, it is important to point out the similarities of *The Opal* to the asylum journals discussed in my thesis. *The Opal*, a quarterly journal published from 1851 to 1860 at Utica asylum in New York, falls outside the geographic limitations of my study. However, as with *New Moon*, *Under the Dome*, and *The Hydra*, *The Opal* contains a range of content, including 'fiction, poetry, religious writings, dramatic sketches, occasional pieces, literary exercises, political commentary, patient memoirs, open letters, "healing" narratives, and cultural critique'<sup>32</sup>.

As a historical document produced in the era between *New Moon* and *Under the Dome*, and in comparable institutional circumstances, *The Opal* not only shares material similarities in terms of printed content, but it also shares mirrored origins within the institution. Reiss's outlining of Utica's methods of treating patients characterises the New York asylum as an innovative centre of the 'moral treatment' movement; this approach, as explored in my subsequent chapters, was employed by institutions such as Crichton, Bethlem, and Craiglockhart. Although it should be acknowledged that the social, cultural, and governmental contexts of American and British mental health hospitals differed<sup>33</sup> and that it is probable that such

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<sup>31</sup> Mary de Young, *Encyclopedia of Asylum Therapeutics, 1750-1950s* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2015), p. 118.

<sup>32</sup> Benjamin Reiss, 'Letters from Asylumia: The "Opal" and the Cultural Work of the Lunatic Asylum, 1851-1860', *American Literary History*, 16.1 (2004), 1-28 (p.2).

<sup>33</sup> See Deborah Kent's *Snake Pits, Talking Cures, & Magic Bullets: A History of Mental Illness* (Connecticut: Twenty-First Century Books, 2003).

differences can be seen within the material culture produced in such institutions, approaches to treatment in both countries' asylums shared this common philosophical foundation. The Utica medical staff's belief that a 'carefully controlled environment was essential to the cure'<sup>34</sup> was mirrored by the drive in British 'asylums' to maintain a routine of activity, rest, and order. Creative endeavours formed a significant aspect of their paralleled curative purposes; creative output, as suggested by Reiss in his analysis of *The Opal*, functioned as a component within mental health care. This thesis will demonstrate the similar creative-therapeutic roles *New Moon*, *Under the Dome*, and *The Hydra* were expected to play for patients at their respective institutions.

The material similarities between *The Opal* and the journals explored in this thesis are one aspect of the rationale for my applying an analytical framework informed by that of Reiss's. Given the lack of critical attention surrounding the format, Reiss's article is also particularly useful in its methodological approach as it is a seminal work which should be acknowledged when developing a critical analysis of the publication type. More importantly, however, 'Letters to Asylumia' presents an academically sound interrogative rubric, which mirrors the outcomes emerging from my archival research. Reiss's analysis of the material prioritises several of the same themes and questions I focused on while exploring *New Moon*, *Under the Dome*, and *The Hydra*. It also draws conclusions which are further evidenced by works featured in these three titles, and which corroborate my own findings.

Central to 'Letters to Asylumia' is critical analysis of any objectivity claim that *The Opal* might make; it is a 'fallible' object. In this context, a 'fallible' object - one that is not likely to work in an adequate way - is so called in order to draw attention to the unsatisfactory use of patient publications as objective, reliable and unbiased sources of information about the creative and institutional experiences of contributors. Relying on patient publications as definite and

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<sup>34</sup> Benjamin Reiss, 'Letters from Asylumia: The "Opal" and the Cultural Work of the Lunatic Asylum, 1851-1860', *American Literary History*, 16.1 (2004), 1-28 (p.1).

authoritative reflections or records of patients' lives and creative processes would negate important contexts shaping the production and reception of these texts; referring to them as 'fallible' objects highlights this textual uncertainty and ambiguity. The author's position of skepticism is a consideration which must necessarily be applied to documents produced within any asylum environment. Reiss's reasoning for determining *The Opal* as a fallible object is based on analysis of the correspondence between two components: the asylum and the journal. His analysis of this relationship is best understood as a critique on two levels: the micro - as evidence manifested within the publication, and the macro - wherein the nuanced relationship between asylum and journal is shaped by (and shapes) wider discourses.

Exemplifying the former, Reiss suggests that the Utica asylum journal provides, at best, an 'elliptical record'<sup>35</sup> of the experiences of the patients who wrote for the publication. Moreover, the author suggests that *The Opal* depicts asylum life as a series of amusements overseen by unfailingly humanitarian staff, caring for patients who were uniformly intelligent and cultured - an account 'so cheery and sugarcoated as to be beyond credibility'<sup>36</sup>. Reiss implies here that there is a noticeable lack of criticism and reflexivity in *The Opal*'s suspiciously, and uniformly, positive contents. In this evaluative summary of the journal's material, therefore, Reiss's phrase 'elliptical record' highlights the publication's unreliability as an authentic description of the asylum experience. Such analysis is further explored in Reiss's 'The Writing Cure', in which he suggests that *The Opal* is not 'a transparent record, for one can feel the patient-writers pressing up against the dictates and expectations of their physicians and wardens, just as they pressed up against the constraints of the institution'<sup>37</sup>. It is key to apply this critical view in readings of other patient publications, asking: is the patient-writer limiting, or being limited in, their work, and if so, is this evidenced within their contributions?

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid, p.2.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, p.3.

<sup>37</sup> Benjamin Reiss, 'The Writing Cure', *New York Archives*, 3.4 (2004), 25-28 (p. 26).

Reiss's analysis of the relationship between asylum and journal is based not only on a telling absence within the publication's contents. In addition to the material evidence for calculated institutional editing, there are theoretical and historical factors to be considered when highlighting the disconnect between patient publication as 'authentic' asylum record and as fallible tool of the institution. Highlighting nuance within the asylum-publication power dynamic, Reiss establishes the difference between "social death", a 'permanent and inheritable status of objecthood'<sup>38</sup> experienced by slaves, and "civil death", an ambiguous state wherein liberation was denied by doctors, families, and the law. Within asylum rhetoric, it was insanity which took freedom away from the patients and resulted in "civil death", and the asylum that returned the patient to the freedom of civil life. A notion internalised and reiterated by patients in their submissions to *The Opal*, what Reiss refers to as the asylum's 'relentless[...] characteriz[ation]'<sup>39</sup> of itself as restoring civic life to patients was echoed by the institution's journal. 'Patients', he suggests, 'had strong motivations to accept this formulation'<sup>40</sup>, presumably as a self-assuring mantra, which served to reinforce the authority of the institution on a subconscious and, later, literary level. Providing a key understanding of how power is exercised in an asylum environment, the Foucauldian approach is crucial when analysing any material produced by patients: Michel Foucault's work on the asylum firmly positions the institution's self-styling as necessitating governable scrutiny and normalising its authority<sup>41</sup>. Reiss implicitly employs a Foucauldian approach by implying that the journal enforces the asylum's authority whilst simultaneously disguising it<sup>42</sup>: 'one could easily forget on reading *The Opal* that the

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid, p.3.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, p.4.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> See Michel Foucault's *The Birth of the Clinic* (Oxon: Routledge, 2003), and *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1972).

<sup>42</sup> This 'necessary masking of power' is discussed by Mark Philip in his 'Foucault on Power: A Problem in Radical Translation', *Political Theory*, 11.1 (1983), 29- 52 (p. 45).

asylum was an institution with unprecedented powers to rescind the liberties of the socially deviant or psychologically aberrant'<sup>43</sup>.

This observation highlights an unknowable relationship between the enacted authority of the asylum and *The Opal* as censorable object, and implies that the publication can - and perhaps does - act as a tool of reinforcement through distraction or illusion. That is to say that content produced by patients for *The Opal* (and, by extension, for similar publications) is open to either overt or subconscious censorship, manipulation, or reinscribing by the institution, or patients as agents of the institution. Within this reading of *The Opal*, the publication is positioned as potentially a malleable tool of asylum power - a reinforcement of authority which self-disguises and self-justifies through the 'authenticity' of the voices of the journal's contributors. Accurately interpreting or analysing such texts becomes problematic.

Such rhetoric of power, and the nuanced and unmeasurable way it impacted patient-contributors, similarly informed the three titles under consideration in this thesis. For publications in England and Scotland, prior to the dawn of the National Health Service in 1948, any such publications would require approval of the medical superintendent of an institution, as well as the visiting committee. Their roles would include restricting any undesirable material which may have brought the hospital into disrepute and possible censorship of candid accounts. However, the limitations presented by such historical or discursive factors are not always self-evident within the primary sources, and thus it is often challenging to determine where patient expression ends and institutional propaganda comes into play. What emerges from readings of patient publications I have selected is not a clear editorial distinction between party line and creative expression, but instead a sense of incongruity, the presence of an indeterminable tension within and behind the journal's words. There exists an unseen but 'felt logic'<sup>44</sup> in which the

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<sup>43</sup> Benjamin Reiss, 'Letters from Asylumia: The "Opal" and the Cultural Work of the Lunatic Asylum, 1851-1860', *American Literary History*, 16.1 (2004), 1-28 (p.3).

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

institution's impact on patient-contributors' ability to create and publish freely can be somewhat extrapolated from micro- or macro- level analyses, but cannot be comprehensively translated from the primary sources.

By highlighting the complex relationship between asylum as authoritative and publication as fallible object, and patient (both as individuals and collectively) as possessing an unknowable relationship with both, 'Letters to Asylumia' presents a series of questions key to any discussion of a patient publication. How accurately does this journal represent the 'true' experience of this asylum? Is there a way to access or unveil this 'truth', and if so, how? What can this information reveal about the asylum and about the patients who have contributed their work? These questions are primarily concerned with notions of 'truth', and position authenticity as enabling access to greater understanding of the publications and the institutions they represent. What obstructs such analysis, therefore, is an obfuscation of this relationship between asylum, journal and patient<sup>45</sup>.

However, the 'elliptical record', to return to Reiss's useful characterisation of patient publications, can still offer genuine insight. As a counterpoint to his analysis of possible objectivity claims in *The Opal*, Reiss warns against employing a simplistic 'rubric of subversion and containment' and suggests that this 'tends to flatten out the range of expressive possibilities made available to patients under the moral treatment movement'<sup>46</sup>. This is a conclusion which I have also discovered in my analyses of patient publications: despite the fundamental

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<sup>45</sup> 'Letters from Asylumia' acknowledges that the contemporary body of neo-Foucauldian analysis of patient publications is divided by a key disagreement: 'whether such writing can ever meaningfully resist institutional surveillance, or whether its sponsorship by the authorities always undermines its subversive potential'(p. 3). Reiss's exploration of the asylum's authority over *The Opal* (and by extent, other patient publications) is supported by references to Goffman's analysis of "house organs", which suggested that newsletters written by patients were 'vehicles for patients to voice "the institutional line"' (p. 23), Jann Matlock's discussion of the 'transgressive' nature of a surreptitious asylum journal produced by a woman in the nineteenth century, and Eannace's exploration of the 'miscellany' format of *The Opal*. Each of these readings examines how effectively patient publications could disconnect from the authority of their home institutions. I suggest that, read together, these three examples illustrate the scope of scholarly interpretations pertaining to this disconnect in asylum-publication relationships.

<sup>46</sup> Benjamin Reiss, 'Letters from Asylumia: The "Opal" and the Cultural Work of the Lunatic Asylum, 1851-1860', *American Literary History*, 16.1 (2004), 1-28 (p.3).

unknowability of asylum experience, critical investigation of these journals can still bear fruit. Locating and analyzing the ‘expressive possibilities’ in *New Moon*, *Under the Dome*, and *The Hydra* is precisely what this thesis aims to do, and which can be achieved, as Reiss has exemplified in ‘Letters from Asylumia’, by deciphering what *has* been featured in the publications (alongside the demonstrable editorial gaps), and by analysing the crucial historical and theoretical context.

In short, the first component of the analytical framework introduced by Reiss is a critical awareness of objectivity claims, and, as an acknowledgment of the unknowable nature of these publications, reading them as complex and nuanced representations of their institutions. Such awareness will be considered in my exploration of *New Moon*, *Under the Dome*, and *The Hydra*. This contextualising and historicising of patient publications leads to the second critical perspective within ‘Letters from Asylumia’ that is key to my thesis. Reiss, in asking ‘what social and literary conditions explain the peculiar form such expression [publication contents] takes?’<sup>47</sup>, highlights the importance of the social and cultural modes which inform patients’ creative expression. Such ‘conditions’ resultantly shape work produced for patient publications, as creatives respond, interpret, or subvert the discourses to which they are exposed. I further demonstrate that medical ‘conditions’, specifically forms of treatment and the institutional environment, should also be considered as a discourse which impacted patients’ work; henceforth I will refer to this consideration collectively as the context of cultural, social, and medical ‘conditions’. The impact of these ‘conditions’ on patients’ creative expression is twofold - firstly via the mental health experiences of the patients, but also in context with the styles of and content within creative work produced. Building upon this analysis of *The Opal* in this thesis, I explore how patient-writers and -artists respond to ‘external’ modes of culture, as well

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid, p.4.

as other social and medical ‘conditions’ which inform their creative work; discourses which, as Reiss says, ‘explain the peculiar form such expression[s] take’<sup>48</sup>.

Such a reading highlights a perspective which must be considered when approaching the patient publications examined within this thesis: the impact of cultural, social, and medical ‘conditions’ on patients’ art and mental health demonstrates that the creators consumed and responded to media not solely as artists or patients, but as creators who are simultaneously both. In her scholarly work, Chaney suggests that framing survivor stories solely within medical discourse limits analysis of patients’ work for journals, and instead prioritises the voices of professionals<sup>49</sup>. In analysing patient publications, I argue that the contributors to the journals - the patient-writers or -artists - must be centred in this discussion of asylum influence and object fallibility.

### 3 - Thesis summary

Two considerations from Reiss’s analysis - the ‘elliptical’ gaps of knowability inherent to the patient publication format, and the impact of cultural, social, and medical ‘conditions’ on the creative and psychological development of patients - will be applied throughout this thesis. The former consideration will underpin this thesis’s discussion of the contexts and contents of *New Moon*, *Under the Dome*, and *The Hydra*: this ‘unknowability’ will be considered alongside analysis of institutional authority and patient autonomy in these asylum journals. Such exploration of patient publications’ relationships to their home institutions will form the basis of this thesis’s overall inquiry. The latter consideration will form part of the close textual analysis which will be used to explore the select publications numbers under consideration. The

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid, p.4.

<sup>49</sup> Sarah Chaney, *Where is the survivor archive?* (2016) <<http://blog.wellcomelibrary.org/2016/12/where-is-the-survivor-archive/>> [accessed 3 January 2017].



‘conditions’ which impacted on the creation of *New Moon*, *Under the Dome*, and *The Hydra* are a key focus of this thesis, which aims to closely consider how medical/social philosophies and patient creativity shape individual publications. Articles within these three publications reflect the trends and styles of work produced by writers outside the confines of the asylum, and I will demonstrate that written examples can be understood as created in response to, or inspired by, ‘external’ creative spheres. This discussion will also include an exploration of the relationships of individual titles to other patient publications, produced in different mental health institutions.

In Chapter One, I explore how the selected numbers of the Crichton Royal Institution publication *New Moon* represents a patient ‘voice’ in negotiation with institutional ideology - specifically, the notion that ‘refinement’ is equivalent to ‘wellbeing’. This medical-philosophical ideology permeates *New Moon*, and I suggest that its prevalence in the journal highlights power relations between the Dumfries institution and its inmates. Through analysis of the asylum-patient ‘negotiation’ of ideology within this textual space, I explore the limits of locating an ‘independent’ patient voice in *New Moon*. I argue that the periodical demonstrates to some extent a Crichtonian patient literary identity, which can be characterised as a dialogue between the ideological impact of the asylum and an inmate-centric literary independence.

Continuing this theme of patient ‘negotiation’ of the ‘conditions’ impacting their recovery and creative work, Chapter Two explores how *Under the Dome* draws on discourses within and external to the hospital to formulate a particular Bethlem ‘house’ identity. Furthering Chapter One’s discussion of the relationship between institutional authority and patient autonomy, this chapter will consider the relationship between staff- and patient-writers in *Under the Dome*. From an analysis of this literary relationship, I demonstrate how the magazine’s contributors understood their communal literary ‘identity’, and examine how they chose to represent it within their house magazine. This chapter argues that analysis of this relationship suggests that the unified editorial team worked to produce a magazine communicating a

particular self-image or perception of Bethlem to its contributors and readers. I argue that this conceptualisation of hospital ‘self’ is created by and for the wider asylum community, and illustrates the cyclical processes by which institutional identity is formed.

Chapter Three explores the role of creativity in the therapy employed at Craiglockhart War Hospital in the period from 1917-1918. It addresses how the healing objectives of the hospital were complicated by the context of war in which officer-patients were treated with the intention of sending them back to the Front when ‘cured’. This chapter explores how the role of hospital’s house magazine *The Hydra* as a ‘dual-method’ tool of healing was problematized by this context of conflict, and how officer-patients’ creative work for this publication engaged with these paradoxical themes of war and healing. *The Hydra*, I suggest, is a further example of negotiation between institutional authority and patient autonomy, in addition to representing patients’ engagement with cultural, social, and medical ‘conditions’.

Official records of ‘[m]edical practice [are] a convenient way into psychological disorders because it provides a ready set of records and [...] ties into wider debates in the history of medicine,’ reflects Peter Leese. The limitation of these records ‘is the relative absence of the patient’s point of view’<sup>50</sup>. By exploring the ‘expressive possibilities’ readable within the relationship of patient publications to their respective institutions, audiences, and to wider discourses, this thesis aims to offer new perspectives on asylum experiences in the long nineteenth century by centralising patient-contributor voices.

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<sup>50</sup> Peter Leese, “Broken Men: Shell Shock, Treatment and Recovery in Britain 1914–30. By Fiona Reid. Continuum. 2010; Treating the Trauma of the Great War: Soldiers, Civilians and Psychiatry in France 1914–1940. By Gregory M. Thomas. Louisiana State University Press. 2009; The Politics of War Trauma: The Aftermath of World War II in Eleven European Countries. Edited by Jolande Withuis and Annet Mooij. Aksant. 2010.”, *Annual Bulletin of Historical Literature*, 96.1 (2012), 89-92 (p. 90).

Chapter One: ‘We are stimulated to rise higher in virtue’<sup>51</sup>: institutional ideology and patient autonomy in *New Moon*

From the early 1840s, when patients first arrived at Crichton Royal Institution (later Crichton Royal Hospital) at Dumfries, they would often find themselves initiated into a whirlwind of activity. Work programmes, educational events, concerts and theatricals, and outings to places of interest in south-west Scotland and further afield were made available to inmates, as well as access to a patients’ library and museum - and to a regular patient-led periodical, the *New Moon, or Crichton Royal Institution Literary Register*, to which staff at the hospital encouraged them to contribute. An institution with a clear history of engagement with the theory and practice of moral therapy, Crichton’s emphasis on therapeutic activity was predominantly due to the influence and work of Dr William Alexander Francis Browne, the hospital’s superintendent, who would later become regarded as ‘one of the most influential British alienists’<sup>52</sup>. Browne had come to the Dumfries institution in July 1838 after recommending himself for the post ‘by his influential lectures on asylum management, which outlined his general approach of ‘moral treatment’<sup>53</sup>. In these lectures, published as *What Asylums Were, Are, and Ought to Be*, he hypothesised that the secret to effective mental health care lay not only in kindness, but in occupation.

Although similar treatments were used in other asylums in the period, as Maureen Park and Robert Hamilton suggest in their study of moral treatment at the Dumfries hospital, ‘no other asylum in Scotland, or perhaps in Britain, could match Crichton for the range of opportunities for

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<sup>51</sup> Anon, ‘Prospectus’, *New Moon*, 1.1 (1844), 1 (p. 1).

<sup>52</sup> Maureen Park and Robert Hamilton, ‘Moral treatment of the insane: Provisions for lifelong learning, cultural engagement, and creativity in nineteenth-century asylums’, *Journal of Adult and Continuing Education*, 16.2 (2010), 100-113 (p. 103).

<sup>53</sup> Thomas Walmsley, ‘review of Art in Madness: Dr W. A. F. Browne’s Collection of Patient Art at Crichton Royal Institution, Dumfries, by Maureen Park’, *The British Journal of Psychiatry*, 199.2 (2011), 78 (p.78).

patient participation in educational and cultural pursuits'<sup>54</sup>. After taking up his post at Dumfries, Browne quickly set about 'making Crichton a leading center of moral treatment'<sup>55</sup>: creative work was key among the tasks patients were encouraged to undertake by Browne, who, from the early 1840s, 'engaged an 'art instructor' for patients who had been 'prescribed' art as part of their treatment'<sup>56</sup> and eventually had a collection of patient art, around 140 paintings, bound into a leather volume<sup>57</sup>. Alongside this emphasis on the visual, a literary culture was clearly cultivated at Crichton from the earliest years of the asylum's opening, as the practices of both reading and writing were utilised in patients' psychological rehabilitation.

Crichton's systematic emphasis on reading and writing as individual and as mutually informative therapeutic activities - what I will refer to henceforth as the hospital's 'curative literary culture' - is exemplified in many aspects of asylum life. The patients' library, to which the public was invited to donate books, had been in place at the hospital since 1839<sup>58</sup>. That small library of 220 volumes had grown to 5,000 volumes by 1852. *New Moon* regularly reported that new donations had been made to the hospital library and museum, suggesting the influx of literary material was important news to the patients. 'Cultural engagement was perceived not just as safe but actually promoted health and well-being'<sup>59</sup>, as Park suggests, and interest in attaining such positive results is visible in the patients' high level of participation in the programme. Exemplifying this is the high demand for resources: although the library included *Knights'*

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<sup>54</sup> Maureen Park and Robert Hamilton, 'Moral treatment of the insane: Provisions for lifelong learning, cultural engagement, and creativity in nineteenth-century asylums', *Journal of Adult and Continuing Education*, 16.2 (2010), 100-113 (p. 103).

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Thomas Walmsley, 'review of Art in Madness: Dr W. A. F. Browne's Collection of Patient Art at Crichton Royal Institution, Dumfries, by Maureen Park', *The British Journal of Psychiatry*, 199.2 (2011), 78 (p.78).

<sup>57</sup> For more discussion on patient art at Crichton, see Julia Nurse's *Art in the asylum* (2016) <<http://blog.wellcomelibrary.org/2016/12/art-in-the-asylum/>> [accessed 14 November 2017].

<sup>58</sup> Morag Williams, *The Crichton Royal Hospital* (2015) <<http://www.johnandmoragwilliams.co.uk/croyalh.html>> [accessed 4 January 2017].

<sup>59</sup> Maureen Park and Robert Hamilton, 'Moral treatment of the insane: Provisions for lifelong learning, cultural engagement, and creativity in nineteenth-century asylums', *Journal of Adult and Continuing Education*, 16.2 (2010), 100-113 (p. 110).

*Weekly Volume*, *Moxon*, *Smith*, and *Chambers*' editions of standard works, this proved inadequate for patients, a number of whom (around 44 of a hospital population of approximately 120 in 1844<sup>60</sup>) seem to have been voracious readers. In his Fifth Annual Report of Crichton, published in November 1844, Browne states that it is 'impossible to satisfy all applicants' in their desire for more reading material, although the 'limited means possessed [by the hospital to provide books had] been considerably augmented by the liberality of individuals, and by access to private collections'<sup>61</sup>. In this year, around 'sixty additions have been made to our Catalogue', reported Browne, who noted that this catalogue had 'been remodelled and classified by a patient'<sup>62</sup>. Such high level of engagement is likely a result of the hospital's advocating of patients' interest in literary works, a factor which is further suggested by Browne's practice of attempting to encourage patients to read by leaving books lying around the various galleries<sup>63</sup>. Writing activities were also prescribed to patients, where deemed appropriate. In emphasising the 'vast importance of reading and regulated study in the management of the insane'<sup>64</sup> in Crichton's Fifth Annual Report, Browne's views on literary engagement also seem to closely link reading and writing as two interrelated forms of occupational 'work' or employment: the doctor, and thus Crichton, emphasised both endeavours as serving a similar therapeutic function. Reading and writing were encouraged as individual endeavours while the two activities were also seen to be complementary, meaning that patients were sometimes assigned 'reading and reflecting' activities as part of their treatment. Further to the encouraged use of the library and individually-set literary tasks, *New Moon* was introduced as a further exercise in advocating literary engagement as therapy. The journal offered a therapeutic outlet for patient-writers and -readers,

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<sup>60</sup> W. A. F. Browne, *Fifth Annual Report of the Crichton Royal Institution for Lunatics, Dumfries* (Dumfries: Crichton Royal Institution, 1844), p. 19.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> Morag Williams, *The Crichton Royal Hospital* (2015) <<http://www.johnandmoragwilliams.co.uk/croyalh.html>> [accessed 4 January 2017].

<sup>64</sup> W. A. F. Browne, *Fifth Annual Report of the Crichton Royal Institution for Lunatics, Dumfries* (Dumfries: Crichton Royal Institution, 1844), p. 20.

providing a space to undertake reading and writing as separate activities, and also for joint ‘read and reflect’ endeavours.

In understanding the role of *New Moon*, attention must be paid to the projected outcomes of such an endeavour, as well as to the intended purposes of the wider curative literary culture at Crichton. The following questions are vital in this context: What, specifically, was the hospital’s curative literary culture intended to achieve? How was *New Moon* intended to deliver these goals? Crichton’s investment in patients’ literary culture should not be categorised solely as a method of distracting or occupying patients, as, perhaps, a patient suffering from a physical complaint might require something to fill their time during convalescence. Instead, in Browne’s ‘moral therapy’, occupation and entertainment provided the apparatus by which the healing was administered. As an early form of ‘occupational’ therapy, the distraction and employment that literary engagement provided for patients was the very enactment of the ‘cure’. To Browne, ‘such pursuits were more than mere ‘amusements’ and sweeteners’; they were, as Park describes such creative therapies, ‘new curative agents’<sup>65</sup>. *New Moon* was specifically, de Young suggests, ‘a recognized effort towards moral treatment’<sup>66</sup>.

However, both the hospital’s definition of ‘cure’ and the focus and purpose of its practices highlight (as, perhaps, any psychological intervention does<sup>67</sup>) something of the character of its era; what might in this case perhaps be deemed a problematic lapse in medical-philosophical ethicality. Crichton’s curative literary culture, in its emphasis on both reading and writing, demonstrates an intention not only to merely make patients well, but also - in the process of caring for them - more specifically, to ‘refine’ them. The Dumfries asylum’s definition of

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<sup>65</sup> Maureen Park and Robert Hamilton, ‘Moral treatment of the insane: Provisions for lifelong learning, cultural engagement, and creativity in nineteenth-century asylums’, *Journal of Adult and Continuing Education*, 16.2 (2010), 100-113 (p. 104).

<sup>66</sup> Mary de Young, *Encyclopedia of Asylum Therapeutics, 1750-1950s* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2015), 120.

<sup>67</sup> The discursive construction of insanity is, as Foucault demonstrates in *Madness and Civilisation: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), defined by the collective understanding of sanity within the society in which the insane person resides: madness is defined in relation to what is civilly acceptable.

‘sanity’ or ‘wellness’ is shaped by this notion of refinement. The objective of Crichtonian moral therapy, Park suggests, ‘was to show patients a better life by improving the mind’<sup>68</sup>: the return to “reason” was, in theory, achieved through such refinement. Reading and writing activities - as individual and interlinked pursuits - were deemed by Browne to be curative employments with the potential to either return a patient to their former intellect, or to improve upon their current intellectual state. This curative emphasis equates intellectual pursuit with psychological improvement, corollating a heightened civility with developed sanity. Evidence of this particular understanding of mental rehabilitation is also present in the patient-led literary output of Crichton - a result, I will suggest, of the influence of the socio-medical ideology.

I will demonstrate in this chapter that both the content of *New Moon*, and the practices of writing and ‘reading and reflecting’ that the publication’s creation and consumption necessitated, were intended by Crichton to function as aspects of administering this employment-based treatment to patients. As literary practices that also functioned as ‘curative agents’, these two activities or ‘methods’ of delivering moral therapy share a purpose: to return patients to ‘reason’ as a specifically intellectual, ‘refined’ form of ‘sanity’ or wellbeing. Although I will elaborate later upon the ‘dual-method’ model of moral therapy activities, it is necessary here to state that *New Moon* was intended to act as an enabler or facilitator of both these methods which were designed to administer and advocate what I will refer to henceforth as the ‘refinement as wellbeing’ ideology.

Appearing as regularly as its celestial counterpart, the Crichton house organ as hospital tool was intended to function as a consistently recurring therapeutic or ‘moral’ directive, in which patients would be regularly reminded of the objective of ‘refinement’. Patient-contributors would also, through the process of producing and consuming creative work, be actively pursuing

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<sup>68</sup> Maureen Park and Robert Hamilton, ‘Moral treatment of the insane: Provisions for lifelong learning, cultural engagement, and creativity in nineteenth-century asylums’, *Journal of Adult and Continuing Education*, 16.2 (2010), 100-113 (p. 104).

this objective. Throughout this chapter, I argue that this publication, which set out to be ‘edited, composed, and corrected exclusively by inmates’<sup>69</sup>, illustrates aspects of the socio-medical ideology championed by the medical superintendent and *New Moon*’s hospital home. Although patient-led, the Crichton house organ bears clear evidence of the ideological impact of the asylum and its medical officials.

However, I will also go on to suggest that the journal enabled patient-writers and -readers to explore and experiment with the hospital’s medical ideology, even as they were encouraged to adhere to it. *New Moon* arguably represents a negotiation between institutional medical ideology and patients’ attempts to replicate or critique this conceptualising of ‘wellbeing’, wherein the publication acts as ‘tool’ for both. This chapter will thus explore the relationship between *New Moon* and this medical ideology, and the extent to which an independent patient ‘voice’ can be identified within its pages. For purposes of clarity, this chapter will focus on the early run of *New Moon* - its first volume, numbers 1 to 12, dated from Tuesday, December 3 1844, to Monday, November 3 1845<sup>70</sup>. During this period, a total of seventeen men and three women had ‘contributed 119 articles, poems, letters, translations, plays, song lyrics, and conundrums’<sup>71</sup> to *New Moon* for publication.

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<sup>69</sup> W. A. F. Browne, *Fifth Annual Report of the Crichton Royal Institution for Lunatics, Dumfries* (Dumfries: Crichton Royal Institution, 1844), p. 21.

<sup>70</sup> It is possible that the first issue was in circulation as early as November 1844, as Browne mentions its publication in his report dated of this month.

<sup>71</sup> Maureen Park and Robert Hamilton, ‘Moral treatment of the insane: Provisions for lifelong learning, cultural engagement, and creativity in nineteenth-century asylums’, *Journal of Adult and Continuing Education*, 16.2 (2010), 100-113 (p. 105).



## 1 - Acknowledging limitations

‘It is a question of some importance, whether the human mind be ever restored to its original health and strength after an attack of insanity,’ posits Browne in his Fifth Annual Report. He suggests:

‘Calmness and composure may return, the capacity to engage in complicated matters of business or abstruse studies, and that self-possession and correctness of external deportment which are regarded as indices of health[,] [but] [t]he only true and infallible test of sanity is the effect of the re-entrance upon active life’<sup>72</sup>.

As stated above, at the Crichton institution, ‘sanity’, or a ‘normal’ state of psychological being, was perceived as the capacity to be intellectual, refined, and civil. This was qualified, more specifically, against an external standard. That is to say that the larger goal of the curative literary culture of Crichton, in its drive for a particular standard of psychological capability as, supposedly, demonstrative of good mental health, denotes the hospital’s objective to enable patients to understand, reflect, and enact the societal norms of ‘civil’, ‘outside’ culture. Indeed, Park and Hamilton suggest that ‘the use of cultural education provision in asylums in the nineteenth century [was] to promote cure and restoration of the ‘insane’ to ‘society’’<sup>73</sup>, helping to rehabilitate patients into civil life beyond the asylum walls. Browne’s term ‘active life’ also reflects this therapeutic goal, alluding to the social and physical components enacted by moral therapy and deemed central to recovery.

It might seem somewhat counterintuitive that this method of care relied on removing patients from their ‘outside’ lives in order to teach them how to best attain the standards of the

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<sup>72</sup> W. A. F. Browne, *Fifth Annual Report of the Crichton Royal Institution for Lunatics, Dumfries* (Dumfries: Crichton Royal Institution, 1844), p. 5.

<sup>73</sup> Maureen Park and Robert Hamilton, ‘Moral treatment of the insane: Provisions for lifelong learning, cultural engagement, and creativity in nineteenth-century asylums’, *Journal of Adult and Continuing Education*, 16.2 (2010), 100-113 (p. 100).

world from which they were seeking asylum. However, the order, security, and routine of the asylum environment also played a complex and necessary role in this mode of nineteenth-century mental health care, and moral therapy was introduced ‘in recognition of the harmful effects of social isolation in an institution, to cure and prepare some for release and life in the community outside’<sup>74</sup>. As discussed in the introduction, asylum rhetoric suggested that the ‘civil death’ experienced by a loss of sanity was counteracted by the institution, which sought to return the patient to the freedom of civil life. Reiss’s discussion of the hospital as reviving patients to a standard of sanity as determined against external society reflects the goal of Crichtonian moral therapy to shape the patient into an appropriately ‘civil’ individual - a standard determined by both the society and thus the hospital to be represented by intellectual abilities and cultivated behaviour. Park and Hamilton suggest that even in cases when returning patients to their former lives was not a reality, they were still encouraged to undertake the same activities and aspire to the same level of civil refinement, as it was thought that in cases where ‘permanent cure was not possible for patients, their lives were undoubtedly enhanced by access to such a stimulating and therapeutic environment’<sup>75</sup>. Regardless of whether attaining a sanity deemed equivalent to that of the population outside the hospital walls was realistic or not, patients were still encouraged to work towards this ‘external’ standard of refinement.

‘Civilly’ appropriate behaviour, supposed by Browne to be representative of a patient’s returning to health or sanity, could, within the logic of Crichton’s medical practices, be incited by literary activity as a component of wider moral therapy. This hypothesis is heavily implied by the hospital’s efforts to encourage ‘higher’ literary endeavours. As suggested above, facilitating patients’ desire to engage with literary culture was a priority for Browne, whose 1844 report indicates his hope that the library would play a role in his system of deploying moral therapy to

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid, p. 101.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid, p. 110.

patients. This objective is implied by his report's suggestion that the statistics of the hospital library 'would indicate an increase of literary taste, and of that calm and contemplative state which enables the mind to embrace and enjoy the thoughts of others'<sup>76</sup>. Further to implying that he had seen (or at least presumed) a positive correlation between higher demand for reading material and improved 'civility', representative of a return to mental health, Browne's association of literary engagement with a 'calm state' indicates that reading was thought to encourage 'sane'-appearing, 'refined' behaviour, appropriate to the 'active life' patients were intended to re-enter.

Not only was access to literary material key to achieving this goal, but the writing provided also had to fulfil a particular standard, or criterion, of suitability. Browne asserted that 'the works [selected for the library should not be] frivolous and ephemeral, [or] the study bestowed transient and trifling'<sup>77</sup>. Instead, literary work was assigned to Crichton's inmates based upon what would be deemed beneficial for their - often specific - mental wellbeing and development. After listing a number of patients who had mastered serious texts during their time at the hospital (including one student who had 'translated a considerable portion of a transcendental German work on Insanity'<sup>78</sup>) Browne notes that the 'distribution of these books was not determined by accident, caprice, or solely by the inclinations of the parties'<sup>79</sup>, but instead selected for patients that could be enticed back to 'reason' by the particular content of the works, and by the act of study and reflection. For example, a patient who read ten volumes of Conrad Malte-Brun's work on physical geography had been recommended the texts as therapy for his 'compliance with a morbid suggestion, an abstruse theory, called divarication, which deals in subtleties of language and morals, and which had seduced him from the region of fact, reality,

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<sup>76</sup> W. A. F. Browne, *Fifth Annual Report of the Crichton Royal Institution for Lunatics, Dumfries* (Dumfries: Crichton Royal Institution, 1844), p. 18.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid*, p. 19.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid*, p. 19.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid*, p. 19.

and reason'<sup>80</sup>. Geography, the implication seems to be, was considered a subject suitably rooted in scientific quantifiability, and would distract the reader away from any fanciful delusions which might be symptoms of their illness, towards a more academic mode of thought. Similarly, if there were doubts as to a patient's capacity to retain their former reading ability, they were invited to undertake the 'exercise of rendering into plain English the profound but obscure views of Jacobi' as an 'attempt to convince a man that his mind was sane, and strong, and under control'<sup>81</sup>.

Reading and writing were here prescribed as therapeutic methods which would 'rationalise' patients through intellectual application. This movement to ensure that selected works would encourage 'refined' wellbeing amongst patients led to a cautious monitoring of literary consumption at Crichton. As Browne suggests:

'In the anxiety to divert the mind from itself, and from the clamorous demand for such recreation, many authors are resorted to whose principles are either not known, or are not altogether approved. Occasionally a check requires to be imposed upon the course of reading, as when a suicide perseveres in inquiring for such works as Bolingbroke, the Radcliffe novels, and Bird's novel of the Infidel's Doom'<sup>82</sup>.

The lines between 'medical care' and 'process of refinement' further interweave in this mode of literary moral therapy: texts for patients to read had to be sufficiently literary and also appropriate for the specific mental needs of the convalescing individual. Literary work was sometimes assigned to patients based on their particular therapeutic requirements - but this work was intended to appeal directly to their capacity for a mental 'refinement' reflective of wider societal standards.

Such emphasis on the potential for 'refined' wellbeing is reflected in contemporary nineteenth-century writing about *New Moon* as an outlet for 'refining' writing therapy. The

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid, p. 19.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid, p. 20.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid, p. 28.

magazine is mentioned in 'eminent Scottish asylum physician'<sup>83</sup> Dr C. Lockhart Robertson's 'Report on the Progress of Knowledge with respect to Psychological Medicine', published in the *Half-Yearly Abstract of the Medical Sciences*, January-June 1848. In this report, Robinson states:

"In resuscitating correct and healthy habits of thinking, in developing powers hitherto unknown or lost in the confusion consequent upon disease, and in giving a sphere of activity to minds which are only partially impaired, the 'New Moon' has proved most beneficial"<sup>84</sup>.

The use of language, such as 'resuscitating' 'lost' 'powers', implies that the patients chosen for this therapy demonstrated intellectual abilities prior to their illness. The reference to minds 'only partially impaired' further suggests the emphasis on patients whose skills were deemed promising.

This awareness of individual patients' capacity for 'refined' wellbeing draws attention to what is perhaps a material outcome of the aforementioned lapse in medical ethicality. The restrictive nature of Crichton's emphasis on refinement as mental health objective is also apparent in the limitations set upon the category of patients to which such literary-therapeutic encouragement was demonstrated. This treatment may have had positive outcomes for some patients, specifically those who showed potential for such 'refinement', but it might have also negatively impacted on or marginalised others. Although, as noted above, reading material was in high demand, patients who were already exhibiting such 'appropriate' behaviour were more likely to have access to books, newspapers, and journals. Morag Williams, a historian who has worked extensively on Crichton's history as an institution, notes that patients' access to texts would be largely determined by their behaviour, stating:

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<sup>83</sup> Mary de Young, *Encyclopedia of Asylum Therapeutics, 1750-1950s* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2015), 120.

<sup>84</sup> C. Lockhart Robertson, 'Report on the Progress of Knowledge with respect to Psychological Medicine', in *Half-Yearly Abstract of the Medical Sciences*, ed. by W. H. Ranking, (London: John Churchill, 1848), pp. 378-415 (p. 393).

‘more books would be found in the upper galleries which housed the most tranquil patients; the fractious patients of the ground floor galleries, though not denied the pleasures of reading, would be less inclined to do so and much more inclined to engage in wanton destruction’<sup>85</sup>.

The implication in Williams’s evaluation is that more ‘badly behaved’ patients would be less likely to be trusted with reading material for fear of damage. This concern is reflected by Browne, who notes that although ‘some slight injuries and mutilations have been observed’ in the year of 1844, ‘it is an interesting fact, and strongly indicative of the honesty and carefulness of the readers, that not one volume has been lost or destroyed’<sup>86</sup>.

Furthermore, in the Fifth Annual Report, it is only inmates who were already demonstrating intellectual ambition who are mentioned as part of Crichton’s literary culture, as implied by Browne’s record of the hospital’s

‘divines, physicians, artists, men who have lived on and by literature and science, philosophers and poets by profession [...] who continue to long with all the ardency of their former nature, and the morbid appetite of excitement, after the new and the true’<sup>87</sup>.

A number of languages were read and spoken by the patients, including French, Italian, German, Persian and ‘Hindostanee’ - application of language skills was encouraged by *New Moon*’s translation competitions - and ‘the most celebrated works in these languages [were] demanded or coveted’<sup>88</sup>. Such effusive description of highly educated and intellectually engaged patients indicates an emphasis on supporting those who already had literary ability and interests, rather than emphasising literary engagement as a treatment for all those living at Crichton. While

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<sup>85</sup> Morag Williams, *The Crichton Royal Hospital* (2015) <<http://www.johnandmoragwilliams.co.uk/croyalh.html>> [accessed 4 January 2017].

<sup>86</sup> W. A. F. Browne, *Fifth Annual Report of the Crichton Royal Institution for Lunatics, Dumfries* (Dumfries: Crichton Royal Institution, 1844), p. 18.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid*, p. 19.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*, p. 19.

thought to improve the mental condition of patients, it appears that those deemed already most civilly behaved - or perhaps the most intellectually promising - might have received greater access to literary support. This could be for a number of political reasons, such as bolstering the number of successful 'recoveries' reported to the hospital's funding and supportive bodies. It is thus important to consider Browne's statement that a significant number of the hospital's inmates had 'been thoroughly educated, and even under the pressure of mental darkness and delusion, amid the fall of feebleness of the higher faculties, the predilections and pursuits of cultivation and refinement, remain and crave gratification'<sup>89</sup>. This might imply that the majority of patients demonstrated substantial literary proclivity and thus most patients at Crichton had the support to engage in this culture of reading and writing - but with no mention of those who needed greater (or a different sort of) assistance, it cannot be claimed that the hospital's literary culture was made universally accessible to patients.

Class divisions, which might illustrate educational opportunities and resulting literary abilities, could offer further insight into Crichton's systems of exclusion and inclusion. However, it is also difficult to identify divisions between patients with the potential to reach 'refined wellbeing', and those less likely to achieve this goal, along such class lines. In 1839 Crichton had 54 beds allocated for private paying patients, defined by Sarah Wise as the category of patient 'able to pay fees [...] and usually ranging in social class from regularly employed artisan/tradesman to aristocrat'<sup>90</sup>, and 50 beds for 'pauper' patients<sup>91</sup>, who were unable to pay fees. Park states that Crichton's records 'reveal an environment where both pauper and private patients were encouraged to nurture their talents, to discover new interests, learn new skills, and

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Sarah Wise, *Inconvenient People: Lunacy, Liberty, and the Mad-Doctors in Victorian England* (London: Vintage, 2013), p. xii.

<sup>91</sup> Numbers taken from Wellcome Library's website entry on Crichton: [wellcomelibrary.org/collections/digital-collections/mental-healthcare/crichton-royal-hospital](http://wellcomelibrary.org/collections/digital-collections/mental-healthcare/crichton-royal-hospital).

to mix with the outside world in preparation for their potential return to society'<sup>92</sup>. However, it is not clear to what degree the material practice of this institutional encouragement was impacted by the aforementioned limitations on access to Crichton's curative literary culture. Although Park implies a degree of class/ability equality in the moral therapy administered at Crichton, it is unclear whether there were differences in how educated 'pauper' or private patients were enabled to access this curative literary culture, and to what degree their behaviour or prior education affected their ability to engage with it.

These examples of hospital practices demonstrate the importance placed on literary engagement and the hope for subsequent 'refinement', but they also serve to highlight potential issues in interpreting *New Moon*'s contents. This evidence could show that Crichton's curative literary culture may have been shaped by systemic exclusion of certain patients. In this reading, the hospital's rhetoric demonstrates a complex and problematic internal logic - that psychological wellbeing equates to ability to exemplify social expectations of 'sanity' - with the potential to dismiss or exclude individuals. To claim that *New Moon* is representative of Crichton's entire curative literary culture would negate these important contexts. Unavoidably replicating the asylum's ideological lens means that textual analysis, and any conclusions formed, will reflect only the represented voices within the *New Moon* patient community base. As this chapter progresses, the terms '*New Moon* patient community base' or 'patient-contributors' will be used to refer specifically to the patient-writers and -readers involved in the journal's production, as a way of acknowledging a separateness from the wider curative literary culture of Crichton. I identify the journal community as such in order to acknowledge the critical limitations imposed by the contexts of inclusion/exclusion, and also in recognition of the difficulties in accurately analysing the impact of these contexts.

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<sup>92</sup> Maureen Park and Robert Hamilton, 'Moral treatment of the insane: Provisions for lifelong learning, cultural engagement, and creativity in nineteenth-century asylums', *Journal of Adult and Continuing Education*, 16.2 (2010), 100-113 (p. 109).



This separateness highlights another important factor in this chapter's analysis of medical ideology in *New Moon*. Understanding the journal community as a specific unit, representative of a select constituent of the Crichton patient body, does not only highlight *New Moon*'s inability to represent the wider curative literary culture of its hospital home. The lack of attempts to distinguish patient-writers from each other in the journal (rarely are works attributed to individual patients) and continual references to the magazine's contributors and audience as a collective 'we' helps to form this idea of the *New Moon* patient community base as a communal whole. This self-presentation forces us to form generalised conclusions about patient contributors, mainly understanding the community base as a single body, rather than as a group of individuals with different understandings of their circumstances, and unique creative responses.

The general inscrutability of individual patients' experiences highlights the unknowable character of the primary text; a useful reminder of the wider indeterminability of *New Moon*. This characteristic unknowability, in terms of the journal's contributor base, development, and production, reflects this thesis's earlier discussion of patient publications as 'elliptical records', to borrow Reiss's phrase. We are reminded that we are unable to draw definitive conclusions about the journal due in part to a lack of historical record but also as a result of the 'elliptical gaps' of *New Moon* as an object created by the joint (and sometimes conflicting) forces of institution and institutionalised.

Due to these limitations in interpreting the material, questions remain unanswered: did certain material go unpublished, and if so, why? Did all contributors agree on the opinions of their fellow contributors? Who was excluded from contributing? What were the dynamics between patients - were some more active than others? What role did the Crichton patient audience play in the production and development of the journal? In attempting to explore patient

voices within *New Moon*, such critical limitations could, in Reiss's phrase, 'flatten' interpretative possibilities.

## 2 - Advocating 'refinement as wellbeing'

A further impediment to interpreting *New Moon* as representative of a variety of "authentic" patient voices is the demonstrable impact which the institutional medical authority of Browne and Crichton had upon hospital inmates' contributions. A medical superintendent and asylum wield a certain Foucauldian authority over patients: both the systemic power of the hospital and its associated socio-medical ideologies pervade the experience of the patients, and thus their literary work. The 'refinement as wellbeing' ideology, in particular, had both the practical limitation of potentially excluding patients - as discussed above - and an abstracted impact, as an institutional discourse, on contributor's work.

A 'Prospectus' was published in No. 1 of *New Moon*, penned by the patient-editor and dated December 1844, setting out the patient-contributors' hopes for the journal. Although this article - in stating the magazine's goal to be to 'suggest and promote such amusements as experience hath proven to be most conducive to health of body and mind'<sup>93</sup> - implies that *New Moon* is cognizant of its intention to help patients regain their 'refined reason', the extent to which this is a conscious perpetuation of moral therapy's agenda remains unclear. Regardless of personal intent, institutional ideology can be identified throughout the patient-led journal. This philosophy of 'refinement' permeates *New Moon*: its impact on the production and consumption of the magazine is substantial. Here, I will explore the ideological presence of the 'refinement as wellbeing' ideology in *New Moon* in depth.

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<sup>93</sup> Anon, 'Prospectus', *New Moon*, 1.1 (1844), 1 (p. 1).

Earlier, the ‘dual-method model’ of the Crichton patient publication as moral therapy activity was introduced. The two components of delivering or promoting the ‘refinement as wellbeing’ ideology are present in *New Moon* as a tool of Crichton’s larger endeavour to administer moral therapy. Moreover, I argue that both the institution and the patient-contributors intended for the publication to operate as both a literary tool of healing, and as a collection of ‘refining’ works. As has been explored above, the notion of practical literary work - reading and writing - as having curative qualities was pervasive within the social culture at Crichton. *New Moon*’s patient-contributors clearly engaged with this component of the medical ideology, and their publication demonstrates this quality in both its very existence as an outlet for the exercises of writing and reading, but also in its active attempts to instigate desire for further literary ‘work’ in its readers. *New Moon* issue No. 6 discusses its ‘great Translation Prize’ competition, the prize of which is ‘enrolment among the contributors to the “New Moon” [...] from time to time we shall present specimens of the productions of the various competitors’<sup>94</sup>, while an article in No. 10 demands: ‘Read Torrington Hall [a semi-fictional book about asylum experiences]. The book is as original, and far more practical, than the Utopia’<sup>95</sup>.

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<sup>94</sup> Anon, untitled, *New Moon*, 1.6 (1845), 1 (p. 1).

<sup>95</sup> Anon, ‘Intelligence’, *New Moon*, 1.10 (1845), 4 (p. 4).

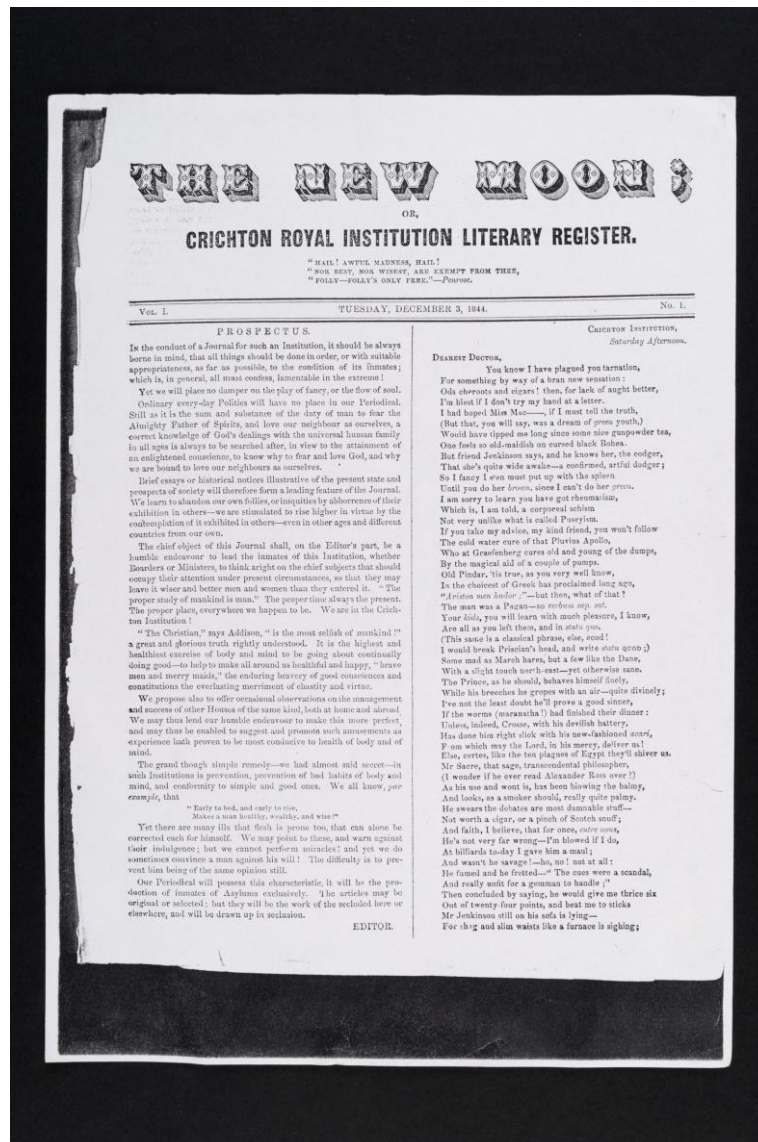


Figure 1: The front cover of *New Moon*, Vol. 1 No. 1. Picture: Wellcome Library.

In evaluating the curative role of *New Moon* for both readers and writers, however, a secondary method of engaging with the ideology of ‘refined’ rehabilitation is particularly apparent. As with Browne’s practice of assigning texts with appropriately ‘civilising’ themes, such as the unnamed patient who was advised to translate a work on insanity, *New Moon*’s patient-contributors duplicate this notion of content as curative: the idea that reflecting on a relevant theme could return a patient-writer and/or -reader to reason. In *New Moon*, curative content usually manifested in one of two ways, and more often a combination of both - works that encouraged patients to continue in their own processes of recovery by showing them the

‘refining’ opportunities available to them, reporting success stories, or championing aspirational behaviour; or works that necessitated critical involvement, often with discourses relevant to their hospitalisation<sup>96</sup>, from the author or from the audience. ‘We are,’ the ‘Prospectus’ states, ‘stimulated to rise higher in virtue by the contemplation of it’<sup>97</sup>.

*New Moon* features works that advocate for appropriate, ‘sane’ behaviour as a directive towards intellectual ‘virtue’. The journal’s emphasis on constructing a refined ‘self’ in its pages can be seen in articles such as ‘Winter’, from No. 12, which advocates that patients make use of the season to undertake a higher form of contemplation: a season for religious reflection, winter ‘raises the mind to a serious sublimity, and wraps it up in enthusiasm to Him [...] In this season, too, we discern a truth of the greatest consolation to ourselves’. It is also, the writer states, a season for reflection on the natural world - ‘In a clear frosty night the sky presents a map of beauty, on which the serious mind may rest [...] contemplate the myriads of stars with which the heavens are sown and reflect’ - and offers ample opportunity for intellectual study - ‘winter has its pleasure for the understanding as well as the senses [...] Well might the poet crown winter “king of intimate delights”’<sup>98</sup>. Those with a writerly impulse should use this season, the author advises, as inspiration for their theological reflection or poetic work, which would ‘raise the mind’ and reveal ‘truths’.

This association of the literary with self-improvement is also apparent in No. 5’s ‘The Schoolmaster’, which discusses the ‘refining’ activities of reading and writing. The article quotes from ‘A gentleman who has lately visited Salpêtrière’, who wrote:

“‘The patients have the advantage of a library, and several of them have read parts of the excellent books allowed for their perusal with so much attention as to be able,

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<sup>96</sup> It is interesting to note that *New Moon* features several pieces in which patients reflect on their circumstances of hospitalisation, despite the ‘Prospectus’ stating that the journal would not comment on ‘Ordinary every-day Politics’. There is no rationalisation for this inconsistency suggested at any point in Volume 1 of *New Moon*.

<sup>97</sup> Anon, ‘Prospectus’, *New Moon*, 1.1 (1844), 1 (p. 1).

<sup>98</sup> Anon, ‘Winter’, *New Moon*, 1.10 (1845), 1 (p. 1).

when requested, to recite them for the amusement of the other patients [...] I saw various specimens of their writing, which were excellent; it was indeed with regret that I left this part of the establishment, where, by means of innocent and improving recreations, the patients pass a portion of each day in tranquility, and, it may even be said, in happiness”<sup>99</sup>.

Inspired by this description of a hospital population invigorated and ‘improved’ by the acts of reading and writing, the author of ‘The Schoolmaster’ further argues for the benefits of ‘refining’ literary work for asylum patients:

‘They talk of the Schoolmaster being abroad [...] They growl and grumble [...] that the views of this subject are erroneous, are behind the spirit of the age [...] Now our view is, that the Schoolmaster is located in Asylums; that they are his favourite abode; that he there pursues a system, or systems, unequalled elsewhere; and that the results are, or ought to be, immeasurably in advance of the state of politics, morals, and conduct existing in the world at large’<sup>100</sup>.

This article suggests that the regularity and structure of asylum life improves individuals’ ability to learn - to obtain the ‘correct’ views, to make conduct appropriate, and to receive relevant knowledge pertaining to politics and morality. The author also posits that the significant attention paid to literary culture in asylums is immensely beneficial in improving not only patients, but in forming intelligent civil citizens - reflecting the ideology of Crichtonian refinement-specific moral therapy. The asylum is framed as the sanctuary which makes this well-structured literary education possible, and perhaps, as the article posits, could even be applied to schools within ‘the world at large’.

These examples both demonstrate that *New Moon* identifies a direct discursive link between writing work and wellbeing - specifically, in the case of ‘The Schoolmaster’, recovery sufficient enough to enable a patient to leave Crichton and benefit ‘the world at large’. Such a theme is also present in an article entitled ‘A Shrift’ from No. 4 of *New Moon*, a ‘shrift’ being an

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<sup>99</sup> Anon, ‘The Schoolmaster’, *New Moon*, 1.5 (1845), 2 (p. 2).

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

archaic term for a confession. It was penned by a patient who was shortly to leave the ‘realms of fancy for the stale, flat, but not unprofitable fields of S-shire’, but who is wary that they might not be allowed to leave and gain ‘liberty’ unless able to demonstrate ‘the temper of his own frame and the bent of his own inclinations’<sup>101</sup>. The author therefore wishes to make a ‘shrifft’ so that they can make a ‘clean break’ into their new lives, confessing ‘I entered these walls under the firm conviction that I had been mesmerised by the power of a Count de Selle’, before coming to the realisation that their ‘visions were “baseless fabrics”’<sup>102</sup>. This confession is offered up to demonstrate that the writer has now recovered, and should be allowed their ‘liberty’. Not only is the article positioning the outside world as an objective, but the act of writing - making the ‘shrifft’ - is being framed as the route to which ‘freedom’ can be achieved. The content, here speaking of the liberating process of writing, is aspirationally curative for writer and reader, who intellectually engage with the work as well as feel encouraged to continue in their own process of literary-based recovery. Reflecting the ideological rhetoric of the asylum, the journal’s content in these examples aims to promote a particularly ‘refined’ form of wellbeing, achieved by undertaking appropriate literary work.

A key example of content being selected for its potential ‘curative’ purposes is in *New Moon*’s ongoing commitment to reporting on wider mental health discourses. The ‘Prospectus’ states that ‘the chief object of this Journal shall [be to] lead the inmates of this Institution [...] to think aright on the chief circumstances, so they may leave it wiser and better men and women than they entered it’<sup>103</sup>. The house organ herein states that it sets out to engage with topics that will ‘refine’ (and thus heal) readers through engagement with ‘the chief circumstances’ of their condition: the publication’s agenda is to consciously and critically engage with discourses surrounding ‘madness’, mental health treatment, and asylums in order to intellectually ‘improve’

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<sup>101</sup> Anon, ‘A Shrifft’, *New Moon*, 1.4 (1845), 2-3 (p. 2).

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Anon, ‘Prospectus’, *New Moon*, 1.1 (1844), 1 (p. 1).

readers. Given the editorial objective to refrain from topics which might be ‘inappropriate [...] to the condition of [hospital] inmates’<sup>104</sup> it is very interesting that the themes of mental health and asylum life were considered suitable for *New Moon* contributors and readers. Not only a permissible topic for publication, engaging with the theme of ‘madness’ can be said to have been deemed useful in both intellectually enacting and actively encouraging (for patient-writers and -readers) this process of mental ‘refinement’.

*New Moon*’s aim to encourage the ‘refined’ sanity of its contributors and audience via the content of the magazine’s ‘essays and historical notices’<sup>105</sup> is well exemplified by this engagement with mental health discourses. Such engagement is evident in the journal’s ongoing commentary, provided by several contributors, on other mental health institutions. The ‘Prospectus’ states that the journal proposes to ‘offer occasional observations on the management and success of other Houses of the same kind, both at home and abroad. We may thus lend our humble endeavour to make this more perfect’<sup>106</sup>. These observations on the ‘success’ of another hospital can be seen in a letter (‘Correspondence’, in No. 2) comparing the amount of singing and dancing allowed at Crichton with that at another institution:

‘It is not more than needful exercise. In a similar Institution in which I was for some time, there was a vocal, instrumental, and dancing soiree [...] not a week-day passed that the attendants were not to be heard singing and playing the fiddle’<sup>107</sup>.

The conditions at Crichton would be improved, this letter suggests, if more therapeutic recreation was allowed. A similar message is also communicated in No. 3’s ‘The Picture Asylum!’, which gives a history of an asylum in Bruges constructed from notes taken in 1838. This piece not only discusses the layout of the asylum and the proprietor’s use of “‘kindness and employment” to

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Anon, ‘Correspondence’, *New Moon*, 1.2 (1845), 4 (p. 4).



heal “the mind diseased”<sup>108</sup>, but also offers a reflection on the art housed in the institution. The vast quantity of pictures displayed throughout the establishment had ‘the general effect as good and cheerful; and if properly managed, as calculated to suggest innumerable trains of thought, which must otherwise have lain dormant and unproductive’<sup>109</sup>. Having such a large quantity of art in such a hospital would only be beneficial for patients, and perhaps, ‘The Picture Asylum!’ implies, Crichton could follow in the Bruges asylum’s lead.

Further exemplifying this critical reflection on the discourses surrounding mental health hospitalisation, Crichton is also portrayed as exceeding or surpassing the standards of other asylums. No. 1’s poem ‘Dearest Doctor’, marked as written at ‘Crichton Institution’ on a ‘Saturday Afternoon’ by the contributor ‘Sigma’, further demonstrates such interest in the practices of other mental health institutions. Mostly comprised of rhyming couplets and addressed to a hospital physician, ‘Dearest Doctor’ references the hydrotherapy unit at Gräfenberg which had opened in 1822:

‘I am sorry to learn you have got rheumatism,  
Which is, I am told, a corporeal schism,  
Not very unlike what is called Puseyism<sup>110</sup>.  
Now if you take my advice, my kind friend, you won’t follow  
The cold water cure of that Pluvius Apollo,  
Who at Graefenberg [sic] cure old and young of the dumps,  
By the magical aid of a couple of pumps.’<sup>111</sup>

The poem is, of course, intentionally humorous in its sing-song rhyme scheme and its advising of the doctor against attempting this cure, but ‘Dearest Doctor’, appearing in the first edition of the periodical, also sets a critical and culturally aware tone that runs throughout several other *New*

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<sup>108</sup> Anon, ‘The Picture Asylum!’, *New Moon*, 1.3 (1845), 3 (p. 3).

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> This is a reference to the followers of Edward Bouverie Pusey, promoter of the Oxford Movement and its philosophy of Tractarianism. This movement was also known as Puseyism, and its followers (after 1845) Puseyites. The *New Moon* patient-contributor is humorously engaging with contemporary religious issues.

<sup>111</sup> Anon, ‘Dearest Doctor’, *New Moon*, 1.1 (1844), 2-3 (p. 2).

*Moon* articles on fellow asylums. The patient-writers were clearly interested in asylum management on an international platform, and the magazine provided the scope promised by the ‘Prospectus’ in its evaluation of asylums ‘at home and abroad’<sup>112</sup> in publishing articles on several European mental health hospitals beyond the Gräfenberg unit (located in what is now the Czech Republic).

As indicated above, *New Moon* establishes a clear agenda on treatment in asylums, publishing several articles which praise institutions that emphasise patients’ ability to take part in occupation. This is also evidenced in the journal’s articles on foreign hospitals to which *New Moon* contributors felt Crichton was superior. An article published in No. 4, ‘A Saint’s Shrine Asylum’, discusses the ‘therapeutic community’<sup>113</sup> village of Geel near Antwerp. The material characteristics of this ‘large commune’, including infrastructure, population, and methods of treatment are outlined: ‘The impression produced by this awful scene [...] was distressing [while all patients were] in the most disgusting state of filth and degradation’<sup>114</sup>. In an article called ‘Promenades of the Patients in the Asylum of Stephansfeld, Strasbourg.’, featured in No. 2, a patient-contributor had selected text from the memoir of M. David Richard (originally published in *Annales Medico-Psychologiques*, before translating it from the original French into English for publication in *New Moon*) as a report on the ‘moral regime in [Strasbourg] hospital for nervous disease’<sup>115</sup>. Although it is possible that in some aspects, the ‘moral’ treatment of the Stephansfeld asylum reflects that which was deployed in Crichton, this article focuses on cultural differences. Severe penalties for superintendents at this institution who jeopardize the safety of their charges led to a strict limiting of patient liberty, the *New Moon* article claims, meaning that patients were rarely permitted to go beyond the walls of their asylum. However, a ‘new epoch’ at

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<sup>112</sup> Anon, ‘Prospectus’, *New Moon*, 1.1 (1844), 1 (p. 1).

<sup>113</sup> Henck P J G. van Bilsen, ‘Lessons to be learned from the oldest community psychiatric service in the world: Geel in Belgium’, *BJPsych bulletin*, 40.4 (2016), 207-211 (p. 207).

<sup>114</sup> Anon, ‘A Saint’s Shrine Asylum’, *New Moon*, 1.4 (1845), 2-3 (p. 3).

<sup>115</sup> Anon, ‘Promenades of the Patients in the Asylum of Stephansfeld, Strasbourg.’, *New Moon*, 1.2 (1845), 3 (p. 3).

the Strasbourg hospital commenced when a three hour walk through the forest was successfully undertaken by nearly two hundred patients without any ‘disorder occurring’. ‘Such a result is encouraging’, reflects the author in their summarising of the memoir, either echoing Richard’s words or adding their own opinion, ‘as it shews that human nature is worthy of confidence, even when perverted by disease; as it proves better than all reasoning the salutary influence of humane treatment’<sup>116</sup>. The purpose of this article seems to be to highlight the unnecessary nature of curtailing patients’ liberties, and advocating for staff to place their trust in patients, to whom they should act kindly - a suggestion further supported by the evidence given in the anecdote from Richard’s memoir of a group of patients on a picnic who ran to the assistance of women and children who had been trapped in an overturned cart. Further supporting this espousing of patient liberty is the inclusion of a story, contributed by the publication’s ‘Foreign Correspondent’, in which the townspeople of La Vendé who were alarmed by the sight of 30 asylum inmates ‘passing through the streets, armed with pitchforks, on their way to make hay in a meadow’<sup>117</sup>. This tale, which is probably intended to find the humour in the residents’ consternation at the pitchfork-armed asylum inmates, is sure to end the anecdote on a note about the achievements of the patients: ‘This first attempt at work beyond the walls of the Institution was completely successful’<sup>118</sup>. The alarm of the community at La Vendé is shown to be groundless, and the patients’ ability to contribute is highlighted, further advocating for patient liberty.

As with the other, more positive, critical reflections on other mental health institutions, such articles are an exercise in intellectual interpretation, in which *New Moon* writers and readers were invited to ‘think aright on the chief circumstances, so they may leave [Crichton] wiser and better men and women than they entered it’<sup>119</sup>. For both patient-writers and –readers, these articles necessitate critical reflection on the discourses surrounding their own hospitalisation, an

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Anon, ‘Intelligence.’, *New Moon*, 1.2 (1845), 4 (p. 4).

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Anon, ‘Prospectus’, *New Moon*, 1.1 (1844), 1 (p. 1).

exercise in understanding and constructing argument. Furthermore, by engaging with relevant topics in the discourse of ‘madness’, patient-writers and -readers are able to further self-improve: content becomes ‘curative’ in its transmission of particular messages about civil and intellectual development, as well as encouraging patients to embrace the moral therapy offered to them by their present home. Publishing articles advocating mental ‘refinement’ and the ‘improving’ nature of literary work not only sought to motivate patient-readers, but, in the act of being read, actively involved them in intellectual work: *New Moon* encouraged ‘refinement as wellbeing’ whilst simultaneously acting as tool for such improvement. This ‘dual-method model’ of delivering ideology for the benefit of readers reflects the similar role the work of producing literary content for *New Moon* had for writers - writers would undergo (or, more specifically, enact) moral therapy both in the practice of writing, and in exploring the content of their literary work. *New Moon* therefore not only sets out to encourage both writers and readers at the hospital to embark on this project of self-improvement/cure, but also to provide the means by which they might undergo their own process of ‘refinement’.

These examples suggest that *New Moon* patient-contributors significantly internalised asylum ideology. It should be recognised that this internalisation was a central component of Crichton patients’ medical cure. Exploring patients’ awareness of this process of replicating ideology is complicated by the fact that ‘refining’ moral therapy was thought to be most effective when internalised and put into practice by the patients themselves. Browne believed that moral treatment was ‘every mode by which the mind is influenced through the mind itself’<sup>120</sup>. This quasi-surreptitious moral therapy was partly delivered through prescribed literary work, as encouraging patients to read and write was thought by Browne to open

‘up a thousand channels by which new and given impressions may be conveyed to the mind at the will, but without the apparent interference of the physician: it introduces

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<sup>120</sup> W. A. F. Browne, *The Moral Treatment of the Insane; A Lecture*, (London: J. E. Adlard, 1864), p. 7.

moral medicine into the system unattended with suspicion as to [...] the intention of the administration'<sup>121</sup>.

This was what Richard Brodhead later termed “disciplinary intimacy”, ‘a style of reform and pedagogy that worked through "internal colonization, not outward coercion"’<sup>122</sup>. Reading and writing provided the potential for a form of ‘refining’ moral therapy which was administered to the patients under the guise of, for example, an innocuous book recommendation, and so the therapeutic work itself - the process of undertaking such ‘refining’ literary work - was done by the patients. Not merely a by-product of living within the asylum environment, the internalisation of the notion of ‘refinement as wellbeing’, delivered to patients via literary endeavours, was entirely necessary: a key component of this psychological rehabilitation.

The internalised ideology of ‘refinement as wellbeing’ did not, of course, impact patient-writers in a vacuum: like a pathogen, the notion was passed to the greater institutional body, via *New Moon*, to be internalised by a wider audience. As a public platform, with the in-built role of information-distributor, *New Moon* was able to deliver content which promoted ‘refinement’ to its audience, whilst simultaneously providing the means with which to engage with ‘refining’ work. As a private collection of articles, these functions could not be enacted – or at least, *New Moon* would be seriously limited in its impact. *New Moon*, as the medical superintendent states in his Fifth Annual Report, instead served as a ‘mode of employing [...] dormant or valueless energies [in] contributing to the amusement of the rest of the community’<sup>123</sup>. The periodical, therefore, was introduced not only as an occupation for the healing purpose of moral therapy, but also as a method of encouraging patients to channel their ‘energies’ (presumably a reference to either patients’ compulsion to read and write, or the ‘useless’ desire to work of individuals living

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<sup>121</sup> W. A. F. Browne, *Fifth Annual Report of the Crichton Royal Institution for Lunatics, Dumfries* (Dumfries: Crichton Royal Institution, 1844), p. 20.

<sup>122</sup> Benjamin Reiss, ‘Letters from Asylumia: The “Opal” and the Cultural Work of the Lunatic Asylum, 1851-1860’, *American Literary History*, 16.1 (2004), 1-28 (p.10).

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid*, p. 21.

with or convalescing from mental health issues) into creating something that would serve a traditionally literary purpose. The creative work produced by the patients would then further benefit other Crichton inmates in ‘the community’: a self-replicating process of delivering moral therapy. Via a publication circulated throughout Crichton, ‘refined’ wellbeing - in both practice and theory - could be passed from staff to patients, and between writers and readers. *New Moon* operates as a self-perpetuating model in which therapeutic notions were intended to be communicated, enacted, received, and recommunicated.

*New Moon*, however, as a method of enabling patient-writers to communicate particular messages to patient-readers, does not necessarily seem to be a process into which the editorial team was recruited. There is no mention of Crichton staff enlisting patients to fulfil a ‘community administer of moral therapy’ role through their literary work for *New Moon*, or of patients being asked to write about this specific ideology. As patients, for whom therapy was thought to be most effective when administered quasi-surreptitiously, it is likely that the editorial team was kept unaware of its intended function to disseminate ideology via the journal. Due to these factors, it could be posited that patient-led work produced for the publication was not consciously propagandistic in advocating institutional ideology. It is possible that the conceptualisation of sanity as indicated by ‘refined’ behaviour had been internalised by patient-writers via influence from doctors or immersion in the institutional discourse. Although this is likely the case, other possibilities should also be considered: a wider cultural conception of ‘madness as societal deviation’, reading relevant materials in the patients’ library or some other influence, or a reflection of the writers’ own goals for their recovery.

Regardless, the characterization of *New Moon* - in both its production and its consumption - as a method, advocate and representation of ‘abandoning folly’ and returning to civil life reflects closely Browne’s assertion that literary work was of ‘vast importance’ to the rehabilitation of ‘the insane’. The content within *New Moon* appears to have been selected, on

occasion, because it communicated such principles. Evidence for these editorial selections is apparent within the intent outlined by the ‘Prospectus’, and also in the sheer quantity of publication space Volume 1 gives over to articles about ‘sane’ behaviour, reports on other mental health institutions, and observations on wider society. These articles, as has been explored, deliver the ‘refinement as wellbeing’ ideology, encouraging literary endeavour as a method of learning about and enacting recovery, and demonstrating to patient-readers the benefits of Crichton’s moral treatment. In the examples explored here, *New Moon* can be said to clearly represent the patient-writers’ internalisation and enactment of ‘refined wellbeing’ ideologies, whilst simultaneously acting as a platform for patient-contributors to perpetuate such ideas to their audience. *New Moon*, moreover, is an object inextricably linked to these two objectives by Crichton, which utilises the journal as ‘tool’ of delivering ideology. In this reading, patient-contributors, it could be suggested, serve as mouthpiece for the institutional voice, and therefore comprehensively disentangling a patient ‘voice’ from the presence of such institutional rhetoric in *New Moon* is an impossible task.

### 3 - Locating emerging gaps of knowability

Examples such as ‘Winter’, ‘Dearest Doctor’, and the ‘Prospectus’ suggest the hospital’s ideological impact on the inmates, drawing further attention to the fact that institutional authority can become a barrier to identifying a distinctive, independent patient voice, and highlighting a lapse in the Crichton house organ’s ‘expressive possibilities’ for inmates. However, I argue that the ‘refinement as wellbeing’ ideology can also function as a useful inroad to considering patient-contributors’ explorations of medical philosophy, due to its clear impact on the primary texts. Acknowledging this can enable insight, or highlight other ‘expressive possibilities’ for patients, I argue that it is in the repeated and complicated presences of these literary ‘intrusions’

of asylum ideology that a sense of the *level* and *character* of influence that Crichton's therapeutic philosophy had upon its patient publication begins to emerge. Above, I acknowledged ways in which the 'refinement as wellbeing' ideology has impacted upon *New Moon* in a way that limits scholarly analysis of the material. While recognising the impact of these limitations, the evidence from the primary source can be explored further to demonstrate patient-contributors' conscious and critical interaction with this medical philosophy. I will now examine how the contributors embraced, explored, and critiqued the ideology in their work, even as they were practically and discursively impacted by it. Despite the limiting factors, 'a range of expressive possibilities' for an independent patient 'voice' can still emerge through close analysis of 'elliptical gaps' and rhetorical presences within Crichton's house organ. When exploring the journal's voices, information - albeit potentially limited by the aforementioned contexts - about the *New Moon*'s generalised patient community base can be gleaned. To some extent, analysis of the material can begin to identify, within the text, an independent patient 'voice' separate from that of the institution and its representatives.

As an initial example, aspects of *New Moon*'s patient-led editorial intent or objective becomes evident through writing within and external to the journal. As the 'unaided'<sup>124</sup> work of five patients (as it was intended to be at the beginning of its publication - this number grew throughout *New Moon*'s run), the Crichton house organ was designed, as Browne states, to

'serve as a vehicle for the free undisguised feelings and views of the writers, whether erroneous or not; it will be a compound of the grotesque and the beautiful, of the sensible and extravagant, it will be a collection of the impressions of healthy and the new creations of disordered imaginations, of mental portraits, and of all that relates to the present condition and prospects of its contributors, and of the class to which they belong'<sup>125</sup>.

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid, p. 21.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid, p. 21. The potential unknowability of Browne's personal medical ideology and its application to practice should also be noted. Williams suggests that 'Browne's elegantly written annual reports, which he used as propagandist vehicles to convert the general public to his views' (Morag Williams, *The Crichton Royal Hospital* (2015))



‘Mad’ works, it is suggested by Browne, would feature alongside articles which would appear, to its readers, sane: the articles featured in *New Moon* would demonstrate, as he states, ‘how closely the insane mind may, in its operations, approach the standard of health, as well as how widely it may depart from it’<sup>126</sup>. However, whereas Browne’s determined objective for *New Moon*, as ‘collection of [...] impressions’<sup>127</sup>, is indicated to be for the journal to act as a varied and wide-ranging assortment of literary content, the patient editorial team had more discriminating ideas about the type and quality of works which would make it to publication.

The ‘Prospectus’ states that ‘the conduct of the Journal [should be done] with suitable appropriateness [...] to the condition of its inmates; which is, in general, all must confess, lamentable in the extreme!’<sup>128</sup>. The so-described lamentable nature of the patients’ condition seems to be a reflection not so much on their position as asylum inmates, but as sufferers of mental illness, as implied by the following line: ‘Yet we will place no damper on the play of fancy, or the flow of soul’<sup>129</sup>. Here, the editor connects the patients’ ‘lamentable’ condition with ‘the flow of soul’, not only suggesting that the journal’s need for caution is the mental health of its writers and some of its readership, but also acknowledging the relationship between ‘madness’ and creative output. By this statement, the ‘Prospectus’ indicates that *New Moon* will allow creative license but, as suggested above, aims to encourage contributors to steer away from work ‘inappropriate’ to their mental state. What is ‘appropriate’ for *New Moon*, implies the ‘Prospectus’, is work which is appositely ‘mad’: ‘fancy’ may be expressed, but within particular limits that would prevent ‘disordered imaginations’ developing in patients. It should be noted

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<<http://www.johnandmoragwilliams.co.uk/croyalh.html>> [accessed 4 January 2017].), implying a possible unreliability to his words.

<sup>126</sup> W. A. F. Browne, *Fifth Annual Report of the Crichton Royal Institution for Lunatics, Dumfries* (Dumfries: Crichton Royal Institution, 1844, p. 21.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> Anon, ‘Prospectus’, *New Moon*, 1.1 (1844), 1 (p. 1).

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

that this does somewhat reflect Crichton's wider, institutional emphasis on 'suitable' reading material for patients. In this hypothesis, an overt 'play of fancy' could exacerbate symptoms of mental illness and impede 'refinement': as we have seen, these are interchangeable notions in the ideology behind Crichtonian moral therapy. However, it also demonstrates that the editor's objective for the journal is different to that which was espoused by Browne in his report, in which he advocated for the 'compound of the grotesque and the beautiful'; it suggests that perhaps patients were more wary of allowing their 'madness' to find expression in their creative work. Whereas the Crichton medical superintendent hoped that *New Moon* would allow for a display of 'the sensible and extravagant', encouraging patient-writers to exhibit their madness in their creative work, the inmates seemed to advocate for perhaps a more staunchly 'refined' presentation of the patient body.

Another deviation from the editorial intents of Browne by *New Moon*'s patient-contributors is the medical superintendent's commendation of publishing works which addressed a diverse range of topics, covering 'all that relates to the present condition and prospects of its contributors'<sup>130</sup>. This objective seems to differ from the creative ideas of the editorial team, who determined in the 'Prospectus' to publish content with a specific educational or moralistic purpose. 'Ordinary every-day Politics will have no place in our Periodical'<sup>131</sup>, states the editor's article, foreshadowing the journal's absence of 'gossip' columns, or any significant focus on the social or political life within Crichton. Instead, '[b]rief essays or historical notices illustrative of the present state and prospects of society will form a leading feature of the Journal'<sup>132</sup>. Whereas Browne aimed for the publication to address the 'internal' experiences of its contributors - their 'present condition' at Crichton - *New Moon* launches itself with the intent to publish informative essays which reflect the aspects of wider society visible to contributors, instead achieving an

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<sup>130</sup> W. A. F. Browne, *Fifth Annual Report of the Crichton Royal Institution for Lunatics, Dumfries* (Dumfries: Crichton Royal Institution, 1844), p. 21.

<sup>131</sup> Anon, 'Prospectus', *New Moon*, 1.1 (1844), 1 (p. 1).

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

ongoing analysis of the world outside of the hospital. However, it should be noted, as with the resistance to displaying the ‘disordered imaginations’ of the inmates, the patient-writers’ emphasis on higher intellectual endeavours - reflective of external society - is again demonstrated.

Browne and *New Moon*’s editorial team had differing objectives for the tone and content of the Crichton house organ; this distinction of intent illustrates one circumstance in which scholars can engage with the publication’s ‘elliptical gaps’. Here, an aspect of the ‘expressive possibilities’ open to the patient-led creative team of *New Moon* is revealed: in deviating from (although not quite directly challenging) the projected goals for the patient publication outlined by Browne, as authoritative medical practitioner, an independent (although generalised) voice of the patient-writers could, arguably, become apparent. It is in this divergence that the editorial group’s perspective can perhaps be illuminated as distinct and separate from the journal as an overtly propagandistic product of institutional ideology.

It should be noted that *New Moon* does not in its early run pose any direct or overt challenge to Crichton ideologies. There are, however, instances in which contributors offer critical reflections on the ‘refinement as wellbeing’ ideology, and patient-writing develops on Browne’s suggestion that a ‘limited’ engagement with challenging mental stimuli as the healthiest course of action. In his Fifth Annual Report, the medical superintendent discusses the ‘effects of severe study’, suggesting that overwork can lead to ‘mental death’ and instead advocates for a more strategic creative engagement<sup>133</sup>. ‘The Picture Asylum!’ addresses this hypothesis, as the author, despite advocating for creative access as ‘refining’ therapy, writes that the Bruges asylum’s extreme emphasis on artistic engagement might be damaging to patients:

‘As from *personal experience*, the transcriber of these notes has this single remark to make, that, when in his own most prostrate state [...] his imagination was continually

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<sup>133</sup> W. A. F. Browne, *Fifth Annual Report of the Crichton Royal Institution for Lunatics, Dumfries* (Dumfries: Crichton Royal Institution, 1844), p. 19.

kept awake, and the nervous system in excitation, by the most extraordinary visions and waking sights' [*italics in original*]<sup>134</sup>.

An excess of creative engagement, it is here suggested, can be overstimulating to patients - perhaps this is a word of caution to the Dumfries hospital's patients, who were encouraged to pursue their own creatively-informed recovery. This example, which is framed as a careful criticism of the Bruges hospital under discussion, sees the author offer his own experiences as confirmation of the potentially damaging effect of overstimulating art displays, emphasising greater caution than Browne suggests in his discussion of treating 'exhaustion, impairment, perversion of the faculties'<sup>135</sup> with 'enforcing perfect mental repose'<sup>136</sup> with art. Crichton's medical ideology is expanded upon and reframed by the patient within his own understandings of mental health care.

Similarly, 'A Letter from a Patient at Large', published in No. 7, discusses the difficulty the patient-writer experiences in finding time to write reports on all the activities in which patients were invited to take part: 'You call upon me for reports, and the Doctor forthwith provides a temptation which dissipates every grave thought, tears up sentences into shreds, and says as plainly as a tavern sign, "To live is to enjoy"'<sup>137</sup>. The letter demonstrates the numerous therapeutic activities in which patients were encouraged to participate, suggesting that it is difficult to 'serve two such masters'<sup>138</sup> as social engagements and writing work. Instead, the writer suggests a stable balance between 'refining' study and social activities encouraged by the hospital, asking for more time to produce his work: 'Mr Editor, I must "quit the camp," "strike my colours," or plead an extension of that mercy which you have hitherto shewn your

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<sup>134</sup> Anon, 'The Picture Asylum!', *New Moon*, 1.3 (1845), 3 (p. 3).

<sup>135</sup> W. A. F. Browne, *Fifth Annual Report of the Crichton Royal Institution for Lunatics, Dumfries* (Dumfries: Crichton Royal Institution, 1844), p. 14.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid*, p. 15.

<sup>137</sup> Anon, 'A Letter from a Patient at Large', *New Moon*, 1.7 (1845), 4 (p. 4).

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid*.

admirer'<sup>139</sup>. As with the position put forward by the author of 'The Picture Asylum!', the 'patient at large' is suggesting a careful, conscious balance between mental stimulus and relaxation. The patient states that they must learn to be able to balance taking part in the enjoyable activities offered up by Browne, as well as undertaking the work of writing which they, as a patient, are encouraged to produce as part of their treatment. Although both these 'masters' are imposed on the patient by Browne, it is the patient-writers themselves who form the conclusion that balance is the healthiest option for a mind under such stress, and advocates such balance to *New Moon*'s readers.

This critical engagement with patient-writers' experience of treatment can also be seen in an article, entitled 'Another Confession – Are The Insane Always In Error?'. The author – who is a convalescing patient - provides insight into their condition while discussing what they have learned about asylum routine since being hospitalised, and puts forth their personal views on what must be considered in caring for the mentally ill. Published in No. 10, this piece of work illustrates the role of *New Moon* as space for exploring both institutional ideology and patients' creative autonomy. It offers the patient-writers' views on asylum care, arguing that:

'patience and leniency ought always to be shewn to the sincere searcher after truth [...] it is usually with "a great price" that mental illumination of any kind is obtained, and often accompanied by bodily suffering, therefore requiring in most cases tender care, rather than estrangement and perhaps indifferent treatment'<sup>140</sup>.

'Another Confession' is advocating to its readership a humanitarian approach to the treatment of mental health sufferers that has been inspired by the patient-writer's observations of life and care at Crichton. However, in stating 'It is the long detention I so greatly disapprove of', the author of 'Another Confession' is surprisingly critical of the asylum and its treatment methods. 'I was not

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> Anon, 'Another Confession – Are The Insane Always In Error?', *New Moon*, 1.10 (1845), 2-3 (p. 3).

aware until I was a convalescent patient in an Asylum for the reception of those afflicted with mental disorder,' states the author,

‘that persons are liable to be detained there, not only until their intellect is freed from the particular mania with which they may have been afflicted, but that their residence is usually prolonged until, in the judgement of the Superintending Physician, they have attained such a healthy vigorous frame of mind as will enable them at once to resume all the duties of society’<sup>141</sup>.

Here, the patient-writer establishes the ideology of heightened civility, reflective of ‘external’ standards, as developed sanity - a notion which they find troubling, something which has ‘affected and afflicted [them] very deeply’<sup>142</sup>. The author further states: ‘I am aware of frequently acting in a manner to give colour to the impression that I would not conduct myself entirely to the satisfaction of my friends, were I emancipated’<sup>143</sup>. Here, the author makes clear their understanding that ‘sanity’ is determined as a standard set against the behavioural norms of the outside world; standards that they should mimic in order to be returned to life beyond Crichton’s walls. The author appears acutely concerned with being able to sufficiently enact this ‘sane’ behaviour.

It should be noted that in each of the examples examined above, *New Moon*’s patient community base co-opts certain aspects of Crichton’s medical theories while rejecting others. As an example, this impact can be seen in the above discussion of how the patients’ editorial objectives for *New Moon* echo Crichton’s emphasis on suitability, even though the patients and Browne ultimately established differing goals for their house journal. This aspect of the ‘Prospectus’ suggests that the patients’ ideas about the tone and content of the magazine were still, to some degree, reflective of Crichton’s ideology. In the editorial team’s objectives for both tone and content there is a significant emphasis on literary endeavour and ‘refinement’ as

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

representative of wellbeing. Such emphasis clearly differs from Browne's 'grotesque' objective for the magazine, but again reflects a more general aspect of the therapeutic ideology championed by the wider institutional body. While the patient publication's literary aim, as stated by the editorial team, first appears to deviate from that of the medical superintendent, a clear division between 'institution' and 'patient' is difficult to establish in *New Moon* as aspects of the magazine often appear to directly echo the hospital's wider medical discourse. Furthermore, any deviation could actually be indicative of the success of the institutional ideology: Where *New Moon* appears to disagree with Browne's intention for the journal, could it be said that this is further representative of the success of the internalised, self-administering moral therapy? The impact of authoritative institutional discourse - as a critical limitation in exploring a distinctive patient voice - can be clearly seen here.

Further exemplifying this ideological impact, the literary autonomy in 'Another Confession' betrays aspects of the Crichtonian ideology of 'refinement as wellbeing'<sup>144</sup>: in stating that 'no words can convey the pain of being misunderstood, and treated without relation to our present feelings or previous place in society'<sup>145</sup>, the writer advocates for clarity, highlighting the importance of patients being able to self-express, and to be treated as they would in their 'external' lives. Furthermore, this article's advocating for 'patience and leniency [...] [and] tender care, rather than estrangement and perhaps indifferent treatment'<sup>146</sup>, could also be interpreted as a positive reflection on Crichton's 'refining' moral treatment, suggesting an internalisation of the new therapeutic regime. 'Another Confession' also displays a preoccupation with communicating a literariness: the author demonstrates that they are drawing

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<sup>144</sup> It is also worth noting the similarity between the medical analysis of the author of 'Another Confession', and Browne's emphasis that 'insanity is a physical disorder [and] stress[e]d the therapeutical importance of physical and mental exercise' (C. C. Easterbrook, *The Chronicle of the Crichton Royal* (Dumfries: Courier Press, 1940), p. 39).

<sup>145</sup> Anon, 'Another Confession – Are The Insane Always In Error?', *New Moon*, 1.10 (1845), 2-3 (p. 3).

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid*, p. 2.

from a wider literary culture, referencing several works that they have read and reflected upon, as well as utilising a ‘columnist’ style which replicates contemporary journalistic writings. The author of this article is clearly literate, educated and well-read, and reflects on some of their influences from ‘external’ texts in their *New Moon* article. In addition to repeated reference to the Bible (specifically the Psalms), as well as acknowledging Salomon de Caus and Galileo, the writer references a ‘Leigh Richmond’, presumably Legh Richmond, Church of England clergyman: the author’s preoccupations reflect the institution’s emphasis on literary engagement and aspiring to ‘external’ standards of refinement.

The author of ‘Another Confession’ uses this substantial literary ability and knowledge to narrativise their experiences through their article. This forming of one’s story into a recognisable literary format functions as a reminder that, as with any historical source, it is important to view the content of these magazines as fallible representations of real experiences. Journalism for newspapers or magazines can function as a liminal space between fictionalisation and ‘authenticity’, exploring real world occurrences through a literary narrativization: informed, as they must be, by the subjectivity of the author and the necessity of communicating a specific and coherent story. Positioning the writing within ‘Another Confession’ as self-narrativisation brings to light another perspective on the presence of that ideology within the periodical. It demonstrates how the presence of ‘refinement as wellbeing’ can destabilize a reading of such a contribution as an example of an ‘independent’ patient voice. ‘Another Confession’, as stated above, presents a diplomatic criticism of Crichton’s understanding of wellbeing as indicated by correct, civilised behaviour. However, the author still attempts to communicate or perform such ‘refinement’ in their writing. The author suggests a desire to enact standards of civility in order to be awarded liberty, which implies that the ‘refinement as wellbeing’ ideology is present within their work. This is despite the fact that this medical philosophy has, in the same article, come under criticism by a patient who knows that they must still enact it in order to be able to leave.



This problematizes the ideology, and presents a reading in which its presence throughout *New Moon* could be indicative of patients enacting ‘refinement’ as opposed to attempting to reach it as a form of wellbeing. Indeed, writing as a means to wellbeing is almost presented as a method of escape in this article: in writing this ‘confession’, the author hopes to be proved sane. The author uses the platform of *New Moon* to promise to maintain appropriate standards of behaviour, should they be allowed to leave: ‘I have no doubt that were I again restored to liberty, and the blessings that accompany it, I would live a more regular, strict, and humble life than I have ever done before’<sup>147</sup>. In the article, the author talks specifically about using their writing to communicate experiences from within the asylum:

‘I have sometimes thought that if I could, by words or writing, impress others with the inexpressible sufferings of those who feel the captivity as I do, it would not be living in vain to attract sympathy and alleviation, even in the cases of a few’<sup>148</sup>.

This indicates that the author’s motivation for writing is rooted in their belief that communication can lead to commiseration: resulting, ostensibly, in liberation. The author’s use of the word ‘captivity’ further positions their hospitalisation as something to escape: a goal which can be achieved through convincing others of the plight of inmates. The article illustrates that in the ‘elliptical’ spaces between institutional ideology and patient voice, ‘expressive possibilities’ can be found; as Park suggests, literary work was designed to be ‘controlled at least in some very small measure by the [patient-writers] themselves’<sup>149</sup>. ‘Another Confession’, which problematizes the ‘refinement as wellbeing’ ideology, and then enacts it through the literary work of producing the article, provides an ideal symbol for this complicated relationship between asylum and patient.

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

<sup>149</sup> Maureen Park and Robert Hamilton, ‘Moral treatment of the insane: Provisions for lifelong learning, cultural engagement, and creativity in nineteenth-century asylums’, *Journal of Adult and Continuing Education*, 16.2 (2010), 100-113 (p. 111).

#### 4 - Negotiating ideology - external literary modes

It is most useful, perhaps, to characterise patient-writers' work not as either 'hospital propaganda' or 'freely-made, unimpeded contribution to the magazine', but instead as a 'negotiation' of institutional ideology and patient autonomy. The journal's complex relationship with wider literary spheres also exemplifies this multifaceted, nuanced exploration of medical philosophy. For example, it could be suggested that *New Moon* communicated the necessity of attaining the 'refined' civility of 'outside' behaviour via its conscious replication of 'external' literary modes. As has been demonstrated, patients at Crichton had significant access to and encouragement to engage with literary culture: 'A great variety of periodicals are circulated through the Establishment,' states Browne in his Fourth Annual Report of November 1843, before providing a 'list of the most important of these [that] will shew that the political learning and literary progress of the world are closely followed within these walls'<sup>150</sup>. These publications included *The Athenaeum*, *Times*, *Illustrated News*, *Chambers' Journal*, *Blackwood*, *Bentley*, *Quarterly Review*, *Edinburgh Review*, and *The Record*, as well as 'Many Provincial Papers'<sup>151</sup>. Such works, as noted earlier, were selected for their appropriateness and ability to intellectually 'refine' patients, who would be able to 'closely follow' the 'literary progress of the world'. Although sometimes such reading could lead to 'delusions created and confirmed by passages read and imprinted upon the memory', Browne felt that

'such accidents are over-balanced by the amount of real knowledge, the habits of steady attention and consecutive reflection, the exercise of memory, the introduction of happy and wholesome views of mankind, the springs of innocent mirth, which the faculties must and do receive even from desultory reading, and even when enfeebled or erratic'<sup>152</sup>.

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<sup>150</sup> W. A. F. Browne, *Fourth Annual Report of the Crichton Royal Institution for Lunatics, Dumfries* (Dumfries: Crichton Royal Institution, 1843) p. 28.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid, p. 29.

The patients were thus presented with works which were selected with the specific intent of improving inmates' state of being – instilling positive habits, imparting knowledge, encouraging the 'correct' modes of thought - but they also functioned as a representation of the literary standards patients were encouraged to enact. Mirroring external works was a method by which contributors could undergo and advocate for this process of 'refinement'. Presented to the patients as symbolic of or embodying the 'outside' intellectual life to which they aspired to join or mimic, the influence of 'external' works is apparent in the clear material similarities between the Crichton house organ and other journals of the period.

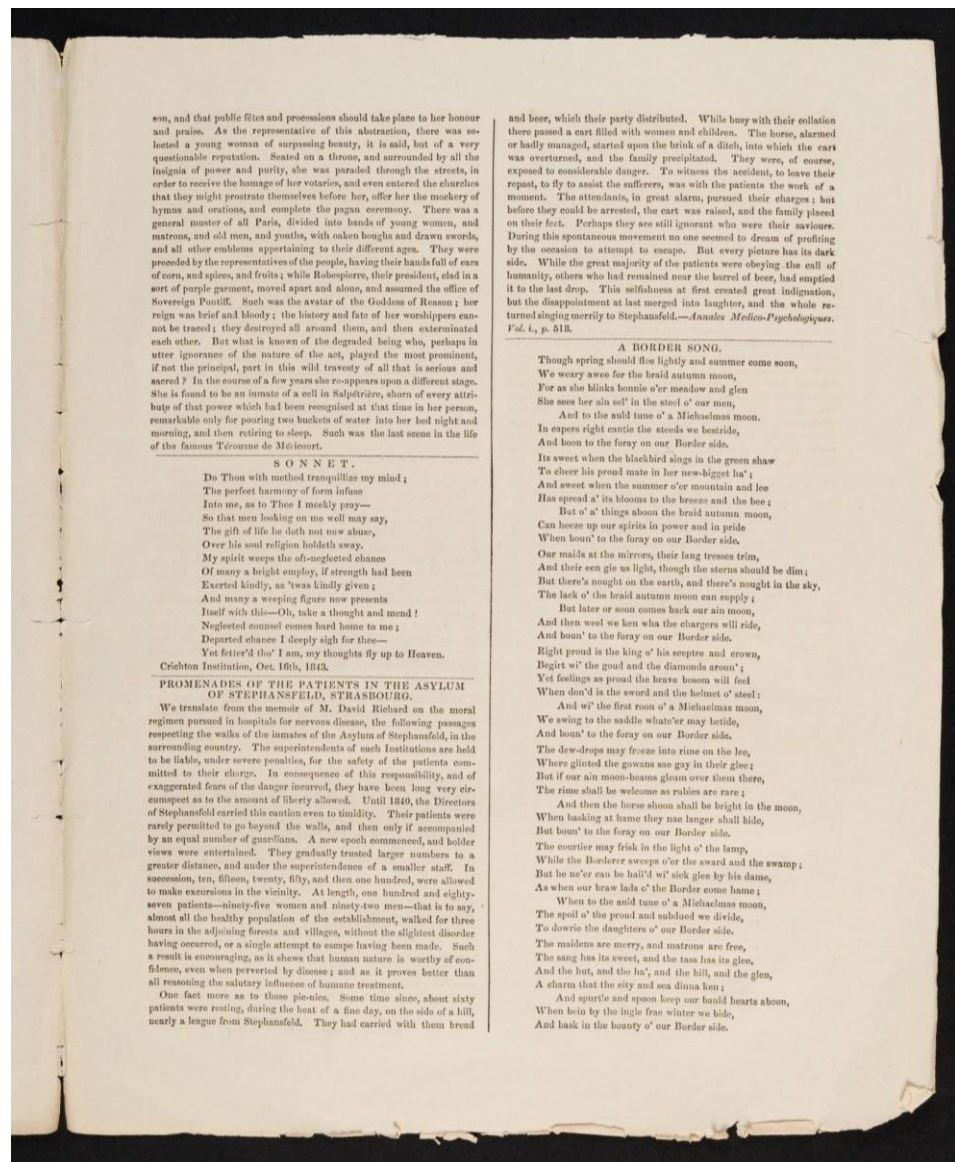


Figure 2: Layout of articles in *New Moon*, Vol. 1 No. 2. Picture: Wellcome Library.

Just as standards of ‘refinement’ were determined at Crichton as judged against the ‘sane’ behaviour of those outside the asylum, the journal was also measured against the achievements of external literary works. This is suggested by Browne’s evaluation of *New Moon* as a ‘complete success’ because ‘its authors, and the circumstances under which it has been composed, [...] is of decided merit, and contains many papers worthy of a higher destiny, and a more exclusive popularity’<sup>153</sup>. This review, which appeared in Browne’s Sixth Annual Report, implies that the work’s quality is good enough to have reached the standards of ‘higher destiny’ – or other, more widely circulated, mainstream publications. Browne establishes his own belief in the connection between this literary achievement, capable of such ‘higher destiny’, and improved mental wellbeing in a call for further research. He believed that creating profiles of the patient-writers would establish ‘a contrast [...] between the effort of intellect and the morbid feeling’<sup>154</sup>, in which those who exercised their minds to a standard mirroring ‘external’ culture were less likely to be melancholic. He hypothesised that these ‘portraits’ might demonstrate that the writers ‘cannot be so unhappy or so deluded, cannot in fact be so insane, while engaged in the composition of such effusions’<sup>155</sup>, an outcome which would demonstrate that significant literary achievement was instrumental in psychological rehabilitation. The success of the house organ, it is implied, is in its ability to reach the standard of works meant for ‘higher destiny’; in meeting these external standards, *New Moon* contributors are demonstrating their psychological improvement, in addition to further encouraging other patients in undertaking such curative work. Given patient-contributors’ keen interest in replicating the styles and themes of ‘external’ publications, it could be argued that patients judged the successes of their journal against such standards, as Browne did.

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<sup>153</sup> W. A. F. Browne, *Sixth Annual Report of the Crichton Royal Institution for Lunatics, Dumfries* (Dumfries: Crichton Royal Institution, 1845) p. 30.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid, p. 31.

Encouraging and enacting these supposedly higher standards of work had an obvious benefit for the institution in terms of enforcing and perpetuating ideas of ‘refinement as wellbeing’, but the purpose of this for patients is more complicated. That *New Moon* was internally judged on its effective embodiment and communication of the concept that external ‘refinement’ is demonstrative of wellbeing raises a further question. Was there some material outcome, such as being discharged from the hospital, that illustrating one’s ‘refinement’ or ‘civil sanity’ could potentially offer patients? As there is no evidence to suggest this - other than allusions in ‘A Shrift’ and ‘Another Confession’ - or indeed that Browne examined these works as representative of patients’ individual recoveries, it is unclear whether or not there was an incentive beyond the philosophy of self-improvement. Regardless of motivation, there is ample evidence to suggest that patient-contributors placed considerable emphasis on reflecting the standards of ‘external’ publications.

‘Periodicals, not books, were the most widely read genre of the nineteenth century [and] journalism was characteristic of the times’<sup>156</sup>, suggests Matthew Rubery in his chapter on journalism for *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Culture*. The first volume of *New Moon* reflects characteristics of the media most popular at its contemporaneous moment in the development of the journalistic press. First entering the English lexicon in the 1830s, the term ‘journalism’ took on a distinct meaning for its early Victorian audience: the growing demand for published writing resulted in the availability of thousands of new journals, and the century saw the introduction of a wide range of formats, such as the daily newspaper, the monthly magazine, and the quarterly review, ‘all of which were seen as very different to one another in terms of genres, styles, and values despite at times containing similar material’<sup>157</sup>. While these developments occurred throughout the century, Volume 1 of *New Moon* was published at a

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<sup>156</sup> Matthew Rubery, ‘Journalism’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Culture*, ed. By Francis O’Gorman, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 177-195 (p. 177).

<sup>157</sup> Matthew Rubery, ‘Victorian Print Culture, Journalism and the Novel’, *Literature Compass*, 7.6 (2010), 290-300, p. 295.

particular moment in this chronology, just before the ‘old journalism’ gave away to the ‘new’ in the mid-century. Before the new form of regular publications more regularly ‘pandered to audiences with unwholesome entertainment according to the timeless formula of sex, sport and scandal’<sup>158</sup> and a decade before the penny press championed sensationalistic journalism, ‘some legislators originally envisioned the press as a paternalistic source of moral instruction’<sup>159</sup>. Apparent in *New Moon*’s ‘chief object [as] a humble endeavour to lead the inmates of the Institution [...] to think aright on the chief subjects [...] so that they may leave it wiser and better men and women than they entered’<sup>160</sup> is this conceptualisation of the Crichton house organ as moral corrective or directive, reporting on the ‘present state and prospects of society’<sup>161</sup>. Likewise, the promise to conduct the journal ‘with suitable appropriateness’<sup>162</sup> betrays a paternalistic sense of vigilant concern about the moral wellbeing of its patient-readers. Such a concern is also represented in a short article from No. 2, ‘The Goddess of Reason’, which looks at the life of Théroigne de Méricourt, linking her hospitalisation at the Salpêtrière with the ‘travesty’ of her role as the ‘Goddess of Reason’ in post-revolutionary Paris, denying the true, Christian God and advocating a practise of self-worship. This anecdote the author refers to as ‘a morsel of moral medicine [which] should physic pride’<sup>163</sup>: suggesting that the singer’s hospitalisation is a downfall related to her hubris, this article is presented as a moral lesson for the benefit of patient-readers.

Throughout its first volume, *New Moon* maintains a high standard for its content, showcasing poetry, philosophical discussion, and skills of translation, thereby setting a particular, and perhaps aspirational, standard of mental engagement. Tone and content therefore

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<sup>158</sup> Matthew Rubery, ‘Journalism’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Culture*, ed. By Francis O’Gorman, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 177-195 (p. 187).

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> Anon, ‘Prospectus’, *New Moon*, 1.1 (1844), 1 (p. 1).

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

<sup>163</sup> Anon, ‘The Goddess of Reason’, *New Moon*, 1.2 (1845), 2-3 (p. 2).

seem to reflect *New Moon*'s agenda to apply 'suitable appropriateness [to] the play of fancy'<sup>164</sup>, whilst simultaneously reflecting the Crichtonian advocating of refinement as wellbeing. In addition to this echoing of tone or intent, *New Moon*'s structure and contents also echo those of other periodicals of its day: containing reports on hospital life and columns exploring social or religious ideas, in several aspects these articles resemble those of the publications to which the patients had access. Poetry also had particular 'value for periodical editors'<sup>165</sup>, something evidenced in *New Moon* by the multitude of poems included in the first run. The Crichton house journal seems to reflect closely the literary annual, a 'new outlet for publication' introduced in the 1820s and 30s, which were popular 'anthologies of poetry, light essays, short fiction'<sup>166</sup>, as well as the content of the miscellany, 'extending from articles that were self-consciously instructive to amusing sketches, anecdotes, poetry, and topical reports of public sensations, exhibitions, and discoveries'<sup>167</sup>.

Several other formal aspects of *New Moon* reflect those of 'outside' periodicals. For example, the 'serial' form had been used prior to the Victorian era, but 'this was the first period in which the methods of serial publication became so widespread', suggests Rubery: 'serials appeared at intervals of increasing frequency throughout the century as the audience for cheap reading materials continued to grow'<sup>168</sup>. *New Moon*'s serialisation of works, such as the poem 'The Lay of Life; Portions of the Heart's Pilgrimage', separated into Part I (in No. 4) and Part II (in No. 5) and an article on 'Persian Tales and Persian Morals', which was published in serial form in Numbers 6, 7, and 8, reflected this developing trend in 'external' publications. Similarly,

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<sup>164</sup> Anon, 'Prospectus', *New Moon*, 1.1 (1844), 1 (p. 1).

<sup>165</sup> Sally Mitchell, 'Victorian Journalism in Plenty', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 37.2 (2009), 311–321 (p. 315).

<sup>166</sup> Kathryn Ledbetter, *Tennyson and Victorian Periodicals: Commodities in Context* (Oxon: Routledge, 2007), p. 7.

<sup>167</sup> Jonathan R. Topham, 'The *Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction* and cheap miscellanies in early nineteenth-century Britain', in *Science in the Nineteenth Century Periodical*, ed. By Gillian Beer (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 37-65 (p. 45).

<sup>168</sup> Matthew Rubery, 'Journalism', in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Culture*, ed. By Francis O'Gorman, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 177-195 (p. 180).

*New Moon*'s regular 'Intelligence' section was a fixture in other titles, including the similarly named column in the *Phrenological Journal* – a publication available to and referenced by *New Moon* (perhaps unsurprisingly, as Browne was a member of the Edinburgh Phrenological Society and advocated the practice).

In addition to this, contributors to *New Moon* rarely signed their names; the 'brand of personal journalism [evidenced] in the use of signed articles'<sup>169</sup> was a distinguishing feature of what *Star* editor T. P. O'Connor would later identify as the 'new journalism', and the Crichton house organ appears to follow the 'old journalism' naming trend contemporaneous to its 1844-5 volume. As introduced above, Browne also determined to protect patients' anonymity in his Sixth Annual Report:

'what is actually wanting to complete the history of the experiment [of *New Moon*], would be a faithful portraiture of the individuals who have furnished the greater part of these articles [...] Such a series of portraits cannot of course be given'<sup>170</sup>.

As discussed by Reiss, patients had different motivations for choosing to not sign their names, but it is interesting to consider *New Moon* contributors' decision to not sign any name, unlike later patient publications, which often featured work attributed to pseudonyms or initials. Such anonymity was later defended by writer E.S. Dallas in his discussion of the periodical press in two articles for *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* in early 1859: he believed that 'it preserves the press from personalities and egotism, and [...] align[s] periodicals with the interests of groups rather than individuals'<sup>171</sup>. Perhaps this is a similar motivation to that of the *New Moon*'s writers, as representative of a larger patient body.

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<sup>169</sup> Ibid, p.192.

<sup>170</sup> W. A. F. Browne, *Sixth Annual Report of the Crichton Royal Institution for Lunatics, Dumfries* (Dumfries: Crichton Royal Institution, 1845) p. 31.

<sup>171</sup> Graham Law and Matthew Sterenberg, 'Old v. New Journalism and the Public Sphere', *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 16.1 (2013), 1-15 (p. 5).



In short, the literary characteristics of *New Moon*'s contributions significantly reflect those of the newly-established form of popular periodicals, part of the literary 'culture of the early Victorian period [which was] dominated by the expensive quarterlies and monthly reviews such as *The Quarterly Review*, *The Edinburgh Review*, and *The Westminster Review*, all aimed at educated and well-to-do readers'<sup>172</sup>, suggests Deborah Wynne. Whilst producing a monthly publication, Crichton additionally provided at least two of these titles to its inmates – the *Quarterly* and the *Edinburgh*. I contend that *New Moon*, in echoing the 'highbrow' style of these publications, was attempting to replicate this formal level of literariness. It could be argued that, in replicating the forms of 'external' literary culture, *New Moon*'s patient-contributors are attempting to attain and advocate a particular standard of civility or intellect – demonstrating, encouraging, and enacting an aspirational 'refinement', equivalent to mental wellbeing, by and for its patient-readers and -writers. This replication of external publication standards not only communicated the 'appropriate' level of intellectual and literary rigour, but also shaped the work that patients produced for this journal: writers and editors created their contributions according to these standards.

That the notion of 'refinement as wellbeing' is reiterated throughout Volume 1 of *New Moon*, present in every aspect of the journal's production and consumption, could imply that the publication's contents are a straightforward internalisation or echo of Crichtonian medical ideology - the journal acting as mere advertising or propaganda. However, understanding the Crichton house organ as mere regurgitation of ideology limits critical exploration of 'elliptical gaps' which can offer insight into this particular 'expressive possibility' of patient voices. Analysis of *New Moon*'s relationship to 'external' modes of publication can, I maintain,

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<sup>172</sup> Deborah Wynne, *Oxford Bibliographies* (2017)  
 <<https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199799558/obo-9780199799558-0052.xml>> [accessed 14 December 2015].

demonstrate further ways in which the journal acts as a site for patient-contributors' negotiation of ideology.

*New Moon*'s enactment or replication of the ideological tendencies, structures, forms, content, and thematic emphasis of mainstream periodicals – the hallmarks or identifying features of 'external' culture – lent the house organ a particular credibility, as well as a literary comprehensibility. Not only did this reinforce *New Moon*'s tenability to its Crichton audience (who, as has been demonstrated, placed significant emphasis on 'external' standards) – but it also was intended to give the patient publication a validity in the eyes of its wider reading public. In utilising the distinctive structural and literal 'language' of mainstream periodicals, a particular credence is lent to *New Moon*, enabling the publication to communicate with a much wider audience. I suggest that *New Moon*'s enacting and encouraging of such 'refinement' was intended to enable the magazine to enter the public literary sphere as a 'serious' endeavor.

*New Moon*'s patient-contributors were very keen for their magazine to reach a wider literary audience. A publication necessitates an audience, and although economic survival was not perhaps as pressing for the writers of *New Moon* as it might have been for other publications, there was still a financial imperative to its circulation and 'a charge of 6d per copy or 6/- per annum is made as from February 1845 [to provide] funds for the purchase of books for the Library'<sup>173</sup>. Profit made was to 'be employed in forming a fund out of which small sums of money will be paid to pauper patients on their dismissal from the asylum'<sup>174</sup>, and the journal was 'so profitable that by 1846 a printing press was purchased from the profits'<sup>175</sup>. However, the evidence seems to demonstrate that the patient-contributors' interest in the circulation of their publication was more socially complex than mere financial objective. There is a deficit of

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<sup>173</sup> C. C. Easterbrook, *The Chronicle of the Crichton Royal* (Dumfries: Courier Press, 1940), p. 39.

<sup>174</sup> Anon, 'Our Library Table', *The Phrenological Journal and Magazine of Moral Science*, 18.1 (1845), 84-89 (p. 89).

<sup>175</sup> Mary Smith, 'State of Mind', *Dumfries and Galloway Life*, February 2010, p. 26.

information about whether or not *New Moon* actively attempted to introduce the periodical into wider literary culture – for example, sending issues to other editors – but it would certainly be surprising if this was not the case. I suggest this because textual evidence demonstrates the editorial team’s keen interest in how ‘external’ publications engaged with their literary offerings, and there are many examples of this in Volume 1.

Any mention of the Crichton journal in wider literary culture is noted by the patient-contributors. The ‘Intelligence’ section of No. 3 alludes to commentary on the Crichton house organ in the *Phrenological Journal*, the *Lancet*, *Chambers’ Journal*, and *Scotsman*, although a self-proclaimed ‘innate modesty’ prevented an extraction of exactly what was said by these titles for re-publication in *New Moon*. This ‘modesty’ also intercepted the editorial team from ‘even guessing at which such rivals as the old Quarterlies and Blackwood think of us’, as the mere thought ‘makes [them] blush like a Nor-West Moon’<sup>176</sup>. The periodical reported that the success of the journal’s first quarter is said to have been ‘noticed and applauded in a most generous and discriminating manner by our contemporaries’<sup>177</sup>.

Despite the ‘innate modesty’ of the contributors, regular mention is made about any wider literary reference to the journal, and this pleasure in recognition is further exemplified by the journal’s ‘Intelligence’ column in No. 9, which features a report on Dr Pliny Earle’s article in the *American Journal of Insanity*. This article, entitled ‘The Poetry of Insanity’, seems unforgiving of the doctor’s omitting of any reference to *New Moon*:

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<sup>176</sup> Anon, ‘Intelligence’, *New Moon*, 1.3 (1845), 4 (p. 4).

<sup>177</sup> Some of the reviews referenced in this ‘Intelligence’ column are verifiable. For example, Volume XVII of the *Phrenological Journal*, for the year 1845, does indeed publish a review of *New Moon*, commenting that the ‘idea of starting a journal to be edited, written, and corrected, by inmates of a lunatic asylum, is excellent’ (p. 89). Referring to *New Moon* as a ‘psychological curiosity’ to which success is wished ‘on every account’, the *Phrenological Journal* finds merit in the material production of this publication: ‘The first number is a creditable production; it consists of a prospectus, several poems, “Intelligence,” and an excellent essay “On the Obligation and Influence of Parental Example”’ (p. 89). Echoing the *Phrenological Journal*’s positive encouragement of *New Moon*, in the January 25 1845 edition of *The Lancet*, a report entitled ‘British and American Medical Journals’, on the patient publication *Vermont Journal*, is concluded with an editor’s note that ‘We are glad to hear of the very successful results of a similar undertaking in the Crichton Asylum, Dumfries’ (p. 91).

‘The conclusion is obvious, either Dr Erle [sic] is so utterly ignorant of the details of his subject as to be unacquainted with this periodical, or what is more probable and more justifiable, he does not regard its poetical contents as coming within the scope of inquiry’<sup>178</sup>.

*New Moon*, which often published articles on ‘mad geniuses’, concludes its report on Dr Earle’s ‘The Poetry of Insanity’ by stating ‘There may be a twist in Byron, a shadow over Cowper, a downright crack in Lee; but we belong to another category’<sup>179</sup>. How the writer defined or understood this alternative ‘category’ of poetry by the ‘insane’ is unclear, but there is a definite sense that *New Moon*’s writers wished to be considered alongside such highly commended ‘mad’ writers. Further to this interest in being acknowledged by the wider literary sphere, this example demonstrates that contributors to *New Moon* hoped to define itself as more than a periodical curiosity, but instead a work of genuine literary achievement. Partly implied by *New Moon*’s stated wish to be considered alongside such writers as William Cowper or Nat Lee, it appears that the editorial team hoped to be not just good “for the work of asylum inmates”, but to be judged as a literary achievement in comparison to the standard of national publications. The Crichton house organ positioned itself as a peer of such papers: use of terms such as ‘rivals’ or ‘contemporaries’ to describe titles as widely read and respected as the *Lancet* and *Scotsman* could also be indicative of *New Moon*’s aspirations and sense of literary merit.

Further demonstrating this, the first volume of *New Moon* is particularly scathing towards publications which do not see the Crichton house organ as a genuine literary offering. For example: ‘Intelligence’ in No. 7 includes a paragraph from a ‘Southern literary contemporary, of considerable repute and influence in the world of letters’ which discusses *New Moon*. It states that the journal is ‘remarkable as being the first of the family in which the incapacity of the

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<sup>178</sup> Anon, ‘Intelligence’, *New Moon*, 1.9 (1845), 4 (p. 4).

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

editor or contributor is frankly avowed [...] [and containing] a variety of fugitive poetry, short prose articles, and a treatise of some length on the influence exercised by parents over their children'<sup>180</sup>. This article from the 'contemporary' - which was published in *The Athenæum* on March 29<sup>181</sup> and then reprinted in *Bent's Monthly Literary Advertiser* on April 10<sup>182</sup> (it is unclear to which title the original *New Moon* report refers) - is replicated in its entirety in the Crichton journal. The 'Intelligence' columnist states that its inclusion is 'less as a specimen of the puff fraternal than as an illustration of the *capacity* [italics in original] of our sane brethren, and as the most dense agglomeration of errors, geographical, professional, and prophetic, we have ever happened to meet with'<sup>183</sup>. *New Moon* takes significant issue with the 'dense agglomeration of errors'<sup>184</sup> in this report - the town is spelled as "Crichton" and the hospital periodical is incorrectly said to be 'the first in the family in which the incapacity of editor or contributor is frankly avowed'<sup>185</sup> - although as the writer of this instalment of *New Moon's* 'Intelligence' column does not elaborate on where the other, supposedly substantial, errors are, the issues taken with this 'external' publication's report on the journal remains unclear. This effusive coverage of positive reviews and scathing responses to articles which are less copious in praise illustrates the patient-contributors' keen desire to be taken seriously and their work seen as an elevated example of literary endeavour.

In this context it is interesting to note that, in some cases, *New Moon* was very much treated as a valid literary offering beyond its position as a 'curiosity' of the periodical world. In general, *New Moon* was quite successful in its objective: the remarks made in reviews by 'external' publications range between fascination for the publication, and high commendation for

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<sup>180</sup> Anon, 'Intelligence', *New Moon*, 1.7 (1845), 4 (p. 4).

<sup>181</sup> Anon, Our Weekly Gossip, *The Athenæum Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts*, 1.909 (1845), 311-312 (p. 311).

<sup>182</sup> Anon, *Literary Notices - Books and Prints, Brent's Monthly Literary Advertiser, Register of Books, Engravings, &c.*, 10 April 1845, p. 59.

<sup>183</sup> Anon, 'Intelligence', *New Moon*, 1.7 (1845), 4 (p. 4).

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

the literary ability of writers. Exemplifying this is *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal's* devotion of a significant amount of space to its discussion of *New Moon*: two columns for its January 1845 article entitled 'Periodical Work Conducted by Lunatics'. In creating *New Moon*, patients are said to 'club their wits to prepare and issue a monthly periodical sheet', and the author seems impressed with the quality of the publication: 'Not only is the literary matter sane in its general tone, and rhetorically correct, but there is positive merit in several of the little articles'<sup>186</sup>. A particular interest is taken in the poem by 'Sigma', of which 'we would ask if many men under Thomas Moore could write in the same style more smartly'<sup>187</sup>, whereas of 'J.C.'s prose discussion of parenthood, 'An Essay: Or Parent's Annual for 1844. On the Obligation and Influence of Parental Example' - a 'moral effort' dedicated to Browne - the reviewer is more disparaging. They suggest that the *New Moon* writer's style betrays a 'clerical education, preach[ing], but states that 'however trite the ideas, assuredly their arrangement here is as good as could be expected from any other quarter whatever'<sup>188</sup>.

This more critical review implies that the author is evaluating *New Moon* on its merits as general periodical, as opposed to the perhaps hindered work of 'lunatics' – something also suggested by the reviewer's evaluation of J.R.'s poem 'Lines on the Sudden Death of a Young Lady', which is said to have 'absolute merits sufficient to entitle it to notice, apart from all consideration of the interest arising from the condition and circumstances of the writer'<sup>189</sup>. The *Chambers'* writer goes as far as to suggest that these literary works provide such 'strong proofs of their sanity' that had the patients been on trial for 'some capital outrage', these compositions would result in 'consequent liability to punishment'<sup>190</sup>, referencing the M'Naghten rules, which had been formulated in 1843. When on trial for assassinating a civil servant, the defence of

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<sup>186</sup> Anon, 'Periodical Work Conducted By Lunatics', *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, New Series* 1.55, (1845), 43-44 (p. 43).

<sup>187</sup> Ibid, p. 44.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid, p. 44.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid, p. 44.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid, p. 44.

Daniel M'Naghten (or 'Macnaughton', as spelled in *Chambers'* journal) relied on proving his insanity - a case, this author suggests, which would be lost if he had produced such high quality works as produced by *New Moon* authors. The standard of the work does not only seem to have been judged as decent in the year of its publication, but also by later audiences. C. C.

Easterbrook, in his 1940 history work *The Chronicle of Crichton Royal*, speaks highly of the work achieved by *New Moon's* patient-writers, noting that they 'receive[d] very appreciative reviews in the *Lancet*, *Phrenological Journal*, *Chambers's Journal*, *Scotsman*, and other papers, and has created a "sensation" in the world of literature'<sup>191</sup>. Easterbrook himself also found literary merit in the periodical:

'All the contributions to the *New Moon* in prose and verse have of course been anonymous, but there must be hidden in some of the pages [...] articles of genuine interest and merit; for men of light and leading, and women, too, have, [...] sought refuge in the Crichton from the slings and arrows of mental trouble, and have there given of their best to the *New Moon*'<sup>192</sup>.

The discussion of the above examples demonstrates patient-contributors' keen desire to have their 'civil sanity' confirmed by those outside Crichton's walls. Here, further evidence of ideological 'internalisation' can be seen, in which patients demonstrate 'refined wellbeing' not only to the medical authorities at Crichton, but look for confirmation of success from a wider literary audience.

It would seem, however, that the *New Moon* patient-contributors did not seek mere acceptance from the wider literary community, but desired to play a critical role within the discourse. Evidence from the primary material suggests that *New Moon* patient-contributors envisioned the journal's literary work as not merely a process of duplicating the refined behaviour of the outside world, but improving upon it. Exemplifying this is the above-mentioned

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<sup>191</sup> C. C. Easterbrook, *The Chronicle of the Crichton Royal* (Dumfries: Courier Press, 1940), p. 40.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*

‘Intelligence’ column: a key reason for the inclusion of the article by the report from the ‘Southern literary contemporary’ seems to have been to demonstrate to readers patients’ ‘refined’ literary capabilities, and how these skills raise them above their ‘Southern contemporary’. This reflects the pioneering work done by physician John Conolly from 1839, who was ‘convinced that asylums were capable of being moulded into ideal societies, free from the malignant influences of modern life’<sup>193</sup>. This projected improvement is both moral - No. 5’s ‘Intelligence’ column comments the perceived epidemic of ‘monomania’ (grief) in the country, and states ‘we are glad to say that not a single case of the disease has occurred in our community’<sup>194</sup> - and literary<sup>195</sup>.

*New Moon*’s critical engagement with the external literary discourse extends to the journal’s ‘negotiation’ of the ‘refinement as wellbeing’ ideology. The house organ, circulated within the hospital community, was able to perpetuate notions of moral therapy’s ‘refining’ abilities to the patient body; it was also available for a much wider reading audience. The pursuit of ‘refinement as wellbeing’ is a notion both practised and preached by the *New Moon*’s patient-contributors: not only enacting this aspiration in its structuring and content, the house organ advocated the concept via its use of a wider literary ‘voice’ – this “mode of addressing the public”<sup>196</sup>. It could be argued that *New Moon* utilised this ‘mode’ as a method of communicating the ‘refinement as wellbeing’ ideology to the ‘external’ discourse.

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<sup>193</sup> Mike Jay, *This Way Madness Lies: The Asylum and Beyond* (London: Thames & Hudson Limited, 2016), p. 112.

<sup>194</sup> Anon, ‘Intelligence’, *New Moon*, 1.5 (1845), 4 (p. 4).

<sup>195</sup> It should be noted that these comments about other publications may be intended as humour. That the ‘Intelligence’ column in No. 3 refers to the ‘rivals’ Blackwood and the Quarterlies - in which *New Moon* was not featured for review - could be lampooning any possible literary ambitions of the Crichton publication. The degree of seriousness of this self-reflexivity remains unclear, although this sense of self-satire is echoed in the following entry in ‘Intelligence’. This section, which states that they ‘have received an application from a respectable bookseller in the capital of the west to be appointed sole agent for the “New Moon;” and we expect similar petitions from Timbuctoo and El Dorado’ (p. 4), gently mocks the potential reach of the publication.

<sup>196</sup> E. S. Dallas, ‘Popular Literature: The Periodical Press (I)’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, January 1859, quoted in Graham Law and Matthew Sterenberg, ‘Old v. New Journalism and the Public Sphere’, *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 16.1 (2013), 1-15 (p. 5).



Articles advocating ‘refinement as wellbeing’ in treatment, asylum management, and patient comportment appear throughout Volume 1. That the *New Moon* sought to promote such in an ‘external’ literary marketplace of ideas implies the internalisation of this institutional ideology. At the same time, however, in presenting this ideology into the wider literary sphere, the *New Moon*’s critical dialogue with the medical-philosophical discourse becomes apparent: an interest in opposing discourses around civility and madness, beyond what the Crichton hospital communicated to its patients, can be observed. The public *New Moon* invites itself into an open dialogue about topics such as civility, intellectual pursuits, and mental health. It should again be emphasised that it would be critically limiting to suggest that *New Moon*’s perpetuation of the ‘refinement as wellbeing’ doctrine via its mimicking of ‘external’ periodicals merely demonstrates Crichton’s ideological impact. The use of these identifying features meant that the publication was able to enter into the wider literary sphere. In adopting these styles and themes, it could be argued that *New Moon* opened itself up to challenges, dialogue, and criticism. This suggests that the patient-contributors understood their work as at least partly autonomous to the asylum. As a public platform, *New Moon* was able to communicate its perspectives to the patient community, and to the ‘external’ world – an aspect of publication of which the editorial team was acutely conscious. This factor is also noted by Park, who suggests that ‘while writing provided intellectual stimulus, the publication gave them pride in their own achievements and allowed their work to be read by ‘civilised society’ beyond the confines of the asylum’<sup>197</sup>. *New Moon*’s existence as a publication circulated beyond the hospital here provides ‘expressive possibilities’ for disentangling patient and asylum voices.

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<sup>197</sup> Maureen Park and Robert Hamilton, ‘Moral treatment of the insane: Provisions for lifelong learning, cultural engagement, and creativity in nineteenth-century asylums’, *Journal of Adult and Continuing Education*, 16.2 (2010), 100-113 (p. 105).

## 5 - Communicating first-person experiences and ‘repressive tolerance’

*New Moon*, I demonstrate, offered a platform well-suited to facilitating patient-contributors’ communication of ideas. That the inmates at Crichton had access to and read medical journals such as the *Lancet*, the *Phrenological Journal*, and possibly the *American Journal of Insanity* (if Dr Pliny Earle’s *The Poetry of Insanity* was read directly from the source), and referenced them in their own periodical, demonstrates an awareness of medical discourses, and the literary environment in which they were cultivated. Advancements in the medical field, and, more specifically, in alienism (‘psychiatry’ came into common usage later<sup>198</sup>) were often the subject of public debate in the literary sphere during the nineteenth century. Indeed, the Victorian era saw a vast and rapid expansion in the publication of such magazines and newspapers. In addition to non-medical professionals discussing the implications of scientific advancements in journals and other publications, a wide variety of medical periodicals entered the literary domain. Periodicals specifically related to the study of the mind, such as the *Phrenological Journal*, went into publication, and *The Asylum Journal*, later known as the *Journal of Mental Science*, ‘sought to bring together the knowledge of those working in the expanding field of psychiatry’<sup>199</sup>. As demonstrated by W.R. LeFanu in his compendium *British Periodicals of Medicine*, ‘along with the explosion of publication in the sphere of lay periodicals, there came a parallel growth in medical periodicals in the nineteenth century’<sup>200</sup>, from the general *The Lancet* and *British Medical Journal* to the more specific interests. M. Jeanne Peterson states that periodicals of auxiliary sciences such as anatomy and physiology ‘took their place in the publishing world next

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<sup>198</sup> Sarah Wise, *Inconvenient People: Lunacy, Liberty, and the Mad-Doctors in Victorian England* (London: Vintage, 2013), p. xii.

<sup>199</sup> Jennifer Wallis, *Diseases of Modern Life* (2015)  
<https://diseasesofmodernlife.org/2015/05/18/working-with-19th-century-medical-and-health-periodicals/> [accessed 17 June 2017].

<sup>200</sup> M. Jeanne Peterson, ‘Specialist Journals and Professional Rivalries in Victorian Medicine’, *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 12.1 (1979), 25-32 (p. 25).

to journals treating what might now be considered quasi-medical topics such as mesmerism, spas and water cures'<sup>201</sup>. A smorgasbord of differing, often opposing, ideas were in circulation during the era, and the literary sphere was capable of accommodating these medical dialogues and providing a platform for heterogeneous voices. In addition, the periodical format was uniquely suited to facilitating this discussion: 'The open-endedness of the periodical, along with its material ephemerality and particular relationship to time, makes the form particularly suited to dialogue'<sup>202</sup>. In this tradition, *New Moon*'s first volume presents different perspectives on the 'refinement as wellbeing' ideology. As demonstrated above, these perspectives can be seen in the journal's content, ranging from the conservatively critical ('Another Confession', 'Prospectus') to those which replicate the ideology unquestioningly ('The Schoolmaster', 'Winter'). As examined in my earlier discussions of the dual-method model and reflecting 'external' modes of publication, *New Moon*'s exploration of 'refinement as wellbeing' can also be seen in the journal's structure, tone, and style.

*New Moon* demonstrates an awareness of the importance of patient voices in medical progress and institutional development. As Janet Miron suggests in her chapter in *Permeable Walls: Historical Perspectives on Hospital and Asylum Visiting*, 'patients also played a role in determining the relationship between the asylum and the outside world', although she rightly acknowledges that such sources which 'shed light on patient experiences and views are rare and those that do exist are often problematic'<sup>203</sup>. Within limits, the patient publication format enabled a peripheralised group to creatively engage with and provide unique insight into their experiences and their critical literary work. Dallas perceived 'a virtuous circle of interaction among authors,

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<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

<sup>202</sup> Geoffrey Cantor, Gowan Dawson, Richard Noakes, Sally Shuttleworth, and Jonathan R. Topham, 'Introduction', in *Culture and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Media*, ed. by Louise Henson, Geoffrey Cantor, Gowan Dawson, Richard Noakes, Sally Shuttleworth, and Jonathan R. Topham (Oxon: Routledge, 2016), pp. xvii-xxiii (p. xviii).

<sup>203</sup> Janet Miron, 'In View of the Knowledge to be Acquired': Public Visits to New York's Asylums in the Nineteenth Century', in *Permeable Walls: Historical Perspectives on Hospital and Asylum Visiting*, ed. By Graham Mooney and Jonathan Reinartz (New York, Rodopi: 2009), pp. 243-267 (p. 256).

publishers, and readers that serves to promote the healthy cultivation of public opinion'<sup>204</sup>, in his evaluation of the rise of periodicals. This diverse community of patient readers and writers appears to be something that *New Moon* hoped to achieve, exemplified by its engagement with mental health hospitals beyond Crichton which produced periodicals composed by inmates.

*New Moon* actively engages with similar patient publications, reporting on titles as the editorial team is made aware of them, and attempting to construct a network of journal exchange. No. 9 reports that it must 'announce and hail the appearance of a co-labourer' in the field which the writer suggests is 'the parterre of literature'<sup>205</sup>. The *Morningside Mirror*, *New Moon* reports, features an 'article on literary composition [which] is excellent'<sup>206</sup>. Beyond a straightforward review of literary content, in an earlier volume, the 'Intelligence' column states that the journal's American correspondent has discovered that *New Moon* had a 'rival' in the journal of the Vermont Asylum. This reference to the 'rival' paper seems to be in good humour, as the report goes on to state:

'How far we can brook such an aspirant near our throne it is impossible to say; but one excellent and imitable arrangement we perceive is connected with the attempt - the editors of all the American papers and periodicals send copies of their productions to the editor'<sup>207</sup>.

This echoes the 'review' style of other publications, and also, this attempt to connect and form an interaction with the *Asylum Journal* of the patients at Vermont implies a keen interest in engaging with similar titles, promoting the literary culture of Crichton and furthering the reach of its journal.

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<sup>204</sup> Graham Law and Matthew Sterenberg, 'Old v. New Journalism and the Public Sphere', *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 16.1 (2013), 1-15 (p. 7).

<sup>205</sup> Anon, 'Intelligence', *New Moon*, 1.11 (1845), 4 (p. 4).

<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

<sup>207</sup> Anon, 'Intelligence', *New Moon*, 1.7 (1845), 4 (p. 4).

Furthermore, *New Moon* offered patient-writers an environment in which to discuss their own experiences at Crichton, contributing first person perspectives on asylum treatment to the wider medical-literary discourse. For example, the writer of 'Another Confession' makes it clear that they are able to give insight that those living outside the asylum and even the medical professionals working inside would not be able to provide. This is demonstrated by the statement:

'From the cool manner in which the few visitors I have seen speak of our confinement, as a necessary and very endurable restraint, I see that those who have not tried it have a very slight impression of the evils inflicted, and which I believe very few cases justify, where the prisoner is able to plead his own cause'<sup>208</sup>.

This demonstrates that the author was quite aware of a cognitive distance between patient and visitor, and their interest in communicating patients' experiences to a wider public. The column is written with the intention of reaching those outside the asylum walls, to 'impress' them with an insider's knowledge of the hospital's medical practices. As contributions by non-medical persons, it might be supposed that these creative works were seen as having less value within the nineteenth century medical-literary discourse, but as has been demonstrated, this does not appear to be the case. In fact, it could be claimed to a certain degree, *New Moon*'s contribution of first person perspectives to a wider medical discourse reveals a pioneering self-determination - as Park suggests, the patients' 'efforts challenged the view that a disturbed mind could not produce creative work'<sup>209</sup>.

As suggested by Reiss, these first person perspectives should be considered within the above-discussed limitations - the content of *New Moon*, Park suggests, 'was closely monitored,

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<sup>208</sup> Anon, 'Another Confession – Are The Insane Always In Error?', *New Moon*, 1.10 (1845), 2-3 (p. 2).

<sup>209</sup> Maureen Park and Robert Hamilton, 'Moral treatment of the insane: Provisions for lifelong learning, cultural engagement, and creativity in nineteenth-century asylums', *Journal of Adult and Continuing Education*, 16.2 (2010), 100-113 (p. 105).

usually by the asylum superintendents'<sup>210</sup>. Although these examples demonstrate *New Moon*'s attempts to contribute to wider medical discourses, such works could still, potentially, be framed as an echoing of Browne's moral therapy doctrines, in both the content of the articles and in the patient-writers' enactment of critical literary 'refinement'. It is also interesting to note that the presence of the 'refinement as wellbeing' ideology – in both *New Moon*'s form and content – is commented on in some of the above-mentioned reviews by external papers, which offer perspectives on the house organ as medical treatment for its writers. For example, the author of the *Chambers*' article identifies *New Moon* as 'a new feature [...] developed in [the patients]' treatment', and suggests that its existence symbolises how care of 'lunatics' has evolved from being 'dungeoned and whipped [...] fifty years ago' to now being 'treated to balls and soirees'<sup>211</sup>. This idea of moral therapy as an indulgence of some sort is reflected in the *Scotsman*'s report of January 11 1845, which engages with the publication less directly and instead quotes at length a section from the Fifth Annual Report. It also comments on the 'novel' and 'highly curious' nature of 'what may be called the moral treatment now adopted in the best-conducted asylums'<sup>212</sup>. Browne's reflection on *New Moon* is framed by the *Scotsman* as one of the 'amusements and liberties with which [the patients] are indulged'<sup>213</sup>. The *Phrenological Journal*, however, echoed Browne's objective for the Crichton house organ. Reinforcing the notion that literary endeavour leads to psychological improvement, the *Phrenological Journal* emphasises the mental benefits of *New Moon*: 'the mental stimulus and occupation which both readers and writers will derive from it, must, in general, be highly salutary'<sup>214</sup>. As a side note, it is interesting to consider this as external reinforcement of Crichtonian ideology; it is possible that

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<sup>210</sup> Ibid.

<sup>211</sup> Anon, 'Periodical Work Conducted By Lunatics', *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, New Series* 1.55, (1845), 43-44 (p. 43).

<sup>212</sup> Anon, 'The Crichton Lunatic Institution Dumfries', *The Scotsman*, 11 January 1845, p.4.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid.

<sup>214</sup> Anon, 'Our Library Table', *The Phrenological Journal and Magazine of Moral Science*, 18.1 (1845), 84-89 (p. 89).

this may have had an impact on the hospital inmates reading the *Phrenological Journal* review, and thus their negotiation of the ‘refinement as wellbeing’ ideology. These differing receptions of *New Moon* as tool of healing implies the varied ways in which the ‘refinement as wellbeing’ ideology was framed and communicated by the Crichton house organ to other publications.

Above, *New Moon* has been considered as a publication in the mainstream periodical mode; its functioning within this literary sphere highlights that the Crichton house journal operated as something at least partly autonomous to its asylum. However, considering *New Moon* in context with the critical concept of ‘repressive tolerance’<sup>215</sup> indicates an aspect in which the ‘independence’ of patient-contributors’ voices is problematised. Mark Hampton states, in his article referencing *The Invention of Journalism*, that Jean Chalaby argues:

‘Before the 1850s [...] the prevailing discourse in the British press was “political at heart and public in character”. Purveyors of this discourse are thus better called “publicists” than “journalists” [...] a publicist represented a particular political group or organization, promoting that groups’ interests and articulating its political [...] ideologies. Publicists were combative and wrote in order to change society’<sup>216</sup>.

Before the tax repeals began in 1853, a ‘prerepeal public press’ existed in which ‘publicists often confronted their public’s beliefs and values’<sup>217</sup>.

This understanding of the press is different to the perspective offered by Lyn Pykett in her 1984 analysis of James Mill’s 1824 work on periodical literature, ‘which he sees as being engaged in a form of covert activity - “under the guise of reviewing books [they]...have introduced the practice of publishing dissertations”’<sup>218</sup>. In analysing the ‘style, content and

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<sup>215</sup> Lynn Pykett, ‘Reading the Periodical Press: Text and Context’, *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 22.3 (1989), 100-108 (p. 106).

<sup>216</sup> Mark Hampton, ‘Review: Rethinking the “New Journalism,” 1850s-190s’, *Journal of British Studies*, 43.2 (2004), 278-290 (p. 281).

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid*, p. 282.

<sup>218</sup> Lynn Pykett, ‘Reading the Periodical Press: Text and Context’, *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 22.3 (1989), 100-108 (p. 105).

tone'<sup>219</sup> of periodicals, Pykett explores Mill's suggestion that an 'essential identity' with particular 'ideological functioning' can be seen in publications of this era, while putting forward the suggestion that Mill 'sees the periodical press [...] as an ideological state apparatus which reproduces and reinforces ruling class hegemony' whilst simultaneously including 'a safety valve mechanism. He sees the ideological hegemony of the periodical press as, in part, sustained by a kind of repressive tolerance, by means of which gaps are left for oppositional voices and oppositional discourse'<sup>220</sup>. This, Pykett suggests, 'may be compared with [Roland] Barthes's view of the "inoculation effect" in mass culture, by which an institutional discourse admits the possibility that the institution is liable to criticism, but the criticism actually functions to reinforce the *status quo*'<sup>221</sup>. The periodical format, in Pykett's reading of Mill, was characterised by careful negotiation of ideology, alternating between replicating the norm and presenting a cautious challenge. I suggest that this 'repressive tolerance' is exemplified by *New Moon* in its 'negotiation' of the 'refinement as wellbeing' ideology. The Crichton house journal, as has been demonstrated throughout this chapter, moves between reinforcing and perpetuating institutional doctrine, and undermining or carefully critiquing it - usually in diplomatic, non-confrontational ways which replicate other aspects of the asylum's ideology. Whether this was a conscious decision on the part of the patient-contributors, or editorial constraints placed on *New Moon* by the institution's staff, is unclear; further demonstrative of the unknowability of the text. This 'repressive tolerance' is akin to the aforementioned idea of 'deviation as success', in which I hypothesised that where patient-contributors appeared to deviate from an authoritative ideology, often such challenges actually demonstrated support for wider aspects of Crichtonian moral therapy. Just as the 'safety valve mechanism' in mainstream periodicals allowed for oppositional voices as a method of maintaining the status quo, it could be argued that patients' critical

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<sup>219</sup> Ibid, p. 106.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid, p. 106.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid, p. 106.



engagement with the ‘refinement as wellbeing’ ideology in *New Moon* might be a necessary, permitted aspect of reinforcing institutional authority, as opposed to an example of patient autonomy.

## 6 - Conclusion

In the introduction to *Culture and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Media*, the book’s authors suggest that ‘different forms of periodical content are never self-contained or isolated; instead they constantly point beyond themselves, either to other articles in the same periodical or to pieces published in rival journals’<sup>222</sup>. They claim that periodical works are often shaped by their references to and position within wider cultural contexts. Understanding the Crichton house organ as akin to this hybrid, intertextual form has enabled this chapter to explore patient-contributors’ work as in continual dialogue with the institution and wider literary spheres, ‘negotiating’ ideology. Geoffrey Cantor et. al suggest that ‘formalist notions such as autonomy and self-containment have no place in the hybrid, and overly pluralist, intertextual format of the periodical’<sup>223</sup>. This is a useful critical position to consider in context with *New Moon*, which exists in the discursive liminal space between institution and institutionalised, and also navigates literary spheres internal and external to the asylum. Indeed, as has been demonstrated, there are significant limitations in identifying patient-contributors’ ‘autonomy’, and Cantor et. al’s statement suggests that this is a natural state for periodicals such as *New Moon*. However, I argue that attempting to identify patient ‘voices’ - albeit within these limitations - is particularly

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<sup>222</sup> Geoffrey Cantor, Gowan Dawson, Richard Noakes, Sally Shuttleworth, and Jonathan R. Topham, ‘Introduction’, in *Culture and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Media*, ed. by Louise Henson, Geoffrey Cantor, Gowan Dawson, Richard Noakes, Sally Shuttleworth, and Jonathan R. Topham (Oxon: Routledge, 2016), pp. xvii-xxiii (p. xviii).

<sup>223</sup> Ibid.

important in the case of journals such as the Crichton house journal, which showcase the perspectives of underrepresented and marginalised people.

This chapter has aimed to highlight the obstacles which arise when exploring *New Moon*'s patient 'voice' as independent from that of the institution. Most significantly, tracing the presence of the 'refinement as wellbeing' ideology through Volume 1 of *New Moon* has indicated its significant discursive impact on patient-contributors. Informing the production of the journal, and encouraged/enacted by patient-contributors throughout its construction and content, the omnipresence of this institutional ideology problematizes attempts to identify an 'independent' inmate voice. Furthermore, Park states that although patient-contributors 'published their own writings, allowing their voices to be heard'<sup>224</sup>, their literary work - regardless of content - should be read as a deliberate outcome of Crichton's moral therapy. 'Under a regime which had previously stifled the lives and intellects of those in confinement,' Park states, 'encouraging patients to publish marked in part a rejection of the notion that the capacity for personal expression was open to those of sound mental health'<sup>225</sup>. In this reading of *New Moon*, patient contributions are inescapably shaped by the institution's therapeutic intent: 'independent' patient voices serve merely as evidence of moral therapy's success.

I have developed on this reading by arguing that despite the limitations of this institutional impact, *New Moon*, as an 'elliptical record', offers 'expressive possibilities' for patient voices, from which aspects of the inmates' thoughts and experiences can be interpreted. Although the full extent of the relationship between medical rhetoric and patient internalisation remains unknowable, I argue that the material evidence suggests the significant but not total impact of institutional ideology on the work produced for *New Moon*. Furthermore, patients' internalisation of 'refinement as wellbeing' does not invalidate their literary contributions, but

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<sup>224</sup> Maureen Park and Robert Hamilton, 'Moral treatment of the insane: Provisions for lifelong learning, cultural engagement, and creativity in nineteenth-century asylums', *Journal of Adult and Continuing Education*, 16.2 (2010), 100-113 (p. 105).

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid*, p. 105.

should be understood as one of many factors impacting on the production of the magazine. In showcasing a variety of postulations and approaches about an aspect of Crichtonian moral therapy, *New Moon* serves a role similar to that of early psychology periodicals, which have been characterised by Rick Rylance as ‘healthily inconsistent in their attitudes, [with] contributors consciously and subtly negotiat[ing] their positions in specific circumstances’<sup>226</sup>. The ideological character of *New Moon* somewhat reflects the ‘ramshackle appearance’ of the newly emerging area of publication: ‘eclectic in its sources, dispersed in personnel, and general in orientation’<sup>227</sup>. I maintain that the relationship between patient autonomy and asylum ideology in *New Moon* is one of ‘negotiation’, perhaps shaped by an institutional ‘repressive tolerance’ in which the journal acts as a tool of healing for both institution and institutionalised. Characterising the patient-contributors’ exploration of this institutional ideology as one of ‘negotiating’ highlights the nuances in the relationship between patient and asylum. In the journal’s exploration of this ideology, a distinct patient voice begins to emerge within *New Moon* - one that is simultaneously influenced by and unique from the discourses of the asylum.

Evidence suggests that patient-contributors were engaging with discourses and literary spheres beyond those within Crichton, implying that inmates were permitted a certain autonomy beyond the discursive confines of the asylum. In considering *New Moon* in its role as a publically accessible patient publication, the journal as a collection of writings by asylum inmates is transformed into a socio-political object. This reading of the Crichton house organ positions the source material as a unified assemblage of patient voices with the potential to contribute to wider discourses of mental health care, complicating the journal’s role as a conduit for medical

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<sup>226</sup> Rick Rylance, ‘The Disturbing Anarchy of Investigation’: Psychological Debate and the Victorian Periodical’, in *Culture and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Media*, ed. by Louise Henson, Geoffrey Cantor, Gowan Dawson, Richard Noakes, Sally Shuttleworth, and Jonathan R. Topham (Oxon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 230-250 (p. 240).

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241.

ideology. That this ‘negotiation’ of ideology is what *New Moon*’s literary community decided to contribute to the external world suggests its importance to the patient-contributors.

*New Moon* should be considered as both enactment of Crichton’s specific form of moral therapy, and as its outcome. Viewed as a product of medical practice, *New Moon* can be critically read as a historical record of moral therapy’s impact on patients as both writers and readers. Not only does it demonstrate the various successes and failures of the practice, but (more relevantly to the topic of this chapter) the content of *New Moon* also demonstrates the psychological practice’s ideology as understood by the patient-writers. Empowered by the critical and creative opportunities *New Moon* presented them, patient-contributors voice a complex and nuanced negotiation of institutional ideology, utilising their patient publication as both record and tool of their healing.

## Chapter Two: 'House identity' formation in *Under the Dome*

On March 31 1892 the New Series of Bethlem Royal Hospital's house publication, *Under the Dome*, opened with an introduction in which the editor reflected upon the magazine's forerunners at the institution: 'In former years it has happened, not once nor twice, that a Magazine edited and published within the Hospital, has for a short time been circulated in our wards, affording occupation to, and contributing to the pleasure of those who have stayed here'<sup>228</sup>. This editorial acknowledges the hospital's history of engagement with the 'house organ' form, stating that the 1892 issue of *Under the Dome* had several predecessors at the institution: *The Bethlehem Star* (also referred to as *The Star of Bethlem*) had multiple runs (one in 1875, two in 1879, and one in 1880)<sup>229</sup>, followed by the first edition of the initial run of *Under the Dome* in 1889. The latter was a publication of such success that an opposition paper, *Above the Dome*, was launched by 'M', the former editor of the *The Bethlehem Star* and 'a clever journalist and artist [who] went on to write articles for *Under the Dome* on life in Bethlem'<sup>230</sup>. A quarterly, the New Series of *Under the Dome* was the first Bethlem magazine to be published on a printing press rather than written by hand, and is the earliest Bethlem house organ to have survived to the present day<sup>231</sup>. Defining itself specifically as a 'magazine', as opposed to a journal, newspaper, or periodical, *Under the Dome* in content and format is very similar to patient publications from other asylums of the era. Features included articles on topics of interest, reports on patients' excursions, poetry, fiction, and puzzles, all of which demonstrate the literary inclinations of the magazine's contributors, as well as the hospital experiences of the editorial team.

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<sup>228</sup> Volume 1, Number 1. This abbreviation method is used for every issue under consideration in this chapter. As an example, the final issue considered in this chapter - Volume 12, Number 48 - will be abbreviated to 12.48.

<sup>229</sup> Anon, 'Institution Magazines', *Under the Dome*, 5.17 (1896), 2-9 (p. 2).

<sup>230</sup> Jonathan Andrews, Asa Briggs, Roy Porter, Penny Tucker, and Keir Waddington, *The History of Bethlem*, (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 518.

<sup>231</sup> *Under the Dome*'s New Series is held at Bethlem Museum of the Mind.

Unlike its patient publication peers, however, *Under the Dome* should be understood as representative of the hospital more comprehensively; produced by various members from a number of spheres within the Bethlem community, it is best categorised as a ‘house’ organ. In Chapter One, I argued that the Crichton Royal Institution’s periodical, *New Moon*, represented a patient ‘voice’ which was in negotiation with institutional ideology. I theorised that the periodical demonstrated to some extent a particular Crichtonian patient identity characterised as a dialogue between the ideological impact of the asylum and an inmate-centric literary independence. It is difficult to apply a similar critical evaluation to *Under the Dome*; the blurring of such lines within the publication complicates the process of identifying a Bethlemite patient ‘voice’ within the magazine, as separate to that of the asylum. *Under the Dome*’s contents instead appear to have been a collaborative effort between hospital staff and a wider support team, as well as between both former and current patients. As opposed to being ‘edited, composed, and corrected exclusively by inmates’<sup>232</sup> as *New Moon* was, *Under the Dome* was instead ‘a magazine produced by the staff with contributions from the patients’<sup>233</sup>, featuring usually unattributed or pseudonymised articles from various members of the hospital community.

This characteristic<sup>234</sup> of *Under the Dome* indicates an opening inquiry into the Bethlem house organ: after acknowledging the varied nature of the hospital roles held by contributors, how can the contents of the magazine be appropriately read, understood, and contextualised? To explore this multi-faceted ‘face’ of the magazine, this chapter will consider the relationship between staff- and patient-writers in *Under the Dome*. From an analysis of this literary relationship, I will examine how the magazine’s contributors understood their communal literary ‘identity’. My analysis of this relationship suggests that the unified editorial team worked to

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<sup>232</sup> W. A. F. Browne, *Fifth Annual Report of the Crichton Royal Institution for Lunatics, Dumfries* (Dumfries: Crichton Royal Institution, 1844), p. 21.

<sup>233</sup> Jonathan Andrews, Asa Briggs, Roy Porter, Penny Tucker, and Keir Waddington, *The History of Bethlem*, (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 518.

<sup>234</sup> It should be noted that this was not unique to *Under the Dome*. Many other patient publications did not attribute work to specific contributors, or employed pseudonyms.

produce a magazine which communicated a particular self image or perception of Bethlem to its contributors and readers between 1892-1903 (Volumes 1.1 to 12.48). I also discuss how contributors chose to present this identity within the house magazine, and what purpose it served.

These 12 years have been chosen for consideration partly to enable a focus on the evolving character of *Under the Dome* during its first decade, but also because during this period the editorship changed hands, and two of the main contributors to the magazine passed away. During this period, *Under the Dome* can be understood as a platform shaped by a small number of regular contributors. The publication's development, as its contributor base changed, can also be traced within this specific timeframe. These factors enable a close analysis of the magazine's identity formation in its early years.

### 1 - The editorial 'face' of *Under the Dome*

Identifying to what degree *Under the Dome* was shaped by the input of staff members as opposed to that of the patient community requires an understanding of who contributed what - in terms of content, editing, and formatting - to the publication. An initial approach to establishing an understanding of the editorial 'face' of the magazine, therefore, might be to identify the positions of individual contributors within the social sphere of Bethlem. To construct a cross-section of contributors active during the chosen period, and their role within Bethlem, would present the opportunity to analyse the particular role of staff- and patient-writers within *Under the Dome*, and the differing characteristics of the work they produced for the magazine.

However, the archival material available for research presents a number of difficulties in creating such an index. It is difficult to discern contributors, and clarify their roles within Bethlem, when articles often have only pseudonyms or initials to identify their author. There is little material evidence, beyond *Under the Dome*, to suggest precisely which members of the hospital

community contributed to the magazine: herein several spaces of unknowability are revealed. The only source of information about which members of staff contributed to *Under the Dome* is located in the magazine itself<sup>235</sup>, and identifying the presence and role of patient-contributors presents similar challenges: often authors can only be identified as inmates because they self-identify as such - or are 'outed' by other writers - within the magazine. Further to this, beyond such in-publication cues, contributors who are identified by names or initials can rarely be linked with records in patient casebooks, and there is an ongoing sense of incompatibility between literary demarcation and institutional record. In the instance of a 'G.H.S.', for example, operating under the assumption that this contributor is a patient, they might be recorded in the casebooks under only their first and last initial, 'G.S.', meaning that searches only for a 'G.H.S.' might not find the corresponding patient. The larger number of patients with the initials 'G.S.' presents further challenges in archival research. In addition to these issues, there are examples of contributors choosing initials which do not correlate with their own, and which thus do not appear in admission or staff records. Furthermore, if the contributor 'G.H.S.' is indeed a patient, there is not necessarily any indication in admission or case books that they contributed to *Under the Dome*, and so confirming the identity of this writer proves challenging.

It also should be noted that producing such a cross-section presents ethical considerations. As suggested above, to identify particular contributors would necessitate tracing initials or references to staff or patients identified in hospital admission files or employee records. Breaking the anonymity of patient-contributors, in particular, presents a number of potentially problematic factors; patients could possibly have been incapacitated and unable to make decisions regarding their literary identification, or those responsible for their care may have made such decisions on their behalf. Anonymity might have been a conscious decision by the patient or the members of staff caring for them, and it might therefore be difficult to establish

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<sup>235</sup> Colin Gale, 'RE: Enquiry from website (our ref 16199)' (Email to Emily Jessica Turner, 30 November 2018).



whether this was a decision made in their best interests, or functioned as a way of (intentionally or unintentionally) limiting patients' voices<sup>236</sup>.

Despite these limitations, with regards to developing a general overview of contributor identities and forming an idea of the magazine's editorial 'face', there is knowledge to be gleaned from the absences and presences within (to again borrow Reiss's phrase) the 'elliptical record' of *Under the Dome*. For example, the editorial of the final issue of 1892 suggests the fact that 'no less than twenty of the published articles or communications in the first three numbers were sent to the Editor by past or present patients speaks for itself, and requires no further comment'<sup>237</sup>; this number is roughly half of the total contributions in 1.1 to 1.3. The remaining contributors would therefore be staff members, governors, or other 'Friends' of the hospital, suggesting a fairly balanced divide between the hospital's 'inmates' and 'officials'. The 1896 Annual Report for Bethlem states that the magazine 'is contributed to by Governors, officers and patients'<sup>238</sup> while the report for 1902 highlights the ongoing support *Under the Dome* received from those outside the asylum who were invested in its success. In this report, Resident Physician-Superintendent Dr Theophilus B. Hyslop, who was appointed in 1898 and served until

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<sup>236</sup> Given the chronological distance between the era under consideration and this project research - and the difficulties in establishing contributor identity and the circumstances surrounding their anonymisation - these ethical considerations should not directly impact this study, but are certainly worth noting.

<sup>237</sup> Anon, 'Editorial', *Under the Dome*, 1.4 (1892), 36-37 (p. 36).

<sup>238</sup> 1896 *Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals printed annual report*, p. 35.

1910, wrote: 'I have to thank several of the Governors for their valuable contributions to [*Under the Dome*'s] literature'<sup>239</sup>.

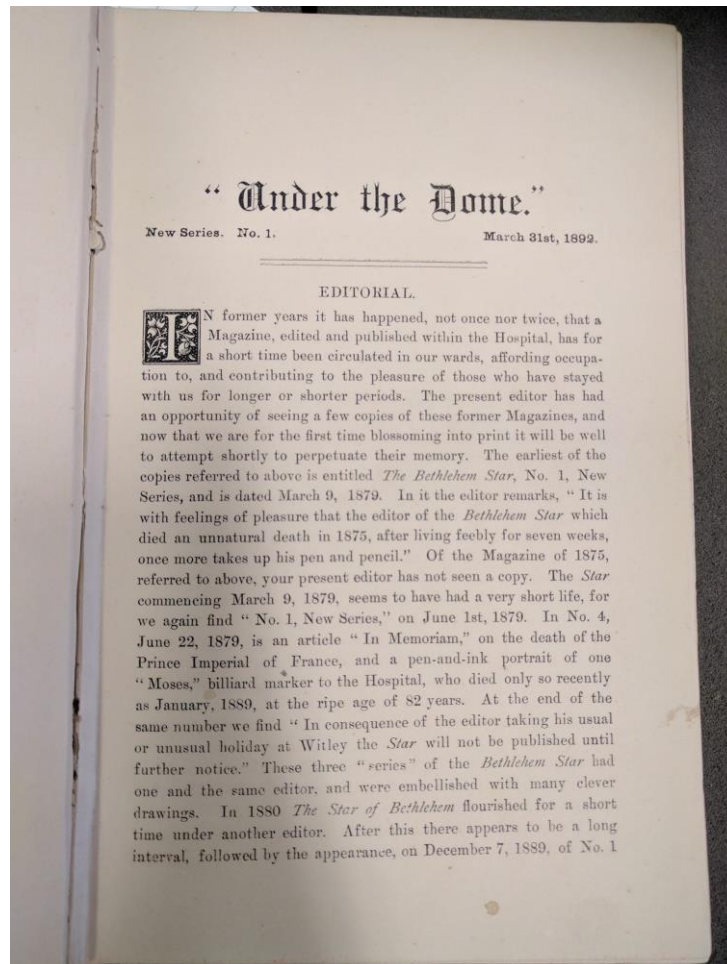


Figure 3: Opening page of *Under the Dome*, Vol. 1, No. 1. Picture: my own.

Annual Reports suggest that *Under the Dome*'s identity as this united staff-patient endeavour emerged partly as a practical measure taken to ensure the continuation of the magazine. Whereas Bethlem's earlier house organs had been coordinated by patient-editors, the literary intervention of medical staff and governors appears to have been a pragmatic response to the transitory nature of most inmates' hospitalisations. In 1891, before the New Series of *Under the Dome* was launched, Resident Physician-Superintendent Dr R. Percy Smith (who held the position from 1888-98) noted his keen interest in reintroducing a house organ to Bethlem. Under

<sup>239</sup> Ibid, p. 39.

a section entitled 'Proposed Magazine', his report states: 'It has been decided to start a printed magazine in the Hospital' in the tradition of the earlier *Under the Dome*, which 'was carried on for some time under the management of a patient, who subsequently recovered'<sup>240</sup> while a 'rival magazine, named "Above the Dome," was published for some weeks till its editor also recovered and left the Hospital. An attempt to find another editor so far ha[d] failed'<sup>241</sup>. Thus, having a patient edit the Bethlem house organ was entirely permissible, but unfeasible for long periods of time, considering that patients would recover and leave the asylum - ironically an objective intended to be partly delivered by the moral therapy component of undertaking such literary work. As a result, members of staff would step in, including Percy Smith himself, who promised:

'An effort will now be made to keep up a more permanent magazine, edited by the Medical Officers for the present, to which patients will often contribute, and to which it is hoped that Governors and other friends of the Hospital will also from time to time send literary or pictorial contributions'<sup>242</sup>.

Written around the same time as the publication of 1.1, this extract from the Annual Report of 1891 clearly establishes that the New Series of *Under the Dome* was deliberately conceived of (by hospital officials) as this joint endeavour between patients and staff, along with wider support from the Bethlem community, in order to ensure the publication's longevity. In addition to this generalised insight into the editorial 'face' of *Under the Dome*, the Bethlem-specific identities of a small handful of regular contributors are made known within the magazine.

A short overview of such identified contributors provides a means of demonstrating the inter-hierarchical, collaborative nature of the magazine. The house organ - named for the architecture under which patients at Bethlem lived and were treated, the tall 'dome that resembled a birdcage'<sup>243</sup> - had two editors throughout the period under consideration in this

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<sup>240</sup> 1891 *Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals printed annual report*, p. 52.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid*, p. 58.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>243</sup> Mike Jay, *This Way Madness Lies: The Asylum and Beyond* (London: Thames & Hudson Limited, 2016), p. 90.

chapter (1892-1903). The title of the 1889 series of *Under the Dome* was claimed for further use by the first editor of the New Series, as it had been a suggestion for 'which [the] present editor was responsible, and which he has therefore no hesitation in adopting for the heading of the new venture'<sup>244</sup>. This was Percy Smith, a fact indicated by *The History of Bethlem*, which states that he 'had suggested the name [of *Under the Dome*] and was active in its production'<sup>245</sup> as a supporting member of medical staff. Percy Smith served in this role as editor until he departed Bethlem, after which editorial duties were performed by a 'Dr Craig' - likely the hospital's Dr Maurice Craig - as suggested by Percy Smith's successor Hyslop, who wrote in his Annual

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<sup>244</sup> Anon, 'Editorial', *Under the Dome*, 1.1 (1892), 2-5 (p. 4).

<sup>245</sup> Jonathan Andrews, Asa Briggs, Roy Porter, Penny Tucker, and Keir Waddington, *The History of Bethlem*, (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 518.

Report for 1898: 'The quarterly magazine, "Under the Dome," has completed its seventh year in print, and under the editorship of Dr Craig, maintains its reputation'<sup>246</sup>.



*Figure 4: Henry Francis Harding, in Under the Dome, Vol. 5.No. 19. Picture: my own.*

The role of unofficial sub-editor was undertaken by Henry Francis Harding, a patient-contributor whose identity is uniquely well-documented: of all those who produced work for *Under the Dome*, Harding (or 'H.F.H.', as he commonly went by in the magazine) has received

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<sup>246</sup> 1898 Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals printed annual report, p. 32.

the most attention from historians, particularly Sarah Chaney. Admitted in 1886, the year that ‘voluntary boarding’ began at Bethlem, H.F.H., a ‘law stationer by trade’<sup>247</sup> contributed articles, performed editorial duties, ‘compil[ed] the index to each bound volume’<sup>248</sup> and wrote the regular ‘Notes Apropos’ column for *Under the Dome* before his death on August 1 1896. Although his early contributions to the magazine are signed with a variety of pseudonyms - ‘X.’, ‘Z.X.’, ‘Voluntary Boarder’ - he soon gains confidence in his own voice as a patient-writer: ‘here let us add, that we who write these notes are of the genus patient (species “Voluntary”) – and *very* patient [italics in original, emphasising the pun], if a somewhat lengthy abiding in Bethlem be taken – and should it not? – as evidence thereof’<sup>249</sup>. He also states ‘we appended to our Notes Apropos in the last number of the Magazine fictitious initials, by way of signature, but now, taking courage, we use our own’<sup>250</sup>, signing it H.F.H. His death at the age of 70 following a surgical operation was felt keenly by the community at the hospital, and Percy Smith reflected on the loss in both his role as an editor, writing an obituary as the leading story of *Under the Dome* 5.19, and as superintendent, noting in his Annual Report of 1896: ‘We have lost one of [the magazine’s] most active supporters by the death of the voluntary boarder who had largely relieved the medical staff of the labour of editing’<sup>251</sup>. Chaney also notes that his death made an ‘unusually personal note in the usually factual Physician’s Weekly Report of 19 August 1896 [which] records that “Mr H Harding VB [voluntary boarder] has died of natural causes & his loss will be much felt.”’<sup>252</sup>.

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<sup>247</sup> Sarah Chaney, ‘No “Sane” Person Would Have Any Idea’: Patients’ Involvement in Late Nineteenth-century British Asylum Psychiatry’, *Medical History*, 60.1 (2016), 37-53 (p. 38).

<sup>248</sup> Sarah Chaney, *Bethlem Museum of the Mind* (2016) <<https://museumofthemind.org.uk/blog/biography-and-psychology-v-henry-francis-harding-1826-1896>> [accessed 12 May 2018].

<sup>249</sup> Henry Francis Harding, ‘Notes Apropos.’, *Under the Dome*, 2.8 (1893), 114-121 (p. 114).

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

<sup>251</sup> 1896 *Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals printed annual report*, p. 35.

<sup>252</sup> Sarah Chaney, ‘No “Sane” Person Would Have Any Idea’: Patients’ Involvement in Late Nineteenth-century British Asylum Psychiatry’, *Medical History*, 60.1 (2016), 37-53 (p. 38).

Another regular contributor, Lieut-Col A. J. Copeland, was a member of *Under the Dome*'s hospital 'officials' who held the role of treasurer there for ten years before his retirement in 1896. Often referred to by other contributors as 'Colonel Copeland', and usually writing under the initials 'A.J.C.', his literary contributions to *Under the Dome* are noted in the Annual Report of the year of his departure from the role of treasurer, which indicates the impact on both staff and patients:

'Those who have frequently come in contact with the Treasurer are aware how constant was Colonel COPELAND's interest in the welfare of the Hospital [...] and to many of the patients his departure from the active work of the Hospital means the loss of an old friend who was always in sympathy with their troubles and never lost an opportunity of endeavouring to brighten their lives by word or deed'<sup>253</sup>.

Even after his retirement, the colonel continued to contribute to *Under the Dome* and is still referred to as 'the Treasurer' as late as June 1902<sup>254</sup> - as suggested by Percy Smith, Copeland was a valued member of both the Bethlem community and the *Under the Dome* team.

Miscellaneous 'Local Notes' in 4.16 states, upon the colonel's impending retirement: 'Our readers will at once recall the many articles to this Magazine from his pen, which contributed so materially to the success of former numbers'<sup>255</sup>. He penned many travel narratives, an article topic particularly popular in *Under the Dome* - a discussion of the popularity of such narratives can be seen later in this chapter.

Reverend James Stuart Vaughan, who had been hospital chaplain from 1865 to 1891, was also a regular contributor, whose poems, such as 'The Abbey Carillon', which references 'A Jacob's ladder', 'flights of angels', and 'an holy gleam' [sic] <sup>256</sup>, often had a religious bent. It is clear that *Under the Dome*'s readership was intended to recognise the byline 'J.S.V.', as implied

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<sup>253</sup> 1896 *Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals printed annual report*, p. 40.

<sup>254</sup> Anon, 'The Bethlem A.B.C.', *Under the Dome*, 11.42 (1902), 60-61 (p. 62).

<sup>255</sup> Anon, 'Local Notes.', *Under the Dome*, 4.16 (1895), 140-141 (p. 140).

<sup>256</sup> J.S. Vaughan, 'The Abbey Carillon', *Under the Dome*, 2.5 (1893), 18 (p. 18).

by the Local Notes of 2.5: ‘All our readers will be glad to recognise the initials of our old friend, the Rev. J.S. Vaughan, at the foot of two poems’<sup>257</sup>. Vaughan’s successor, Reverend Edward Geoffrey O’Donoghue, hospital chaplain from 1892 to 1930, was also a regular contributor to the magazine. Under ‘G.O’D’ - possibly dropping the ‘E’ to make a playful reference to his religious role at the hospital - O’Donoghue wrote the Chaplain’s Column, a feature introduced in June 1894 and continued until at least 1902, while also penning articles such as ‘Saints and Lawyers’, a report on a hospital excursion in 2.8.

Another patient-writer of note is she who went by the title ‘Kentish Scribbler’, a female ex-inmate who was active as a contributor to *Under the Dome* from 1892 until her sudden death on May 3, 1902. This was reported in the September issue of *Under the Dome* in that year, in which the Kentish Scribbler was said to have been ‘in her usual health and recently returned from a short holiday at the seaside’, before suddenly being taken ill ‘with serious and alarming symptoms, and died after a few days’ illness’<sup>258</sup>. Kentish Scribbler - who occasionally abbreviated her name (or had her name abbreviated to) K.S. or K. Scribbler for publication - was a prolific producer of word puzzles and riddles, and supplied Enigmas, Charades, Numerical Charades, Rebuses, and Decapitations for every issue of *Under the Dome*. She had been a patient in the 1870s but ‘remained associated with the hospital long after her discharge as a patient’<sup>259</sup>. Indeed, her relationship with Bethlem continued until her death and she appears to have connected with Vaughan, with whom she formed a friendship. The chaplain had often encouraged her to work out puzzles, and was known for giving patients ‘congratulatory verses [if they] successfully solved those [puzzles] which he set’<sup>260</sup> them. As a constant producer of word games and enigmas, her affection for the Reverend may explain her fascination for such

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<sup>257</sup> Anon, ‘Local Notes’, *Under the Dome*, 2.5 (1893), 22-27 (p. 26).

<sup>258</sup> Anon, ‘Obituary.’, *Under the Dome*, 11.42 (1902), 58 (p. 58).

<sup>259</sup> Sarah Chaney, ‘No “Sane” Person Would Have Any Idea’: Patients’ Involvement in Late Nineteenth-century British Asylum Psychiatry’, *Medical History*, 60.1 (2016), 37-53 (p. 44).

<sup>260</sup> Anon, untitled, *Under the Dome*, 9.34 (1900), 122-127 (p. 126).



activities, or, perhaps it could be said that her love of puzzles and her experience being encouraged to partake in them had led to her friendly feeling towards the Reverend. It is possible that she lived or worked in F.4, a female ward, as she contributes this note about Vaughan, who had recently passed away, to the June 1900 issue: ‘We in F.4 often look back with pleasure to the time when he ministered amongst us’<sup>261</sup>.



*Figure 5: Kentish Scribbler's 'Sketch showing the Bethlem Royal Hospital as a bird cage' (c. 1870–8). Picture: Bethlem Museum of the Mind, sourced from Sarah Chaney, 'No*

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<sup>261</sup> Ibid.

*“Sane” Person Would Have Any Idea’: Patients’ Involvement in Late Nineteenth-century British Asylum Psychiatry*, *Medical History*, 60.1 (2016), 37-53 (p. 39). This picture shows the artist and other patients as birds, while two hospital officials, the chaplain Vaughan and the steward Mr Haydon, sporting cherubic wings, fly to the cage with provisions.

Small aspects of the identities of other *Under the Dome* contributors can also be gleaned from notes within the magazine. Notes Apropos of 4.14 reveals that the contributor of the June 1894 article on the excursion from Bethlem to Epsom, ‘H.W.F.’, was ‘then a sojourner in M.3’<sup>262</sup> and had subsequently departed the hospital, while another patient - ‘Excursionist’ - had written the 1895 report, ‘Our Trip to Epsom’. Beyond this, there are scant clues as to the identities of other contributors - often found in the pseudonyms to which work is attributed, such as ‘A Former Patient’, or ‘E.B., (a former patient and friend)’. The name ‘Voluntary Boarder’ is referenced three times before H.F.H. reveals, in 3.1’s Notes Apropos, that he is the ‘Voluntary Boarder’ who authored an obituary for hospital governor Henry Graves in December 1892 - but does not claim ownership of the obituary for governor Thomas Hankey in March 1893 or the letter to the editor in June 1893, both of which are attributed to a ‘Voluntary Boarder’ - perhaps another such patient working under a similar *nom de plume*. The other instance of a clue given as to a contributor’s Bethlem-specific identity is the case of ‘Nomad’, the author of a single article entitled ‘Wig and Gown’ in 3.10, a ‘short account of the counsel with whom I have been associated during twenty-five years of professional life might be of interest to the readers of the Magazine’<sup>263</sup>. Firstly, the author mentions a Thomas “Hack” Naylor, Mayor of Cambridge, before discussing his experiences with ‘the late Sarjeant [sic] Ballantine’<sup>264</sup>, counsel for the claimant of the Tichborne estate, and a Dr Kenealy, who defended ‘the noted Rugeley

<sup>262</sup> Henry Francis Harding, ‘Notes Apropos.’, *Under the Dome*, 4.14 (1895), 59-62 (p. 59).

<sup>263</sup> Anon, ‘Wig and Gown’, *Under the Dome*, 3.10 (1894), 43-48 (p.43).

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid*, p.44.

poisoner'<sup>265</sup> William Palmer. 'Nomad', a male patient, had been resting in the hospital for a short while before leaving for Australia in 1894: a letter to the editor published December of that year states that 'Nomad' was a 'professional gentlemen' who had left to pursue his law practice 'in the Australian bush'<sup>266</sup> - continuing the employment he had undertaken before his hospitalisation, which he had chosen to write about for the Bethlem house organ.

It is only possible to hypothesise or speculate upon the identities of further contributors to *Under the Dome* from this period, but, as suggested above, the information available implies that the magazine represented the literary labours of a range of individuals connected to Bethlem. My research into patient identities, which builds upon Chaney's important research into H.F.H. and Kentish Scribbler, here demonstrates the wide scope of the various roles and backgrounds held by *Under the Dome* contributors within the wider hospital community. What emerges from this insight into the identities of the most regular contributors to *Under the Dome* is the sense of an eclectic editorial team with differing backgrounds, roles within or related to the hospital, and writing topics and styles. This textual diversity, however, should not be understood as representative of the entire Bethlem community. *Under the Dome*, like *New Moon*, is thought to have prioritised contributions made by the most intellectually promising patients: as Catharine Arnold notes, the magazine was introduced '[f]or the more learned residents'<sup>267</sup>. As previously discussed, unrecorded editorial processes mean that publications such as *Under the Dome* can be limited in their ability to represent the full scope of patient experiences. Patients who did not fit the hospital's ideal or standards were unlikely to have had work published, and thus, these important perspectives may have been lost.

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<sup>265</sup> Ibid, p.46.

<sup>266</sup> Anon, 'Letter to the Editor', *Under the Dome*, 3.12 (1894), 145 (p.145).

<sup>267</sup> Catharine Arnold, *Bedlam: London and its Mad* (London: Pocket Books, 2009), p. 208.

## 2 - *Under the Dome* as moral therapy

Despite this diverse and apparently fairly balanced divide between staff and patient contributors, Alistair Black refers to *Under the Dome* not as a *patient* publication, or as a *house* organ, but instead as an early example of the ‘staff magazine’. These publications, Black suggests, were important because of ‘the encouragement they gave to staff to write material of a professional, humanistic, imaginative, and witty nature for their colleagues to read and to thereby improve’<sup>268</sup>. Although it is interesting to note that Black’s notion of ‘improving’ staff through reading and writing is a goal reflective of the practices and objectives of moral therapy - a mode of treatment employed at Bethlem for the benefit of patients - it should be recognised that the publication was specifically intended to play a particular role within therapy for patients as both readers and writers. *Under the Dome*, and its preceding house organs, performed an important function within such treatment: the Bethlem publications played a similar therapeutic role to that of Crichton’s *New Moon* in that the literary ‘work’ of writing for a magazine or ‘reading and reflecting’ was a component of moral therapy.

Bethlem is an institution which scholars have recognised as being slow to adopt new developments in mental health care. Much has been written<sup>269</sup> about the poor patient treatment and conditions at the hospital at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but the implementation of what became a long process of change is linked by Arnold to the arrival of Dr William Charles Hood in 1853 (although she rightly acknowledges that ‘even after this date episodes of cruelty and neglect surfaced’<sup>270</sup>). Aged 28 when he took over as the first resident physician,

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<sup>268</sup> Alistair Black, ‘Organizational Learning and Home-Grown Writing: The Library Staff Magazine in Britain in the First Half of the Twentieth Century’, *Information and Culture: A Journal of History*, 47.4 (2012), 487-513 (p. 488).

<sup>269</sup> See Roy Porter, *A Social History of Madness: The World Through the Eyes of the Insane* (Canada: General Publishing Company, 1987), p. 48., and Anthony Masters, *Bedlam* (London: Michael Joesph, 1977), p. 13.

<sup>270</sup> Catharine Arnold, *Bedlam: London and its Mad* (London: Pocket Books, 2009), p. 6.

Hood ‘had seen ‘moral treatment’ put into successful practice at Colney Hatch [and] was eager for reform’<sup>271</sup>. Like Crichton’s Browne, Hood continued the tradition of abolishing practices of neglect and restraint, and advocating for moral treatment: ‘he introduced administrative changes that would benefit the moral and physical welfare of his patients’<sup>272</sup>. Thanks to Hood, ‘pictures materialised on the walls [...] while books and magazines fluttered in the newly opened library’<sup>273</sup>. Furthermore, Arnold states, occupation in workshop and laundry, entertainments in the hospital grounds, trips to galleries, gardens, and shows, and creative employments were made available:

‘Their leisure time was also designed to help them develop social skills, a vital aspect of moral treatment [...] an in-house magazine, entitled *Under the Dome*, carried stories and articles submitted by patients and staff, from reports of cricket matches to the history of the hospital, a labour of love on the part of the chaplain, the Reverend Geoffrey O’Donoghue, which would eventually be published as *The Story of Bethlem Hospital*’<sup>274</sup>.

Arnold here supports the argument that time spent working on contributions to *Under the Dome* was considered a component of patients’ care. The magazine itself actively encouraged members of the Bethlem patient readership to contribute content - in the editorial Local Notes section of 3.9, an active call was put out: ‘We hope our readers will continue to supply us with “Copy” during the coming year. There has been no lack of it for the present number’<sup>275</sup>. This drive was such a success that by the mid-1890s, *Under the Dome* had started to increase in pages, offering more space for the numerous contributions that the editor was receiving.

As suggested by Arnold, reading the magazine also served an important function in Bethlem’s moral therapy. An ‘Editorial’ states that *Under the Dome* was created specifically to

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<sup>271</sup> Ibid, p. 205.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid, p. 205.

<sup>273</sup> Ibid, p. 207.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid, p. 207.

<sup>275</sup> Anon, ‘Local Notes’, *Under the Dome*, 3.9 (1894), 39-41 (p. 39).

‘contribute to the amusement of its readers, and be justified by success’<sup>276</sup>, and this readership was intended to be mostly comprised from the Bethlem patient community; I will elaborate further on the magazine’s circulation below. This emphasis on a patient-readership was suggested by the hospital’s Annual Reports, the 1892 number of which specifically states that the publication must come under ‘the head of entertainments’<sup>277</sup>. This evaluation of *Under the Dome*’s purpose for readers as one of entertainment and employment reflects a general sense in the Annual Reports of the magazine as less of a direct tool of ‘refining’ treatment through employment, as with *New Moon*, and more as a method of bringing pleasure to patient-readers. This discussion of *Under the Dome* as tool for entertaining or occupying patients is reflected in hospital evaluations throughout the period examined in this chapter. The Annual Report for 1893 states: ‘The printed magazine, “Under the Dome,” has passed through its second year, and is still a source of pleasure to many patients’<sup>278</sup>, while the report for 1895 establishes that the magazine was by then ‘largely contributed to by patients, to whom it is a great source of interest and amusement’<sup>279</sup>. Identical language is used by Percy Smith in the Annual Report of 1897, and then continued by Hyslop in his reports of 1899 and 1900. This emphasis on the patients’ enjoyment of the magazine increases during the first 12 years of its publication; whereas earlier reports reflect on the general appeal of the magazine, noting that governors and former clinical assistants had become annual subscribers, the Annual Reports of 1900 and 1901 further emphasise in specific the enjoyment of the patients. As recreation formed a significant aspect of moral therapy, I summarise *Under the Dome*’s objective as one of entertaining, amusing and employing the patient-writers and -readers. This hypothesis is also implied in writing by contributor Kentish Scribbler, who penned a poem, ‘To the Editor’, to highlight what *Under the Dome* could offer to the wider patient community: She rhymes ‘Our poor scattered wits are

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<sup>276</sup> Anon, ‘Editorial’, *Under the Dome*, 5.17 (1896), 2-9 (p. 2).

<sup>277</sup> 1892 *Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals printed annual report*, p. 46.

<sup>278</sup> 1893 *Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals printed annual report*, p. 52.

<sup>279</sup> 1895 *Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals printed annual report*, p. 46.

prone to take fits [...] In riddle and pun we find excellent fun'<sup>280</sup>, suggesting that patients took pleasure in creating such works, and in consuming them. This is not to claim, of course, that staff were not intended to benefit from the literary 'work' of contributing to *Under the Dome*. It is however made clear from the official documentation (which presumably has no reason to omit information about additional, specifically literary, staff training to the hospital's governors, who were not only aware of the magazine but several of whom were among its subscribers) that the magazine's key and foremost objective was to bring employment and amusement to the patients.

Black's suggestion that the identity, content and objective of such a magazine is shaped by staff is, however, useful in its acknowledging of the input made by hospital 'officials', and of the roles that it could perform for its staff audience. His evaluation of 'staff magazines' as a format can provide suggestions as to what *Under the Dome* offered the hospital's 'officials' who were readers of this magazine. The role of such periodicals, he says, was to facilitate the communication of 'practical information [and to serve as] organs of organizational propaganda aimed at strengthening worker morale and loyalty [while] also fulfill[ing] educational and training roles[,] creating a more knowledgeable and skilled'<sup>281</sup> workforce. It may be fair to understand *Under the Dome* as a precursor to such publications, and it does arguably encompass these roles to varying degrees by communicating useful information or by highlighting the positive aspects of employment at Bethlem and training staff. In the case of the former, minor examples exist, such as 1.3's note from the chaplain, asking if *Under the Dome* will publish the list of hymns to be sung that week, as 'it will save [him] writing out two copies every Sunday after dinner'<sup>282</sup> - although this was for the benefit of the patients as much as the staff. Precisely what role Bethlem itself hoped *Under the Dome* would play for its staff is unclear due to the

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<sup>280</sup> Anon, 'To the Editor', *Under the Dome*, 1.4 (1892), 37 (p. 37).

<sup>281</sup> Alistair Black, 'Organizational Learning and Home-Grown Writing: The Library Staff Magazine in Britain in the First Half of the Twentieth Century', *Information and Culture: A Journal of History*, 47.4 (2012), 487-513 (p. 488).

<sup>282</sup> Edward Geoffrey O'Donoghue, 'Chaplain's Column', *Under the Dome*, 1.3 (1892), 43-45 (p. 43).

emphasis on the patient experience in written records, so conclusions formed about objectives for the magazine in supporting the hospital's staff would only be speculative. The magazine does not include educational or training information for staff in any of the issues printed between 1892 and 1903, although occasionally notices of staff who have gained new qualifications are printed as a way of congratulating them on their success. The articles produced for *Under the Dome* between 1892 to 1903 do not make an overt effort to suggest a wish to strengthen staff morale at Bethlem, although it could be argued that the magazine depicted or represented a positive perspective of their workplace as a progressive institution which encouraged 'inmates' and 'officials' alike to pool their skills in creating literary work. It could also be posited that *Under the Dome* served the function of moral therapy, thus continuing (or, perhaps, making easier) staff's work in caring for patients - but neither of these suggestions can be supported with evidence from the magazine or the hospital's Annual Reports. In short, the publication may well, as Black suggests, have served a support role for staff who produced copy, but it should be recognised that the Bethlem house organ was primarily coordinated and supported by the institution with the direct intent of benefiting patients. Herein lies a central issue in identifying *Under the Dome* as solely a 'staff magazine'; it also perhaps diminishes the contributions made to the house organ by Bethlem's patient and former patient community.

### 3 - Community endeavour, curative goal

I have been arguing that the magazine should be understood as demonstrative of the collaborative relationship between the hospital's 'inmates' and 'officials'; a correspondence or connection in which the two voices blur. While *Under the Dome* was contributed to and consumed by both staff and patients, the magazine's key objective was to administer the curative recreation central to Bethlem's moral therapy practices. I will now contend that contributors



worked to create a publication which intentionally utilised its collaborative nature in pursuit of this communal therapeutic goal.

That the magazine self-characterises as an intentionally joint endeavour is partly established by Bethlem's acknowledgement of the necessity of running the magazine as a staff-patient endeavour. However, that contributors' roles at the hospital are not specified in the magazine - it is only upon close reading that some such information presents itself - illustrates something of the publication's intentional identification as this collective 'house' organ. The layout of *Under the Dome* does not separate patient and staff contributions, and articles within the magazine are not divided into 'mad' and 'sane' categories, but in many cases, are presented as neither - merely one of a number of literary works within the publication, the quality of which are fairly consistent across the board. There are no articles which can be easily identified by the merit of their content as 'mad' or of lesser intellectual or literary ability. Another example of this conscious blurring of *Under the Dome* contributor identities can be seen in the references made by 'official' members of the Bethlem community to patient-writers as 'colleagues' of the staff-writers - see, for example, the reference to Kentish Scribbler in the Chaplain's Column of 9.34.

It could be conjectured that presenting works in such a way that patient and staff contributions are indistinguishable, while referring to all contributors as 'colleagues' regardless of their hospital role, is a method of validating patients' works as literary offerings through their juxtaposition with staff contributions of a similar standard. This conceptualisation of the staff and patient works as mutually informative due to their positioning in *Under the Dome* draws on the idea of the 'interpenetration' of publication articles put forward in recent scholarship of nineteenth century periodicals. In their introduction to *Science in the Nineteenth Century Periodical*, Gowan Dawson, Richard Noakes, and Jonathan R. Topham develop on Robert Young's thesis of the 'common intellectual contexts' in the early and mid- nineteenth century, in which science was integrated with other topics in periodicals of the era. They problematise this

concept but suggest that his discussion of ‘the verbal and conceptual interconnectedness of the sciences, politics, theology, and literature’, which he suggests ‘were both sustained by their juxtaposition in periodical articles’, is an ‘abiding insight’<sup>283</sup>. They further suggest that Young’s thesis highlights the contexts lost through a ‘compartmentalised historiography’<sup>284</sup> in which articles are isolated from the works that they were originally published alongside, and that reading ‘across an entire periodical text has the effect of highlighting developing patterns of discourse which are not immediately apparent in an isolated text’<sup>285</sup>. Similarly, Cantor et. al highlight in their introduction to *Culture and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Media*, that ‘scholars such as Margaret Beetham and Laurel Brake have stressed [...] the physical juxtaposition of articles on many different subjects within the periodical facilitated a far greater ‘openness’ of interpretation’<sup>286</sup>. I propose that this concept might be extended to *Under the Dome*, beyond an analysis solely of the meaning of its content and instead to what this content suggests about the relationship between the works as co-contributions to the magazine.

There are plentiful examples of these ‘conceptual and linguistic linkages’<sup>287</sup> between articles in the early years of the New Series, in which the Bethlem magazine presents the work of patient and staff contributors in such a way which equates their merit. Such ‘linkages’ are apparent in the clear similarity between the content, themes, and style of work by a variety of the magazine’s contributors. Such instances include the frequently-referenced theme of cycling which was written about by both the patient H.F.H., as well as the hospital’s Reverend

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<sup>283</sup> Gowan Dawson, Richard Noakes, and Jonathan R. Topham, ‘Introduction’, in *Science in the Nineteenth Century Periodical*, ed. By Gillian Beer (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 1-34 (p. 30).

<sup>284</sup> Ibid.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid.

<sup>286</sup> Geoffrey Cantor, Gowan Dawson, Richard Noakes, Sally Shuttleworth, and Jonathan R. Topham, ‘Introduction’, in *Culture and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Media*, ed. by Louise Henson, Geoffrey Cantor, Gowan Dawson, Richard Noakes, Sally Shuttleworth, and Jonathan R. Topham (Oxon: Routledge, 2016), pp. xvii-xxiii (p. xviii).

<sup>287</sup> Gowan Dawson, Richard Noakes, and Jonathan R. Topham, ‘Introduction’, in *Science in the Nineteenth Century Periodical*, ed. By Gillian Beer (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 1-34 (p. 31).

O'Donoghue, who pens a note on the 'new craze' of cycling, a sport in which he partook. There is also an article called 'The Great Craze' about cycling, written by the contributor 'Observer'. These articles are presented as a continual discussion of a contemporary point of interest in which contributors are encouraged to add their own thoughts on the subject, and in this succession of articles, there is no demarcation of hospital hierarchy or reference to lesser literary abilities.

Dawson et. al suggest that it is not always 'clear to what extent the interplay between the elements of the periodical were intended to be deliberate [although] from a reader's perspective, this was not necessarily particularly relevant''<sup>288</sup>. This is arguably not the case with *Under the Dome*: evidence suggests that the magazine was structured so as to conceal distinctions between staff and patient work, and no such differences emerge upon closer analysis of the text. Even in examples in which a role is designated - for example, the title of the Chaplain's Column - this is presented stylistically the same way as other columns, such as H.F.H's Notes Apropos. Understanding the magazine as published specifically for the benefit of the patients, it could be postulated that *Under the Dome*'s juxtaposition of such indistinguishable staff and patient work was intended to blur the lines between 'sane' and 'mad' in order to motivate and encourage patients to continue with their moral therapy, as well as perhaps demonstrating to staff or governors the success of their work. For *Under the Dome* patient-readers, these 'linkages' highlight the high quality of the content produced by their fellow inmates.

This concept of identity 'blurring' can also be explored alongside the conceptualisation of house organs put forward by Erving Goffman. In his essay 'On the Characteristics of Total Institutions', Goffman suggests that house organs are illustrative of a temporary breaking down of the usual 'role segregation' between staff and patients in the asylum, and the practices of

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<sup>288</sup> Ibid.

creating such publications are ‘activities [which] represent “role releases”’<sup>289</sup>. *Under the Dome* anticipates Goffman’s suggestion that ‘house organs’ are one of the most common forms of ‘institutional ceremony’<sup>290</sup>; practices

‘through which staff and inmates come close enough together to get a somewhat favorable image of the other and to identify sympathetically with the other’s situation. The practices express unity, solidarity, and joint commitment to the institution rather than differences between the two levels’<sup>291</sup>.

Under the usual circumstances of ‘role segregation’, ‘the institutionally relevant roles of a member (for example doctor) tend to set him off against whole categories of other members (e.g., attendants and patients),’ which means that ‘these roles cannot be used as a vehicle for expressing institutional solidarity’<sup>292</sup>. Goffman suggests that the house organ as unified endeavour represents a subliminal but fully intentional ‘release’ of these roles, and ‘use [instead] tends to be made of non-relevant roles, especially those such as parent and spouse that are imaginable, if not possible, for all categories’<sup>293</sup>. This latter point is not so much the case in *Under the Dome*, but there is certainly this clear, deliberate avoidance of identifying the writer’s place within the institutional hierarchy. Lines are blurred, identifying information is left out, and a universal ‘we’ of the institution is often used when referring to *Under the Dome*’s contributors. Goffman’s theorisations are a useful framework for considering *Under the Dome* as blurring boundaries between patients and staff, representing a joint literary endeavour and unifying works by various members of the hospital community. Although his analysis is based on house organs from a later period than that of the early run of *Under the Dome*, this magazine can be seen as a precedent for Goffman’s examples; his theorisations further enable a reading of the Bethlem

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<sup>289</sup> Erving Goffman, *Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates* (London: Transaction Publishers, 2009), p. 94.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid, p. 93.

<sup>291</sup> Ibid.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid, p. 95.

<sup>293</sup> Ibid, p. 95.

house organ in which the patient-staff relationship can be understood as intentionally co-operative. Literary work by staff could serve to validate and support patients' contributions, and could also - in a more practical sense - ensure the survival of the magazine; this staff-patient unity enabled patients to more easily access and enact creative therapy.

As a counterpoint, it should be noted that Chaney argues that Bethlem's voluntary patients were often deemed 'superior' to other patients in terms of their ability to contribute, and this should be taken into consideration when exploring the extent to which patient-writers represented the wider inmate community. Chaney suggests that patients' 'education, background, gender, age and class [...] played a role in negotiating their relationship with medical authority'<sup>294</sup>, and, more generally, Arnold also highlights the classism inherent within Bethlem's regulated intake of patients<sup>295</sup>, which suggests the external hierarchies which translate from the 'outside' to the 'inside'. This limiting is further reflected by Goffman's understanding of the sociological impact of deciding whose work would be featured in a house organ:

'all the contributors are recruited from within inmate ranks, resulting in a kind of mock hierarchy, while supervision and censorship are provided by a member of the staff who is relatively congenial to the inmates yet reliably loyal to his fellow officials. The printed content is such as to draw a circle around the institution and to give the accent of public reality to the world within'<sup>296</sup>.

Here, Goffman appears to conceptualise the house organ as enforcing a hierarchy such as those in the 'public reality' beyond the asylum walls, akin to Foucault's discussion of confinement as separating 'reason from unreason [but] maintain[ing] in the shadows an iconographic power that men might have thought was exorcised'<sup>297</sup>. Patients who write are somehow more worthy than

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<sup>294</sup> Sarah Chaney, 'No "Sane" Person Would Have Any Idea': Patients' Involvement in Late Nineteenth-century British Asylum Psychiatry', *Medical History*, 60.1 (2016), 37-53 (p. 52).

<sup>295</sup> Catharine Arnold, *Bedlam: London and its Mad* (London: Pocket Books, 2009), p. 206.

<sup>296</sup> Erving Goffman, *Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates* (London: Transaction Publishers, 2009), p. 95.

<sup>297</sup> Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilisation: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), p. 209.

those who don't, and, further reflecting external hierarchies, all work is submitted to a process of censorship which reinforces a particular conceptualisation of the hospital. Goffman's latter point about the necessity of supervision and censorship is almost certainly the case in *Under the Dome*, which is a clear example of Reiss's 'elliptical record' in that negative experiences of the hospital or treatment are not recorded. The former aspect of Goffman's critical framework may well also have been the case in that a hierarchy was formed between patient-contributors, but given that the material evidence pertaining to this publication blurs even the lines between patient and staff, this cannot be established. This should be understood as a factor which complicates or problematises this chapter's reading of *Under the Dome* as representative of a conscious attempt to unify a community for a common purpose; in turn this impacts on further readings of the magazine as representative of the experiences of a cohesive 'Bethlem' community. As with *New Moon*, it is unavoidable that in considering *Under the Dome*, the presence of the asylum's ideological lens means that my textual analysis will reflect only certain, represented patient voices. This limitation should be considered in any readings of *Under the Dome*.

However, conscious interweaving of 'official' and 'inmate' contributions can here be framed not merely as a restrictive influence, but one that had the potential to positively impact on (some) patient-contributors' ability to creatively express and experience moral therapy. As argued, blurring the hierarchical divisions between members of the institutional hierarchy may have had benefits for both patients and hospital 'officials'. For scholars, this practice is interesting as it also indicates the limitations of an analytic framework which solely understands staff as 'controllers' or 'oppressors', and patients as 'controlled' or 'oppressed'. Discussions surrounding the role of patients have, as Chaney suggests,

'long been caught in a divide that has been brought to the fore by Foucauldian analyses of power relations: as [Flurin] Condrau puts it, the patient has only been

considered either as an independent, autonomous partner in the medical encounter or a construct of medical discourse, knowledge and power'<sup>298</sup>.

Purposeful obscuring of the patient/staff identities of contributors in *Under the Dome* can therefore enable scholars to reassess creative hierarchies in Bethlem. This presents a critical challenge to what Reiss terms the 'flatten[ing] out [of] the range of expressive possibilities' that employing a simplistic 'rubric of subversion and containment'<sup>299</sup> can produce when analysing patient publications, and instead identifies spaces in which patient-contributors can exercise some discursive and creative independence.

#### 4 - Locating a house identity in *Under the Dome*

Such intentional blurring of contributor identities can be further explored via the magazine's three regular columns - Notes Apropos, the Chaplain's Column, and the Local Notes - which represent voices of members from differing groups within the hospital community. Although it might be assumed that the columns present alternative perspectives, the way individuals' thoughts are reflected and affirmed by the other columnists suggests that particular themes, positions, and publication standards were deemed particularly important to *Under the Dome*'s contributors.

The Notes Apropos column offers what might be considered an 'official voice' of the patients in the magazine – H.F.H.'s role as contributor of this section was an open secret – and regularly offers useful insight into inmates' lives at Bethem. H.F.H. seems to have become emboldened as a journalist after the first few numbers of Notes Apropos, reflecting back on 'their origin, aim and scope; [and suggesting that] as regards scope we may have enlarged that as

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<sup>298</sup> Sarah Chaney, 'No "Sane" Person Would Have Any Idea': Patients' Involvement in Late Nineteenth-century British Asylum Psychiatry', *Medical History*, 60.1 (2016), 37-53 (p. 38).

<sup>299</sup> Benjamin Reiss, 'Letters from Asylumia: The "Opal" and the Cultural Work of the Lunatic Asylum, 1851-1860', *American Literary History*, 16.1 (2004), 1-28 (p.3).

our Notes have proceeded'<sup>300</sup>, implying that his confidence, as well as his ambitions for the column, have grown with each issue. Throughout the period under consideration, this column reports on patient trips to places such as Lambeth Palace, records of hospital events, and reflects on cultural happenings in the locality; it reviews festive decorations at the hospital and notes the celebrations taking place in the chapel, and even reports international news, such as the death of Louis Kossuth - offering the patient perspective on internal and external news. Notes Apropos also emphasises the wider impact of creative therapy within the hospital, stating that some of the spaces on the walls of the M.3 gallery had been 'furnished by the Hospital itself' with patient artwork from 1874, along with a watercolour drawing of the Convalescent Home 'executed in 1891 by a young male patient (H.J.)'<sup>301</sup>: such notes highlight the presence of art in caring for patients at Bethlem, and how creative endeavours were viewed and appreciated by the wider community at the hospital.

The Chaplain's Column, written by Reverend O'Donoghue, provides similar insight into the benefits of creative therapy, reporting on patient poetry at Bethlem: 'We have had many poets in our galleries [and we have] been able to drag out of the sacred dust of centuries the verses of a "patient extraordinary," who flourished in the Bedlam of Moorfields about 1676'<sup>302</sup>. As with H.F.H.'s discussion of patient art, a sense of communal pride is taken in the creative achievements of patients, and in the environment which fosters or encourages their undertaking such work – regardless of whether this evaluation of Bethlem's history of moral therapy is entirely accurate. Offering a voice from the wider support team at Bethlem, the Chaplain's Column undertakes a similar role to that of Notes Apropos, although the column, unsurprisingly, demonstrates a more ecclesiastical bent, reflecting on religious education and offering advice on how best to approach Bible study. Introduced in 3.10, this column, like Notes Apropos, includes

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<sup>300</sup> Henry Francis Harding, 'Notes Apropos.', *Under the Dome*, 3.9 (1894), 17-30 (p. 17).

<sup>301</sup> Ibid, p. 18.

<sup>302</sup> Edward Geoffrey O'Donoghue, 'Chaplain's Column', *Under the Dome*, 3.12 (1894), 152-155 (p. 154).



reports on hospital trips, which reinforces the sense of the importance of such excursions; these trip reports also include the chaplain's research into the history of the hospital, which he compiled partly from archival material and from oral histories collected from older members of the Bethlem community. Rather than being positioned as a counterpoint or opposing voice to that of H.F.H. as a member of the patient community, the Notes Apropos column and the Chaplain's Column occasionally make reference to each other, suggesting that the two were intended to be read as mutually informative, rather than competitive or contrasting.

Likewise, the Local Notes section offers an additional, hospital-focused voice to that of H.F.H. and Reverend O'Donoghue. This section, which is anonymously written, contains short reports on hospital excursions, as well as reports on newly qualified staff and the various roles senior medical staff took on – for example, Percy Smith's appointment as lecturer on psychological medicine at Charing Cross Hospital. H.F.H. refers to the Local Notes column as 'Editorial', and was thus probably contributed by Percy Smith or possibly by H.F.H. himself, acting in his sub-editor role.

Although framed as three separate columns presenting distinct institutional voices with differing hospital-specific roles, all the *Under the Dome* columns feature very similar themes and perspectives. The same hospital events and news are reported by the three authors, and particular ideas and opinions are echoed and reinforced by their repetition in each column. I argue that the regularity of these columns and the uniformity of their position on certain topics helps to set the tone of the magazine, communicating a specific and unified 'voice' of the amalgamated hospital community.

This unified 'tone' or 'voice' is also apparent within examples which suggest that members of the hospital community worked to moderate the content produced for *Under the Dome*, ensuring that the magazine's articles adhered to a particular calibre of publication. In

response to Kentish Scribbler's Charade of 1.1, the answer to which being 'Ivanhoe', a 'C.N.R.' wishes to put forward 'A Criticism' stating the incorrect nature of the Charade:

'The lady's charade  
Is not mightily hard,  
Though, surely it isn't quite true!  
When was Ivanhoe seen?  
Except in a dream,  
How could he appear to our view?'<sup>303</sup>

The 'Criticism' suggests that as a fictional character in Sir Walter Scott's 1819 novel, Ivanhoe cannot be physically 'seen'. In the following issue, 1.3, Kentish Scribbler politely responds:

'K.S. begs to thank C.N.R. for the Criticism on the Charade, but begs to state that the line "Seen, heard and read," referred to the *Opera* and the *Book* by that name'<sup>304</sup>. In 2.5, 'Scrutator' writes a letter to the editor to highlight a mistake made by the writer of the obituary notice of Mr Henry Graves. 'Voluntary Boarder' (H.F.H. writing under a pseudonym), the author of the obituary, responds with another letter to the editor, explaining the cause of the error and offering a 'rejoinder'<sup>305</sup>. These comments read as polite interactions between members of the hospital community, in which errors are monitored and addressed, and quality standards were met.

Such examples suggest that *Under the Dome* platformed a representational 'voice' of the collective asylum through a cyclical process in which ideas were read, interpreted, and responded to by members of the magazine community. I argue that this 'voice' should be characterised as a heteroglossia: comprised of work by both patients and 'officials', it should be considered as reflecting a literary community quite different from that referred to by the patient-contributors of *New Moon*. *Under the Dome*'s collaborative 'voice', I will now argue, is best

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<sup>303</sup> Anon, 'Answers to Charade', *Under the Dome*, 1.2 (1892), 33 (p. 33).

<sup>304</sup> Anon, 'Note', *Under the Dome*, 1.3 (1892), 40 (p. 40).

<sup>305</sup> Anon, 'To The Editor', quoted in Anon, 'Local Notes', *Under the Dome*, 2.5 (1893), 22-27 (p. 26).

understood as the communication of a singular, unified 'house identity': a notion of an institutionally general but asylum-specific selfhood generated and perpetuated by the magazine.

This 'house identity' was intended to reflect, and be of interest to, Bethlem's wider community. *Under the Dome* totalises the Bethlem community in its reflection of those connected to the hospital: articles refer to the readership as part of a larger, collective 'we', and to people, objects, and outings as 'ours'<sup>306</sup>. This cultivation and communication of an integrated Bethlem 'self' in *Under the Dome* unites patients, staff and hospital 'Friends' under this literary identity. Although inclusive to all those connected to Bethlem, this identity was formed strictly in relation to the experiences of those within the hospital. Often relying on inside references and Bethlem-specific knowledge of environment, community, and geography, the publication appears to have been intended by its editorial team to reflect and support a shared communal experience, with which staff and patients alike could identify. Readers were assumed to personally know several contributors, and written work sometimes alludes to conversations held between such individuals in person or references group experiences; in an article entitled 'Our Trip to Epsom' by 'Excursionist', the author comments on the needlessness of reporting an event to readers who were in attendance themselves. Of choosing a place to eat lunch, 'Excursionist' asks: 'should we be allowed to lunch there this year? why, need I tell you, dear reader?'<sup>307</sup>.

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<sup>306</sup> In addition to being communally generated, there is evidence to suggest that *Under the Dome* was intended to be consumed by readers as a community. In his chapter on 'Journalism' for *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Culture*, Matthew Rubery suggests: 'Serial publication fostered a community of readers whose simultaneous reception of the narrative allowed them to experience events at the same time as fellow readers and share reactions during the interval between instalments' (p. 180). *Under the Dome*'s early run features a number of serialised works, usually fiction or memoir pieces, which demonstrate, as Rubery's analysis indicates, the magazine's objective to unite a literary community. Serialised fiction works include the family drama 'Verniew' by 'Porne Brocere' in 1.3 and 4, and 'A Secret of the Broken Planet', a science fiction story by 'A Scotch Reviewer' which is featured intermittently. Rubery's evaluation of the serial format may be relevant to *Under the Dome*'s publication of such works. Bethlem's community unites to create *Under the Dome*, and *Under the Dome* unites Bethlem's community in its consumption of the magazine.

<sup>307</sup> Anon, 'Our Trip to Epsom', *Under the Dome*, 4.14 (1895) 67-69 (p. 68).

*Under the Dome* both represented and supported the links between members of the hospital community, as well as reflecting their joint experiences.

Whereas *New Moon* produced work that was intended to be read by a wider general public - and was arguably written with this demographic in mind - *Under the Dome* was created for a smaller, and more insular, circulation. I have been unable to find records of circulation numbers, but the limited information available implies a small community of readers, mostly connected to the hospital. Exemplifying this, one editorial states that the hospital could boast a list of 32 subscribers, 'who consist entirely of Governors of the hospital and former Clinical Assistants'<sup>308</sup>. When the magazine does reach a wider audience, this is noted by *Under the Dome*, which reports that the first two volumes of the magazine had been added to the British Museum Library, and mention is made of an illustrated article upon Bethlem which was published in *Church Bells* on August 23 1893. This latter notice, published in *Under the Dome* on March 31 1894, states that the writer 'favours our Magazine with the following reference to it: - "Those with a literary bent have an opportunity of contributing to a little quarterly Magazine, *Under the Dome*, which is edited by one of the staff, and circulated in the Hospital"'<sup>309</sup>. This reference to the Bethlem house organ in *Church Bells* would suggest that the magazine was circulated outside of the hospital community, but this review is framed as 'insider knowledge': written by someone who knows a lot about the hospital 'but whom [the magazine's contributors] believe is in no way personally associated with the Hospital [...] [the author instead can be seen] acknowledging his indebtedness for his facts to one of the books of our own governor, Dr Hack Tuke'<sup>310</sup>. Considerations of wider circulation, such as the critical responses of other publication, do not seem to have informed *Under the Dome*: any external references to the

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<sup>308</sup> Anon, 'Local Notes.', *Under the Dome*, 3.4 (1894), 151-152 (p. 151).

<sup>309</sup> *Church Bells* quoted in Henry Francis Harding, 'Notes Apropos.', *Under the Dome*, 3.9 (1894), 17-30 (p. 19).

<sup>310</sup> Henry Francis Harding, 'Notes Apropos.', *Under the Dome*, 3.9 (1894), 17-30 (p. 19). Neither the *Church Bells* magazine page, or the book by Tuke with corresponding information, has been found so far.

Bethlem magazine are very infrequent, and are recorded as a note of interest, as opposed to serious literary criticism.

Instead, the magazine places particular emphasis on the responses of those within the Bethlem community who are reading the magazine: calling for contributions and publishing responses to articles. Furthermore, examples from *Under the Dome* demonstrate an awareness of the Bethlem-specific audience. The Notes Apropos of 4.16 states 'At the risk of wearying those readers who may have read previous contributions of these notes with the subject, we venture once more to touch upon *Punch and Judy*'<sup>311</sup>, while 'The Great Craze' says that Bethlem has been 'keeping abreast of the subject [of cycling] in the pages of this, its organ'<sup>312</sup>. The phrasing of these implies a common knowledge of the earlier editions of the magazine which mention these topics and implies a close community of writers and readers following a group discussion. Therefore, to establish the intended 'house identity' formulated by *Under the Dome*, close attention should not be paid - as was with *New Moon* - to its relationship with external press, but instead to its role within the community at Bethlem, from which both authors and audience are drawn.

*Under the Dome* can be understood as a space in which a communal 'Bethlem identity' is formulated and communicated. This 'house identity', I argue, was another conscious objective of the editorial team. In *The History of Bethlem*, Jonathan Andrews, Asa Briggs, Roy Porter, Penny Tucker, and Keir Waddington draw on the work of Goffman to suggest that the hospital, by using 'institutional ceremonies', attempted 'to create a place with a life and an ethos of its own'<sup>313</sup>. Bethlem set out, it is suggested in this history, 'to express [this particular life and ethos] through its own 'house organ''<sup>314</sup>: here it is made clear that the authors believe that the

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<sup>311</sup> Henry Francis Harding, 'Notes Apropos.', *Under the Dome*, 4.16 (1895), 133-137 (p. 137).

<sup>312</sup> Anon, 'The Great Craze', *Under the Dome*, 5.17 (1896), 17-24 (p.17).

<sup>313</sup> Jonathan Andrews, Asa Briggs, Roy Porter, Penny Tucker, and Keir Waddington, *The History of Bethlem*, (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 517.

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid*, p. 518.

institution's identity was intended to be communicated via *Under the Dome*. As outlined above, it can be seen both here and in the Annual Reports that Percy Smith, in his dual role as Resident Physician-Superintendent and editor, establishes that *Under the Dome* is intended to entertain and occupy patients, offering a positive form of amusing and therapeutic employment. Such an objective illustrates that the 'house identity' formed within the magazine was intended to reflect something of the totalised hospital community back at itself: a mirror image of Bethlem, manifested by and for its inhabitants. It reflects the forces and modes at play in the discursive environment of the hospital, as understood by the magazine's contributors. What *Under the Dome* chose to say about Bethlem, therefore, is shaped by the community's perception of itself - or, perhaps, its aspirations of selfhood. This practice, I suggest, enabled *Under the Dome* to communicate particular messages about the Bethlem community to the community itself.

Such 'house identity' is - necessarily in an analysis of written magazine content - predominantly literary. This chapter will further focus on the characteristics of *Under the Dome* as a publication: the written content produced, and the styles and modes adopted by individual contributors and by the editors. The limited viewpoint of establishing a 'house identity' through solely literary means must be acknowledged, as it negates wider evidence of other ways in which the asylum cultivated a 'house identity' - for example, through the use of visual marketing or advertising material, or different types of written work. However, as a unique example of a textual space in which Bethlem's patient and staff voices come together, *Under the Dome* presents 'expressive possibilities' in understanding how the asylum constructed and communicated a sense of communal institutional identity; one that is consciously informed by and operates in response to both external and internal modes.

## 5 - Literariness in Under the Dome's 'house identity'

Considering *Under the Dome* in context with Cantor et. al and Dawson et. al's discussion of the 'interpenetration' of texts, particular characteristics or topics can be seen to recur in magazine articles, voiced by different contributors of various roles within the Bethlem community. Within the recursive loop of *Under the Dome* as discursive space, particular themes develop significant traction - and in their repetition and emphasis, indicate key aspects of Bethlem's literary 'house identity'. The earlier discussion of the three columns introduced this idea. A further instance in which various contributions echo a similar theme can be seen in *Under the Dome*'s self-styling as a particularly literary magazine, reflective of culturally-engaged hospital community.

The magazine demonstrates a pride in Bethlem's literary culture, continually making references to the library and texts made available to patients; many December editions include a piece entitled 'The Library', sometimes penned by a contributor who identifies themselves as 'M.C.'<sup>315</sup>, which outlines the rules and contents of this resource space. *Under the Dome* features ongoing references to literary culture through the 1892-1903 issues; writers frequently allude to Charles Dickens in particular, both in name and titles (specifically *Little Dorrit* and *Our Mutual Friend*) and via the names of characters. *Oliver Twist*'s Bill Sikes is alluded to as a shorthand name for 'the modern burglar' in an article from 3.4, the title of which, "'Take one consideration with another, the policeman's lot is not a happy one.'"<sup>316</sup>, is also a reference to the 1879 Gilbert and Sullivan opera *The Pirates of Penzance*. A clear engagement with the 'external' literary culture is demonstrated in the wide range of references to contemporary sources, as well as classic, historic writers such as Shakespeare.

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<sup>315</sup> See 4.16, 5.20, 6.23, 7.28, 9.36, 10.40 and 12.48.

<sup>316</sup> Anon, "'Take one consideration with another, the policeman's lot is not a happy one.'", *Under the Dome*, 3.12 (1894), 131-144 (p. 131).

The later numbers from the time period under examination include regular literary reviews: ‘A Scotch Reviewer’ pens both ‘Daniel Deronda: A Study’, as well as ‘A Modern Woman’, another literary analysis, and ‘Cigar’ contributes “‘Catriona”: A Note of Farewell’, on the work of R. L. Stevenson. The latter example demonstrates a particular interest in Stevenson’s body of work, as well as an understanding of its reception by literary audiences. ‘Cigar’ notes that ‘[r]eaders of *Under the Dome* may, some of them, be still unaquainted with Stevenson’s rare descriptive manner’<sup>317</sup>, which implies the assumption that the majority of the Bethlem magazine’s readership had read Stevenson’s work. Furthermore, ‘Cigar’ suggests that Stevenson’s wide audience looked to the author as consistently proficient in his writing: ‘Feelings not undashed with disappointment and displeasure are something new to me, and, indeed, to nearly all Stevenson’s critics and readers, in connection with his work’<sup>318</sup>. As implied in the above quote’s references to ‘disappointment and displeasure’, “‘Catriona: A Note of Farewell’ is a particularly critical work of review: “‘Catriona” has an odd look of being the shipwreck of the author’s art, and a flaw in his imagination [...] My objections are, some of them technical, some characteristic’<sup>319</sup>. The critical tone of the review is a conscious decision on the part of ‘Cigar’, who holds a particularly literary personal standard as a reviewer: ‘There has been some grumbling in this article; for criticism which is not sincere is worse than useless’<sup>320</sup>. This aim to produce a ‘genuine’ work of metatextual criticism can be understood as ‘Cigar’s’ attempt to contribute work to *Under the Dome* which reaches conventional standards for the form. This interest in attaining a particular literary standard can also be identified in ‘Cigar’s’ desire to be accepted as part of a literary sphere beyond the community at Bethlem. Stevenson is referred to by ‘Cigar’ as ‘my old comrade [...] of the pen’<sup>321</sup>; in referencing their fellowship as writers, an

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<sup>317</sup> Anon, “‘Catriona”: A Note of Farewell.’, *Under the Dome*, 7.25 (1898), 24-28 (p. 25).

<sup>318</sup> Ibid.

<sup>319</sup> Ibid.

<sup>320</sup> Ibid, p. 28.

<sup>321</sup> Ibid, p. 24.



association of the Bethlem reviewer with an 'external' literary sphere is formed. 'Cigar' also mentions that Stevenson 'wrote to [them] under his own hand, placing [their] appreciation of his romance above anything that had been written about at the time'<sup>322</sup>. In this article, 'Cigar' demonstrates an intentional engagement with themes of 'literariness' - critically analysing the content and reception of Stevenson's work, producing a self-consciously literary response to *Catriona*, and linking the Bethlem reviewer with a wider literary discourse. The reviewer is clearly aware of, and interested in engaging with, the literary sphere.

Contributors regularly respond to what they have read in the external press - such instances include ongoing discussions of Punch and Judy, a topic introduced earlier in this chapter's discussion of *Under the Dome*'s content. In exploring the theme, the author of the piece, self-referring as 'we', comments: 'we came across a paragraph referring to the Punch and Judy [shows, which] are permanently established for the amusement of Parisian youngsters, as well (as the paragraph added) as of *many of their elders* [italics in original]'<sup>323</sup>. Such an article refers to cultural and historical topics, demonstrating an interest in the world outside the hospital, and particularly themes deemed important enough for discussion in external publications. This is also exemplified in *Under the Dome*'s coverage of the previously mentioned and then-topical 'craze' for cycling; by stating that from what they had read, 'the world outside [Bethlem] has gone crazy upon cycling'<sup>324</sup> reports 5.17, the article's author is reflecting on the fashionable or contemporary interests of wider society. By reflecting the modes of magazines and journals of the era - and, in the case of the book reviews, critically engaging with such works - *Under the Dome* characterises itself as a serious writerly publication. Similarly to *New Moon*'s construction of literary identity, as discussed in Chapter One, the Bethlem house organ perceived of itself not

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<sup>322</sup> Ibid, p. 24.

<sup>323</sup> Henry Francis Harding, 'Notes Apropos.', *Under the Dome*, 4.16 (1895), 133-137 (p. 137).

<sup>324</sup> Anon, 'The Great Craze', *Under the Dome*, 5.17 (1896), 17-24 (p.17).

as an institutional novelty, but instead as a magazine of similar quality and literary merit to those produced outside of the asylum.

This interest in ‘external’ culture is also exemplified in *Under the Dome*’s reproduction of poems and short stories which were hoped to entertain and engage the readership; the reprinting of works from such public magazines and books further illustrates the community’s interest in the wider literary sphere. Many examples of such reprinted poetry can be seen in the magazine’s first 12 years of publication: for example, 1.1 features ‘Moralité’, a poem by Marc-Antoine-Madeleine Désaugiers (1772-1827) in the original French<sup>325</sup>, a language which, it can be presumed, some readers were capable of understanding. There are also a few reproduced prose pieces, such as the story ‘The Temple-Leys Ghost’, which is reprinted from Mabel Peacock’s 1897 *Lincolnshire Tales*<sup>326</sup>. Subtitled ‘The Recollections of Eli Twigg’, this piece makes significant use of phonetic language to communicate Mr Twigg’s regional accent - “I should not be frit of a ghost”, “Likely enif”, “sum’ats did fall” - indicating an interest in a wide range of perspectives from those ‘external’ to Bethlem.

These selections, which reflect a variety of popular literary forms and themes, emphasise contributors’ keen awareness of ‘external’ literary discourses and styles. This is also communicated in *Under the Dome*’s showcasing of the prodigious literary output created by those connected to the hospital; although there are a number of reproduced works, the majority of other printed poems and stories appear to be those produced by members of the Bethlem community.

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<sup>325</sup> Further examples demonstrating the extent and breadth of interest in the ‘external’ poetic sphere include 1.2’s reproduced poem from *All the Year Round*, originally printed on March 31 1861, while in 1.3, a poem/hymn, ‘The Picnic’, by Dr Frederick William Faber, is reproduced.

<sup>326</sup> *Under the Dome* 10.40’s Local Notes states ‘[w]e are indebted to Mr. Jackson, of Messrs. Jackson & Son, for kindly giving us a copy of Miss Peacock’s *Lincolnshire Tales* for the Library; and also giving us permission to reprint some of the tales in *Under the Dome*’ (p. 58).

Such original poetic works also encompass a vast array of topics and styles, illustrating the extensive and varied literary ability of *Under the Dome*'s contributors<sup>327</sup>. This ranges, for example, from poems in formal styles to the comedic. For example: prefaced with a line from Percy Bysshe Shelley - "All love is sweet,/ Given or returned." - E.G.'s 'Sonnet on Love' in 4.16 demonstrates accurate use of the sonnet format, with 14 lines of 10 syllables ('O Love, what art thou? This indeed I pray/ Thou'lt tell me, or I wander on the way'<sup>328</sup>). In terms of content, it presents a philosophical enquiry into the nature of love - 'Not knowing much, yet seeking much to know,/ And asking oft the question - what art thou?/ Thou art a mystery I still must say'<sup>329</sup>. An intellectual endeavour as well as a creative exercise, this poem highlights the author's knowledge of poetic forms and analysis of an abstracted theme. A very different type of poem was penned by the contributor F.A.H., who submitted 'A True Incident. The Good Old Times'. Written in 1890 and printed in the 1.2 issue of the magazine, this poem tells the humorous story of a young boy causing mischief. It uses rhyming couplets in a sing-song scheme - 'Two boys - fair samples of their race -/ Went to a Quaker's meeting place' - and integrates dialogue from the ensuing interaction to produce a sense of the fraught dynamic between the cheekier young boy and the offended congregation: 'Brothers and sisters look'd aghast./ "Go out!" an old man cried at last./ "As you spoke first," the bad boy said,/ "'Tis yours!" and threw it [an orange] at his head'<sup>330</sup>. Referring to this 'true incident' as 'the good old times' indicates that the poem is the recollection

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<sup>327</sup> Poems on a variety of topics, by a number of different contributors, appear throughout the series; further examples include 'Ich Dien', published in 1.2, which is a poem in English about Queen Victoria by 'Epimetheus', a pseudonym referencing a Greek Titan. 'Vox Populia' published the medieval legend inspired work 'Reddite Summ Quique' in 2.6, while 'M.J.T.'s poems 'Market Gardening for Ladies' and 'Visiting Days' are both included in 3.11. 'The Food of Love', by 'E.', is featured in 5.17.

<sup>328</sup> Anon, 'Sonnet on Love.', *Under the Dome*, 4.16 (1895), 125 (p. 125).

<sup>329</sup> Ibid.

<sup>330</sup> Anon, 'A True Incident. The Good Old Times', *Under the Dome*, 1.2 (1892), 13 (p. 13).

of a man who is thinking back on, perhaps, his own youth - which might be ill-spent, but at least can offer a funny anecdote to *Under the Dome*'s readers<sup>331</sup>.

Such variety of literary ability and interest can also be seen in original prose work, a form which is also well represented in *Under the Dome*. Popular styles of prose writing - travel narratives, humour works, reflective pieces which frame information through a conversational literary device - are employed by contributors throughout *Under the Dome*. The wide range of formats used in the magazine serve to demonstrate contributors' awareness of various literary or periodical forms, and also implies the substantial literary proclivity of Bethlem's community.

Some fictional pieces are included in *Under the Dome* during the period under consideration, demonstrating the literary awareness and capabilities of the hospital's community. For example, a number of pieces follow a fairy tale format, such as 'A Fairy Story', a piece by 'Vegetus' in 12.46; a poem called 'Fairy Knowledge' is also printed in 5.17. An example which faithfully reproduces the fairy tale format is 'Teusfolen: A Fairy Tale' from 1.1, which opens 'Once upon a time'. There is something of Hans Christian Anderson's tales of magical beings and self-sacrifice in this story of 'Teusfolen', 'the pure fair spirit' who was the 'guardian angel of all the flowers, who watched over and protected the hamlet' of the story, who is summoned back by the willing death of a 'fair young maiden'<sup>332</sup>. A different interpretation of the typical fairy tale format is present in the work of 'Molly Malone' – a pseudonym taken from the name of a popular Irish song – who explores this genre in 'The Sea Serpent'. This, however, is a comic piece which follows the style of a children's story, in which a Mrs Polypus, the mother of Echinus and Nymphon, two boys 'with eyes something like sea-anemones and hair that much resembled sea-weed', frets after the eponymous Sea Serpent has 'eaten up [her] apple-

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<sup>331</sup> F.A.H also contributed 'Our Picnic and What Came of It, A True Story', penned on July 16, 1887, to 1.1. Along with 'A True Incident', this first poem, about a childhood family outing, suggests that F.A.H. an author who enjoys writing about 'true' events from merry past.

<sup>332</sup> Anon, 'Teusfolen: A Fairy Tale', *Under the Dome*, 1.1 (1892), 11-13 (p. 12).

dumplings'<sup>333</sup>. The names are taken from scientific terms for sea creatures as if to give the story a didactic bent in the mode of Victorian children's fiction. Similarly implying this connection with a specific external mode of literary production, the story culminates in the characters sitting down to tea - Mrs Polypus, finding the Sea Serpent to win her over, asks him 'to stay for supper, and the four sat down to a magnificent [sic] repast of apple-dumplings'<sup>334</sup>. This provides a happy ending in which a moral is learned: that first impressions are not always correct. Another recognisable fairy tale format can be seen in the series contributed by an unknown author entitled 'The New Aesop'. This collection of short stories, which each conclude in a relevant 'Moral', tells light fables for a modern audience.

Other prose works are vastly different in tone and theme. Adventure stories are well represented, with titles such as 'The Skipper's Bear Story' by 'Guineapig', and a series entitled 'The Adventures of Corporal Chutney, of Coconada, in Koranza, as Recorded by Himself', which ran in 5.19 and 20, and 6. 21. The latter covers the escapades of the leading man ('My magnificent physique [...] stood about 6-ft., 8-in. in height and possessed a chest which might bear the weight of a railway train') as he charms his way out of predicaments with "natives" and convinces 'King Coffee Calcalli' that 'he couldn't have things quite his own way, and that human sacrifices and other disgusting fetish ceremonies would have to be stopped'<sup>335</sup>. This tale's narrative and use of language regarding those who live in the countries he visits follows in the tradition of tales published for young boys about imperial explorers and war 'heroes'<sup>336</sup>.

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<sup>333</sup> Anon, 'The Sea Serpent', *Under the Dome*, 1.2 (1892), 19-21 (p. 19).

<sup>334</sup> Ibid.

<sup>335</sup> Anon, 'The Adventures of Corporal Chutney, of Coconada, in Koranza, as Recorded by Himself', *Under the Dome*, 5.19 (1896) 102-123 (p. 103).

<sup>336</sup> See Kate Summerscale, *The Wicked Boy: The Mystery of a Victorian Child Murderer* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), for information about the types of stories in the popular press aimed at young male readers.

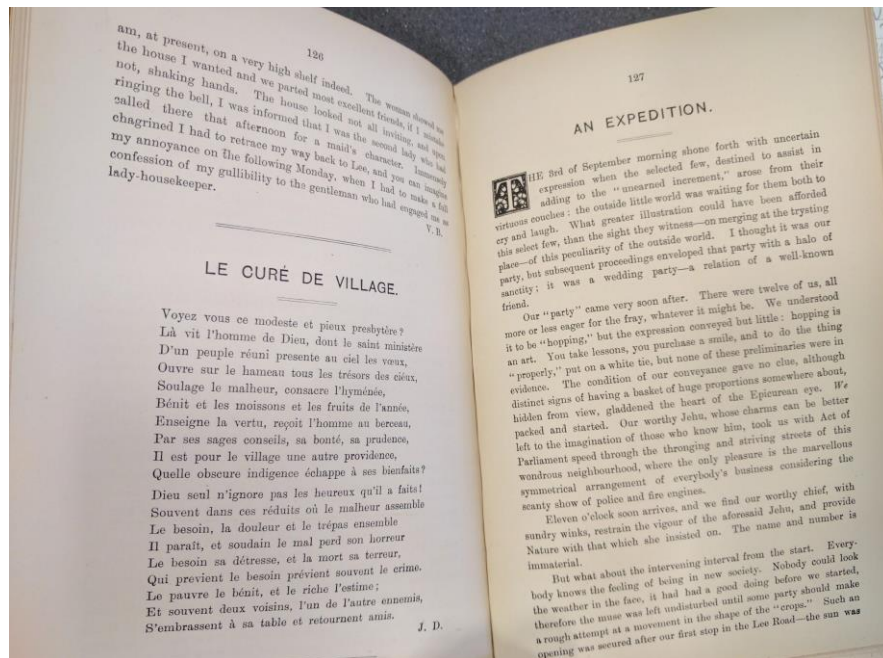


Figure 6: French poetry next to a report on a hospital outing. *Under the Dome*, Vol. 5  
No. 19. Picture: my own.

That some literary works in the magazine, such as poems and stories, are reproductions of works printed in external publications illustrates *Under the Dome*'s emphasis on literary consumption. Likewise, the magazine's original works which intentionally echo or reference external modes, topics, characters, or conceits, highlight the magazine's assumption that readers would be sufficiently versed in popular written culture to appreciate the references made.

Although sometimes an article's claims to veracity can be easily established, given the content of the piece, there are several examples of stand-alone articles which could either be semi-autobiographical or entirely fictional. Often works are not presented with identifying context, and sometimes works produced in such different forms as fairy tales and travel narratives are presented alongside each other, further complicating analysis. There are several examples of such works which blur the line between a comic or sentimental story format, and memoir or essay styles. For example, 'James Cope's' tale 'Rosenberg', published in 2.6, is about the first person speaker's experiences travelling to Copenhagen after falling 'very ill'<sup>337</sup> and

<sup>337</sup> James Cope, 'Rosenberg', *Under the Dome*, 40-44 (p. 41).

being recommended travel by his doctor, and eventually stealing a museum item, an action about which he becomes overwhelmed with guilt before returning the object to the curator. Another such piece, published in 2.6 and entitled 'The Advertising Canvasser', is an unattributed humorous story about an obnoxious and self-important advertising canvasser who visits the editorial offices of an unnamed 'Journal'. Similarly, 'True Story', a tale by 'J.Marshall' in 2.7 about an ongoing feud with a French watchmaker, is another humorous story. A more tragic work is 'Daring Tom and His Little Chum Teddy: A Sketch of Boy Character – From Life' from 2.7. This is a 'sketch' of observations from 'actual life' by contributor 'Z', and covers the adventures of 15 year old Tom, who gets up to a number of exploits before falling from a tree, catching a fever which then "'settled'"<sup>338</sup> in his injured leg, in which dropsy forms, and then dies. Whereas these four examples focus on communicating an interesting story, this narrativised format - in which the article may be fictional, semi-fictional, or factual - is also used by contributors to communicate information or argument. For example, 'Sharks', by 'Goosey Gander' from 3.1 is a reminiscence of speaking to a sailor about sharks while on a boat near Ramsgate, communicating interesting sealife information through the format of a fictionalised discussion. 'Some Comments of Colonel O. Kipp.', a short story piece by a 'Sax Rohmer' from 12.48, claims to be the words of a 'Colonel O. Kipp of Connecticut', who argues at great length for the foolishness of young men when 'given to flying around after girls'<sup>339</sup>. In each of these stories, enough plausible information is included to suggest that the article at hand is anecdotal, but the truthfulness of the work is not specified or made clear. Instead, these works are framed as conversational pieces intended to entertain the readers.

The magazine also features articles which critically reflect on the process or experience of writing, and offers advice to fellow writers, works which could be characterised as the

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<sup>338</sup> Anon, 'Daring Tom and His Little Chum Teddy: A Sketch of Boy Character – From Life', *Under the Dome*, 2.7 (1893), 57-67 (p. 67).

<sup>339</sup> Anon, 'Some Comments of Colonel O. Kipp.', *Under the Dome*, 12.48 (1903), 126-128 (p. 126).

publication's conscious reflection of the process of constructing a literary 'house identity'. Examples of such works include a piece in 2.7 entitled 'The Would-Be Poet' by A.T.R, another article called 'Confessions of a Critic' by an unknown author, and two such features from 'Namron': 'The Essayist Amok', and 'How to Become a Poet', the latter 'with copious extracts from the Author's "Plain Poetry for Plain People"'. 'How to Become a Poet' offers humorous but practical advice on writing poetry: 'To become a poet requires practice. You cannot launch out into the business right away. It requires, further, a soul, a temperament, and a rhyming dictionary'<sup>340</sup>. 'Namron' encourages would-be poets to avoid 'unfashionable' and 'untruthful' writing, asking of a particularly 'namby-pamby' work: 'Would any sane person living in this year of grace ever spoken like that?'<sup>341</sup>. Adherence to poetic form, with reference to modern tastes and the conventions of 'sane pe[ople]', is here the literary standard that Bethlem's poets are encouraged to replicate in their own work.

The magazine contributors' characterising of the publication as a significant writerly achievement is echoed by the Annual Reports, which also imply the hospital staff's sense of the house organ as this serious literary endeavour, reflective of 'external' journals. The language used by the superintendent to describe the success of *Under the Dome* can also be understood as attempting to formalise the endeavour as a literary journal: the report of 1899 mentions that the magazine is 'maintaining its reputation'<sup>342</sup>, while by 1902, the Annual Report states: 'The Quarterly Magazine, "Under the Dome," has completed its eleventh year in print, and still maintains its high standard as a source of interest and amusement'<sup>343</sup>. However, it is important to be conscious of the biases which are present in Percy Smith's writing, in both the Annual Reports and in *Under the Dome*: the superintendent was expected to honour both his commitment to the paper and its readers/writers, as well as his role as a member of the medical

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<sup>340</sup> Anon, 'How to Become a Poet', *Under the Dome*, 9.36 (1900), 235-238 (p. 235).

<sup>341</sup> Ibid, p. 236.

<sup>342</sup> 1899 *Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals printed annual report*, p. 32.

<sup>343</sup> 1902 *Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals printed annual report*, p. 39.



staff. It is difficult to accurately interpret how Percy Smith perceived his work on *Under the Dome* as both medical professional, supporting the moral therapy of his patients, and as a contributor. In the Annual Reports, in particular, Percy Smith is accountable to the governing body for the success of Bethlem, and thus a positive emphasis will necessarily be employed when discussing the various facets of institutional life. For example, in 1892, Percy Smith wrote of *Under the Dome*:

‘It has been distinctly a source of amusement and occupation to many patients, and contributions of great interest have been made to it by the Treasurer and others. It may be said to have been an unqualified success, and the pleasure it has afforded has largely repaid the trouble of editing. The expense of printing has been mitigated by the fact that several Governors and also some former Clinical Assistants who retain an interest in the welfare of Bethlem Hospital have become annual subscribers’<sup>344</sup>.

That the Annual Report of this year is positioned as a great success can be viewed as effusive praise to support the continued funding of the paper, but such scepticism can be mitigated by other possibilities within the ‘elliptical gaps’ of *Under the Dome* - that the magazine ran for several more decades and is generally discussed in positive terms by contributors can validate Percy Smith’s view of the magazine as a literary achievement to a certain degree. Regardless of its accuracy in terms of medical benefit, it is interesting that Percy Smith’s characterisation of *Under the Dome* as ‘an unqualified success’ is due to its quality - a publication providing engaging and entertaining articles of high calibre to its readership.

Such an understanding of the magazine as a serious literary endeavour seems to have been shared by H.F.H., who, in his Notes Apropos of 4.15, speaks of the ‘literary element which our Magazine may be said in an [sic] humble way to have imported into Bethlem – and perhaps permanently established’<sup>345</sup>, echoing Percy Smith’s evaluation of the magazine. H.F.H.’s Notes

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<sup>344</sup> 1892 *Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals printed annual report*, p. 46.

<sup>345</sup> Henry Francis Harding, ‘Notes Apropos’, *Under the Dome*, 4.15 (1895), 104-107 (p. 105).

Apropos of 2.7 also demonstrates a keen interest in connecting *Under the Dome*'s contents with that of 'external' literary works, stating that

'when any of the pages are made to connect with interesting references outside them, or with persons of eminence or when (to put it this other way) there be coincidence or correspondence of thought, or utterance between the one and the other, it is permissible to not the same in our (subsequent) pages'<sup>346</sup>.

An example of this is provided immediately, connecting the theme of potatoes in 1.3's article 'About Cigars' with the work of well known journalist and author George Augustus Sala (1828-1895), who 'Z.X.' (H.F.H. writing under a pseudonym) refers to as 'the doyen of Journalists'. In 'About Cigars', the writer 'therein remarked that the potato, with many persons, is deemed almost as much a necessary of the dinner table as the meat itself'<sup>347</sup>. Mr Sala, who is 'contributing to the Daily Telegraph a series of autobiographical papers which are exceedingly interesting', is said to have previously written papers on cooking and cooks of his acquaintance, instead deems the potato 'the curse and bane of the English *cuisine*'[italics in original]: a review that 'Z.' suggests is rather 'rough upon the potato, and will have surprised not a few of Mr Sala's readers'<sup>348</sup>. Similarly, Notes Apropos 2.7 quotes from 'a charmingly-written article in the current number of Sunday at Home upon "Birds of a Feather", the contents of which [...] differs just a little, as to the habits of the birds, from that which is said in our article in the last number of the Magazine'<sup>349</sup>. For H.F.H., even errors demonstrate a connection with external publications:

'we, of this, our amateur magazine, have now and then perhaps, overlooked a printers' error or two, and may be (but "tell it not to the gods") occasionally one of our own, and it is consolatory to have a recent instance, that in the above names respect we sin in such good (literary) company as that of the veteran literateur and the public's journalistic friend, Mr. G. A. Sala, who in two of *his* Notes Apropos (only he calls them

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<sup>346</sup> Henry Francis Harding, 'Notes Apropos', *Under the Dome*, 2.7 (1893), 68-75 (p. 68).

<sup>347</sup> Henry Francis Harding, 'Notes Apropos.', *Under the Dome*, 2.3 (1893), 68-75 (p. 69).

<sup>348</sup> Ibid, p. 70.

<sup>349</sup> Henry Francis Harding, 'Notes Apropos.', *Under the Dome*, 2.7 (1893), 68-75 (p. 71).

“Echoes of the week”) appear *eulogistically* for euphemistically, and David *Booth* for David Bogue’ [italics in original]<sup>350</sup>.

This conscious connecting of *Under the Dome* with external media furthers the magazine’s self-representation as a high quality literary endeavour, in which works created by staff and patients are comparable with articles by esteemed writers from beyond the asylum walls.

Although it did have subscribers, and on one occasion notes that ‘While recently losing one subscriber to the Magazine fund, this [has been] more than compensated for by the acquisition of two fresh subscribers’<sup>351</sup>, suggesting an interest in who is reading the magazine, unlike *New Moon*, *Under the Dome* did not engage so thoroughly with the critical response of external publications. As suggested above, the magazine’s readership was limited to those within the wider Bethlem community: ‘There are some magazines which you can’t get for money in the shops, and which love can’t procure outside of their restricted circulations. *Under the Dome* is one such periodical’<sup>352</sup>. Thus, *Under the Dome*’s characterisation as akin to external publications means something quite different to *New Moon*’s reflection of the modes and styles of ‘outside’ journals. A magazine intended to reflect something of the hospital’s construction of self back at itself, *Under the Dome*’s literary identity is indicative of an aspect of Bethlem’s ‘house identity’ - that of a learned, civilised home with intelligent, convalescing inmates - which is communicated for the benefit of its patient-readership.

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<sup>350</sup> Henry Francis Harding, ‘Notes Apropos.’, *Under the Dome*, 3.11 (1894), 100-102 (p. 100).

<sup>351</sup> Anon, ‘Local Notes’, *Under the Dome*, 5.18 (1896), 84-84 (p. 84).

<sup>352</sup> Edward Geoffrey O'Donoghue, ‘Chaplain’s Column’, *Under the Dome*, 7.26 (1898), 79-84 (p. 82).

6 - 'Conceptual linkages': engaging with discourses of 'madness', heritage, and domesticity in house identity construction

6a - Discourses of 'madness'

Earlier, I introduced *Under the Dome*'s role in destabilising binary notions of patients and hospital as 'oppressed' and 'oppressor'. This critical view, I will now argue, can here highlight further aspects of the magazine's creation of house identity. Chaney, in her research into H.F.H.'s process of discursive cooperation with his physician, suggests that 'representations of madness were the product of a two-way process of negotiation between alienist and patient'<sup>353</sup>. She argues that H.F.H.'s wider role as a 'colleague' and friend of medical staff demonstrates that patients 'were not always mere victims of 'psychiatric power'; they participated in the construction and circulation of medical notions by serving as active intermediaries between medical and lay perceptions of madness'<sup>354</sup>. This reading of H.F.H.'s work can be applied more widely to staff- and patient-writing in *Under the Dome*: in applying Chaney's reading to the 'unified' editorial community, the magazine can be understood as representative of this patient-staff relationship in which identities of 'madness' are constructed and negotiated. Patient identity emerged 'from a process of collaboration between doctor and sufferer'<sup>355</sup>, as well as other factors, such as nurses and family members, who shaped hospital experiences for inmates. That *Under the Dome* serves as a discursive space in which ideas of 'madness' and patient identity are formulated is, I suggest, further demonstrative of the magazine's role within the production of a 'house identity'.

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<sup>353</sup> Sarah Chaney, 'No "Sane" Person Would Have Any Idea': Patients' Involvement in Late Nineteenth-century British Asylum Psychiatry', *Medical History*, 60.1 (2016), 37-53 (p. 37).

<sup>354</sup> Ibid.

<sup>355</sup> Ibid, p. 39.

This ‘house identity’ is partly characterised by the framing of Bethlem’s patients as intelligent, cultured citizens, and ‘madness’ as a singular affliction, not a comprehensive identity. As explored above, patients’ works are framed as indistinguishable from those by staff, suggesting the intellectual or literary capabilities (or, perhaps, the ‘refined wellbeing’) of the patients. I suggest that this could be a method of demonstrating the success of moral therapy at Bethlem in addition to showcasing the high standards patients were capable of achieving. This latter aim is suggested by H.F.H., who states that it is hoped that *Under the Dome*’s demonstration of contributors’ knowledge, understanding, and skill would challenge perceptions of Bethlem. After hearing that the librarian of the British Museum hoped to place copies of the magazine in the National Library, he writes of the hope that:

‘this means not only Bethlem’s “literary cravings,” but its talents also will be by our Magazine made manifest to future generations, and thereby also will be proved the error and injustice of confounding the Bethlem of to-day – and of not a few years preceding – with the “Bedlam” of old times, and which in the use and application of the latter term, our present-day Authors and Journalists (not a few of them) too commonly do, but who *ought* to know better. And perhaps one writer has recently made reference to “Bedlam” in a less obnoxious tone. Mr. Clement Scott, the well-known dramatic critic of the “Daily Telegraph,” in a lecture by him said “and if Bedlam *can be said to have broken loose*” [,] [however, he has before] been guilty of a display of that too habitually obnoxious ignorance above commented on’<sup>356</sup>. [italics in original].

H.F.H.’s desire that the magazine’s ‘talents’ would be ‘made manifest to future generations’ as a way of proving ‘the error and injustice’ of perceiving the Bethlem as the “‘Bedlam” of old times’ suggests his interest in challenging wider society’s preconceptions of the hospital’s patients. This emphasis is also noted by Chaney, who, in her case study, notes that H.F.H. made a point of ‘responding in his writings to popular stereotypes of asylum patients’<sup>357</sup>. H.F.H., who was ‘something of a patient advocate’<sup>358</sup>, notes in his Notes Apropos of 2.8 that he has read that:

<sup>356</sup> Henry Francis Harding, ‘Notes Apropos.’, *Under the Dome*, 2.8 (1893), 114-121 (p. 117).

<sup>357</sup> Sarah Chaney, “No “Sane” Person Would Have Any Idea’: Patients’ Involvement in Late Nineteenth-century British Asylum Psychiatry’, *Medical History*, 60.1 (2016), 37-53 (p. 38).

<sup>358</sup> *Ibid.*

‘the great majority of those who have to find rest in asylums are sane except upon one point or subject, to which we may say, why, cert’nly! [...] But if there should be any, readers of these pages, sceptical upon the matter, we then say to them, ask – *not* a policeman, but – our Editor(!)’[italics in original]<sup>359</sup>.

This comment integrates the editor - superintendent Percy Smith - within the publication’s discussion of ‘madness’ as an identity, offering a staff member’s perspective as interpreted by a patient. It suggests that Bethlem patients - at least, in H.F.H.’s estimation - understand their ‘madness’ not as an all-encompassing state of self, but instead the result of a singular issue, ‘point or subject’ afflicting a ‘sane’ person. The magazine’s editor is suggested to share in this understanding of patient identity, and can be called on to confirm those who are ‘sceptical’ of the abilities of the patient-contributors. This example demonstrates how the Bethlem magazine can offer a perspective into this dialogue between ‘officials’ and ‘patients’ within the discursive space of ‘house organ’.

Such discussions surrounding mental health patients and institutions form a component of the magazine’s ‘house identity’: Bethlem, as an institution of ‘madness’, is conceptualised by *Under the Dome* in this critical analysis of ‘mad’ identities as a place populated with individuals with notable skill and intellect. They are defined by their ‘talents’ and by their “‘literary cravings’”, or engagement with wider cultural spheres, rather than an antiquated conceptualisation of a raving “Bedlamite”. Such a facet of the ‘house identity’ of the Bethlem community was communicated via the magazine to its readership, reinforcing its positive message to the patient-readers, and serving to encourage the continuation of such cultural engagement and literary endeavour.

#### 6b - Historical importance

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<sup>359</sup> Henry Francis Harding, ‘Notes Apropos.’, *Under the Dome*, 2.8 (1893), 114-121 (p. 117).

A further important ‘conceptual linkage’<sup>360</sup>, in which particular themes are reflected throughout multiple articles by different authors and illustrating a different component of ‘house identity’, can be seen in the magazine’s significant interest in the extensive history of its institutional home. In addition to the aforementioned history compiled by the chaplain, *Under the Dome* runs a series entitled ‘Bethlem Royal Hospital’, featured in 1.1 and 1.2. This was penned by Copeland, who also contributed various other snippets of information about Bethlem’s past, such as a 2.7’s ‘Mention of Bethlem’, a report exploring the content of a letter from the year 1330 about the Archbishop of Canterbury’s support for the hospital. This interest is reflected in the work of H.F.H., who pens a history of the hospital for 2.8 entitled ‘Bethlem; Some Notes about the Site thereof, and adjacent parts, in 1753, as also subsequently’, which even features a fold-out map of the geography local to the hospital<sup>361</sup>. In addition to the magazine’s interest in these histories of the hospital and its nearby site, Bethlem’s 650th birthday seem to have been a particular cause for celebration, and the festivities were recorded extensively in articles throughout 6.23. The importance of Bethlem’s history to its readership is implied by the repeated presence of this topic in the early run of the magazine. That the theme is explored by various members of staff, patients, and the hospital’s wider support team further implies its significance, suggesting that the idea of an extensive and colourful history was important to members of all

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<sup>360</sup> Gowan Dawson, Richard Noakes, and Jonathan R. Topham, ‘Introduction’, in *Science in the Nineteenth Century Periodical*, ed. By Gillian Beer (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 1-34 (p. 31).

<sup>361</sup> Additional examples include work by the contributor ‘J.G.W.’, who constructs a ‘A Further Short History of The Royal Hospital of Bethlem’, which is serialised in 6.23 and 7.25. The Chaplain’s Column of 6.22 discusses historic figures connected with Bethlem such as Rebecca Griffiths, Nathaniel Lee, and the ‘female soldier’ Hannah Snell. This interest in hospital history is extended to Bridewell, Bethlem’s sister hospital, which is the focus of a short history article compiled by Colonel Copeland. The history of the area local to Bethlem is also a topic to which significant editorial space is dedicated; for example, ‘The Dog and Duck, St George’s Fields, Surrey’ in 1.3 is a history of the tavern near the hospital, and ‘J.G.W.’s ‘The Ancient Records and Antiquities of Two Old Parishes and Parish Churches in the City of London; St Swithin, London Stone, united with St. Mary Bothaw’ in 6.22 delves into the history of two nearby churches.

levels within the Bethlem hierarchy. This continual reinforcement of the importance of Bethlem's chronology, I suggest, indicates that the 'house identity' communicated in *Under the Dome* is linked closely with the hospital's historic significance. Representing the hospital as an institution with an extensive past, located in an area of historical note, forms an aspect of the constructed Bethlem 'self'. In this reading of the magazine, *Under the Dome* continually returns to the theme of Bethlem's past to invoke a sense of prestige, an importance due to the long history of the institution, and a resulting sense of pride in and for the hospital community. An emotional investment in the institution and in its merit is here encouraged by this facet of the *Under the Dome* 'house identity'.

#### 6c - Home and domesticity

*Under the Dome*'s patient- and staff-contributors' interest in the material presence of Bethlem is further reflected in the magazine's framing of the hospital as a home. Nineteenth century-specific conventions of domesticity and gender are echoed within various articles; the repetition of this 'conceptual linkage' contributes significantly towards the magazine's formulation of its literary 'house identity'.

The hospital had redesigned wards to resemble the domestic ideal of the Victorian era, featuring plants, reading materials, pets such as a parrot, and a billiards room. This recreation of the domestic idyll had a particular role within Bethlem's care of patients. In *At Home in the Institution*, Jane Hamlett suggests that '[d]omestic material culture and practices could be used to transform institutional environments in the nineteenth century'<sup>362</sup>, and in creating these 'new material worlds', 'the home was often a central reference point'<sup>363</sup>. Such environmental changes

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<sup>362</sup> Jane Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution: Material Life in Asylums, Lodging Houses and Schools in Victorian and Edwardian England*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 1.

<sup>363</sup> *Ibid*, p. 2.



were specifically related to the hospital's emphasis on moral therapy, the 'important new development in patient treatment that [was] closely linked to the creation of domestic wards'<sup>364</sup>. Care during this period is characterised by Andrews et. al as partly reliant on '[d]iscipline and order[,] [which] were prized as much as harmony in late Victorian Bethlem, [and] within the rhetoric it was notions of the 'home' that were stressed'<sup>365</sup>. The recognisable routine of the home emphasised structure, as well as connection with friends and family; order and socialisation were key aspects of moral therapy, and recreating a domestic space enabled Bethlem to more easily enact this treatment<sup>366</sup>. The hospital's new spaces also reflected images of the nineteenth century home popular in wider culture. 'Enshrined in literature and poetry, the house was imagined as a haven from the toll of the industrial world'<sup>367</sup> in written work of the nineteenth century. Such images, Mike Hepworth suggests, 'are closely connected with expressions of the ideal [home] [...] [a] symbol of the effort to achieve normality and respectability by its residents'<sup>368</sup>. He goes on to posit that the ideal Victorian home can be conceptualised as a fortress<sup>369</sup>; thus, in recreating a domestic space within the asylum, Bethlem practically enforces and discursively associates 'normality and respectability', as well as security and safety for its' patients.

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<sup>364</sup> Ibid, p. 3.

<sup>365</sup> Jonathan Andrews, Asa Briggs, Roy Porter, Penny Tucker, and Keir Waddington, *The History of Bethlem*, (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 517.

<sup>366</sup> It is interesting that in asylums, the idea of 'the home' was positioned as representative of the 'sanity' of the external world to which patients were intended to aspire; furthermore, the domestic institution was 'imagined as [a] beacon of normative behaviour' (Jane Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution: Material Life in Asylums, Lodging Houses and Schools in Victorian and Edwardian England*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 12) of which all – 'sane' and 'mad', 'external' and 'internal' – should attempt to replicate. This echoes *New Moon's* framing of Crichton as an improvement on the external world.

<sup>367</sup> Jane Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution: Material Life in Asylums, Lodging Houses and Schools in Victorian and Edwardian England*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 5.

<sup>368</sup> Mike Hepworth, 'The ideal Victorian home', in *Housing and Dwelling: Perspectives on Modern Domestic Architecture*, ed. by Barbara Miller Lane (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), pp. 150-154 (p. 150).

<sup>369</sup> Understanding the Victorian home as a 'fortress' also reflects Michel Foucault's discussion of 'fortresses of confinement' in *Madness and Civilisation: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), p. 209. Both, in enforcing 'their social role[s] of segregation and purification' (Foucault, p.209, self-position as sites of security and respectability).

The image of the home, and what it represented, had a significant impact on the physical spaces within Bethlem - enabling the discipline, order, and harmony necessitated by moral therapy - but also played a key role within the hospital's discursive spaces. *At Home in the Institution* suggests that considering institutional spaces as domestic replicas should not just be considered just in terms of 'the interiors that were created by the authorities, but also the way in which inmates responded to them'<sup>370</sup>. *Under the Dome* demonstrates how Bethlem's patients, as well as its staff, responded to (and internalised) notions of the hospital as a curative domestic space. The conceptualisation of Bethlem as this type of home is repeatedly evoked by *Under the Dome*, and prior scholarship<sup>371</sup> on the magazine relates to its role within the hospital's cultivation of this kind of environment.



<sup>370</sup> Jane Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution: Material Life in Asylums, Lodging Houses and Schools in Victorian and Edwardian England*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 3.

<sup>371</sup> See *ibid.*

*Figure 7: New domestic spaces at Bethlem. Picture: sourced from Anon, Bethlem Museum of the Mind (2015) <<https://museumofthemind.org.uk/blog/life-in-a-victorian-asylum-1>> [accessed 12 June 2018].*

There are numerous articles within the magazine which frame Bethlem as this secure, communal, ordered, and respectable home environment. Patient contributor ‘H.W.F.’ refers to Bethlem as ‘home’<sup>372</sup> in his report in 3.10 of a hospital outing to Epsom, while ‘M.O.’ reports in 7.26 that, after returning the Bethlem from another Epsom trip, patients were ‘welcomed back by the Head Physician in the hall’<sup>373</sup> as if by a family member. Such description creates a rhetorical image of Bethlem as a safe home, welcoming back a ‘happy family’<sup>374</sup> after a day’s excursion. This is also exemplified in how the magazine represents the billiards culture at Bethlem: the game, a ‘common feature of upper class homes’<sup>375</sup>, was seen as an aspirational domestic activity and assigned games rooms were lavish, such as the ‘carefully decorated’<sup>376</sup> one at Bethlem. In December 1896, it was proposed that a record of “‘the form” displayed by the numerous billiard players in [the] small community’ should be printed, and a quarterly return was published in *Under the Dome* from this date. As is often the case in the hospital magazine, individuals were identified by initials (Hyslop was ‘T.B.H.’) which were presumably recognisable to readers - further demonstrating *Under the Dome*’s function as a conduit of community feeling and sense of inclusion. The magazine also acknowledges the moral therapy function of billiards, suggesting a recognition of the rhetorical link between domesticity and acceptable patient conduct. Indeed, the article ‘The Philosophy of Games’, which, Hamlett suggests in her blog posts on ‘Billiards at

<sup>372</sup> Anon, ‘Bethlem at Epsom’, *Under the Dome*, 3.10 (1894), 62-63 (p.63).

<sup>373</sup> Anon, ‘Epsom’, *Under the Dome*, 7.26 (1898), 69-71 (p. 71).

<sup>374</sup> Henry Francis Harding, ‘Notes Apropos.’, *Under the Dome*, 2.7 (1893), 68-75 (p. 68).

<sup>375</sup> Jane Hamlett, *Bethlem Museum of the Mind* (2014) <https://museumofthemind.org.uk/blog/billiards-at-bethlem-1> [access 12 February 2018].

<sup>376</sup> *Ibid.*

Bethlem', was 'probably written by a patient'<sup>377</sup>, highlights the author's theory that the game is intrinsically linked with psychological development. It suggests that games such as billiards were useful for the recovery of patients who were too unwell to go outside –

‘these pastimes may be so utilised as to furnish a wholesome and absorbing interest, and therein, I imagine, lies their efficacy, as it is not sufficient that the mind should cease from its ordinary avocations; it must find something else to thoroughly attract its attention, and this I would say is more readily found when a man aims at the highest possible to him, and always endeavours to do his best’<sup>378</sup>.

Games like billiards ‘were thought not just to distract, but to offer a means of achievement. Playing demonstrated the right attitude to life, and the correct kind of masculine spirit and behaviour’<sup>379</sup>. The Bethlem house organ therefore represents billiards culture as both communally and psychologically beneficial – moral therapy objectives achieved partly due to the idyllically domestic nature of the activity. Billiards was associated with the ‘correct’ behaviour, and readers of *Under the Dome* were encouraged to apply this to their own lives: as the anonymous author suggests, ‘the philosophy of games seems to me to form part of the philosophy of life’<sup>380</sup>. In short, billiards was a game which, when played correctly, had particular therapeutic and domesticating properties, and undertaking such an activity was advocated for by *Under the Dome*.

The magazine, in its descriptions of Bethlem as domestic home, served to reinforce notions of the hospital as a safe, ordered, harmonious space for recuperation. That *Under the Dome* depicts these images of Bethlem as a therapeutic home space relates closely to Hepworth's discussion of the nineteenth century domestic environment in print culture:

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<sup>377</sup> Jane Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution: Material Life in Asylums, Lodging Houses and Schools in Victorian and Edwardian England*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 54.

<sup>378</sup> Anon, ‘The Philosophy of Games’, *Under the Dome*, 3.12 (1894), 109-114 (p. 111).

<sup>379</sup> Jane Hamlett, *Bethlem Museum of the Mind* (2015)

<<https://museumofthemind.org.uk/blog/billiards-at-bethlem-2>. [accessed 13 February 2018].

<sup>380</sup> Anon, ‘The Philosophy of Games’, *Under the Dome*, 3.12 (1894), 109-114 (p. 113).

‘The Victorian home can be seen, in its ideal version, as a controlled private realm within whose walls even more controls had to be established to maintain a desired congruence between appearance and reality. The moral home life not only had to be lived on a daily basis but also had to be seen to be lived’<sup>381</sup>.

That these images of domestic bliss are replicated through *Under the Dome* suggests contributors’ desire to maintain this ‘appearance’ of Bethlem as the ‘ideal version’ of the ‘Victorian home’. This served the benefit of promoting moral therapy and its associated ideals of respectability and civility. Such descriptions of Bethlem as a home or domestic space, as employed by the institution’s staff, governors, commissioners, and patients, can be linked, to Bethlem’s intent to express ‘a particular life and ethos’ through *Under the Dome*. That is to say, domestic ideals of the late nineteenth century became part of the Bethlem ‘house identity’; like the emphasis on the literary capabilities of the magazine’s contributors, this representation of the hospital as this domestic ideal served to reinforce ideology and motivate both staff and patients<sup>382</sup>.

However, one article from *Under the Dome*’s early run presents a more critical engagement with such notions of the domestic idyll. Kentish Scribbler’s poem, ‘The New Arm

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<sup>381</sup> Mike Hepworth, ‘The ideal Victorian home’, in *Housing and Dwelling: Perspectives on Modern Domestic Architecture*, ed. by Barbara Miller Lane (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), pp. 150-154 (p. 154).

<sup>382</sup> *Under the Dome*’s significant investment in travel narratives could, arguably, indicate an interest in the world beyond the confines of the ‘asylum-home’, but perhaps can be more accurately read as a method of formulating ‘house identity’ in comparison to the overseas places discussed. Colonel Copeland contributes a number of these, including ‘A Big Tiger’, which reflects on his experience shooting one such animal while in India, and ‘The Cruise of the “Luistania” Orient Line’, a detailed travel reminiscence of his time aboard this steamship, as well another piece about this boat, entitled ‘West India Cruise of the “Luistania”’. There are numerous other examples of travel narratives - examples include one of a number of serialised travel pieces, ‘A Trip to Egypt’, which was inspired by Jerome’s ‘Three Men in a Boat’ (demonstrating a further literary connection) and published in 1.3, 4, and 5 (literary connection), in 1.3, 1.4 and 2.5, ‘A Visit to Tangiers in 1882’, by ‘H.W.F.’, ‘Ten Days in Spain’, by ‘W.A.’, a piece entitled ‘Fragments from Bulgaria’, which is written by a female nurse identified as ‘Red Cross’ and printed across 4.13 and 14, and ‘The Monks of Mount Athos’, by ‘P.D.’, with photograph by ‘J.H.G.’. Such examples emphasise the strangeness or romance of travel and countries abroad, but reinforce the sense of such places as the ‘other’, a notion formed in comparison to Bethlem as the hospital ‘self’ - the nineteenth century home understood in contrast with other cultures.

Chair', is a particularly interesting example from the first issue of the magazine, which can be read as a direct response to the culture of 'the home' at play in the Bethlem environment. 'The New Arm Chair', a 'Humorous Parody of a Well-Known Poem', 'By the illiterate Under-housemaid LIZZY; not the learned Cook ELIZA', is a comical rewriting of Eliza Cook's 'The Old Armchair'. Kentish Scribbler's work sits within a literary convention of parodying this particular poem: 'The Old Armchair' was widely 'circulated, pirated and re-appropriated'<sup>383</sup>. Cook became a household name following the 1838 publication of this poem, which, as a 'biography' of a domestic object, is a sentimental reflection on a woman's attachment to a chair in which her mother nursed her as a baby, told her stories as a young girl, and then passed away. Kentish Scribbler's revision follows roughly the same structure as Cook's original, but instead focuses on how much the speaker hates 'that new arm chair', which breaks underneath her, sending her crashing to the ground and tearing her 'best Sunday frock'. Cook's opening line 'I love it, I love it; and who shall dare/To chide me for loving that old arm-chair?'<sup>384</sup> becomes 'I ate it! I ate it! that new arm chair - /I don't care who chides me for 'ating it – there'<sup>385</sup>. in *Under the Dome*. 'The Old Armchair' and 'The New Arm Chair' are poems which represent two female voices exploring expectations of women's roles within the family and the domestic<sup>386</sup>.

That a chair is the focus of the original poem links into the 'powerful series of symbolic associations established between mundane objects and broader social and spiritual values which

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<sup>383</sup> Alexis Easley, 'Victorian Iconoclast: Eliza Cook (1812-1889)', *Celebrity Authorship and Afterlives in English and American Literature*, ed. by Gaston Franssen and Rick Honings (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 67-94 (p. 70).

<sup>384</sup> Eliza Cook, *The poetical works of Eliza Cook* (Philadelphia: John Ball, 1850), p. 57.

<sup>385</sup> Anon, 'The New Arm Chair', *Under the Dome*, 1.1 (1892), 19 (p. 19).

<sup>386</sup> Perhaps Kentish Scribbler's choice of poem is an allusion to Cook's tradition of campaigning for women's rights and education. An advocate for writing as a means for improvement and for literary networks for women, such as the Whittington Club of which Cook herself was a part, the author of 'The Old Arm Chair' believed that '[i]nformal networks were crucial to women's success [...] Some networks emerged from specific social movements and generated forms of literature that advanced the cause' (Linda H. Peterson, 'Introduction', in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Women's Writing*, ed. Linda H. Peterson, (St Ives, Clays: 2015), pp. 1-14 (p. 5).) such as Cook's own periodical, *Eliza Cook's Journal* (1849-54).

were essential to the Victorian images of the ideal home'<sup>387</sup>. In 'The Old Armchair', the piece of furniture is representative of wider notions of domesticity as idyllic and family connections as paramount; as Fabienne Moine states, the 'history of the armchair is a pretext for writing about the mother/child relationship'<sup>388</sup>. Kentish Scribbler's reworking of the depiction of the chair as instead a 'dratted', 'plagued'<sup>389</sup> object is a satirical undermining of these values and reinscribes the image with meaning anew; furthermore, the fact that the poem was penned for the Bethlem community means that it is more specifically engaging with ideas of furniture within an institutional context. As has been shown, Bethlem's conscious reinvention of the hospital environment as a domestic sphere was a component of moral therapy, and it 'was usually the middle-class home that institutional authorities sought to recreate. Parlour ornaments were transported to asylum wards [and] [t]he rituals of the home were consciously evoked in institutional everyday practices'<sup>390</sup>. Reframing a popular poem which evoked themes of the domestic idyll and conventional family sentiments in such a way as to undermine these notions in an institutional context could be seen as fairly subversive. Kentish Scribbler's poem might be read either as a rebuke to Bethlem's emphasis on the domestic as curative and the patient community as the "family" which inhabited this space – indeed, as Hamlett suggests, '[a]ttempts to create home-like material worlds often failed. Inmates might damage institutional décor, or ignore their surroundings'<sup>391</sup> – or perhaps a retort to wider cultural expectations of gendered domesticity. In this reading, 'The New Arm Chair' challenges Bethlem's notions of domesticity by engaging with gendered aspects of the ideological framework of 'the home'. Furniture in

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<sup>387</sup> Mike Hepworth, 'The ideal Victorian home', in *Housing and Dwelling: Perspectives on Modern Domestic Architecture*, ed. by Barbara Miller Lane (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), pp. 150-154 (p. 154).

<sup>388</sup> Fabienne Moine, 'The Politics of Objects: Eliza Cook's Biographies of Things', *Cahiers victoriens et édouardiens*, 83.1 (2016), 1-44 (p. 38).

<sup>389</sup> Anon, 'The New Arm Chair', *Under the Dome*, 1.1 (1892), 19 (p. 19).

<sup>390</sup> Jane Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution: Material Life in Asylums, Lodging Houses and Schools in Victorian and Edwardian England*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 6.

<sup>391</sup> *Ibid.*

institutions, Hamlett states, ‘carried specific moral overtones, denoting not just physical relief but security’ in relation to ‘patriarchy and paternalism [which] played an important role in structuring the authority of government [...] superintendents were father figures, inmates were obedient children’<sup>392</sup>. Kentish Scribbler subverts these Victorian gender conventions in ‘The New Arm Chair’, wherein the ‘prentice’<sup>393</sup> and carpenter who made the chair (both male and thus, supposedly, figures of competence and authority) damage the chair and purposefully cover it up in order to make a sale, and the female speakers’ interactions are a world apart from the ‘gentle words’ received by ‘list’ning ear’<sup>394</sup> in Cook’s original. In Kentish Scribbler’s rewrite, the two women argue ‘Says I “stop your clack, Nurse; the chair was so weak.”/Says she “what you hussy? to *me* dare to speak?”’ [italics in original]<sup>395</sup>. As a former patient, Kentish Scribbler may have been reflecting on her own frustrations while hospitalised, or as a literary woman, or appealing to a general sense of (perhaps gendered) discontent among the patient community. Her reimagining of the armchair is a literary extension of Hamlett’s argument that ‘[i]nmates often created their own meanings and practices through their physical surroundings that were far from the intentions of architects and institutional authorities [...] while the material world was used to control inmates, it could also create opportunities for them’<sup>396</sup>. A fictional piece of furniture herein offers Kentish Scribbler an ‘expressive possibility’.

In most cases, aside from that of Kentish Scribbler’s ‘The New Arm Chair’, gender conventions are usually reinforced. In addition to delineating billiards as a specifically masculine domestic activity, ‘manliness’ is emphasised in *Under the Dome* in the article ‘A strange ending to a cricket match’<sup>397</sup>, a reminiscence by ‘Cantab’ of a bull rushing a game at Percy College, near

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<sup>392</sup> Ibid, p. 5.

<sup>393</sup> Anon, ‘The New Arm Chair’, *Under the Dome*, 1.1 (1892), 19 (p. 19).

<sup>394</sup> Eliza Cook, *The poetical works of Eliza Cook* (Philadelphia: John Ball, 1850), p. 57.

<sup>395</sup> Anon, ‘The New Arm Chair’, *Under the Dome*, 1.1 (1892), 19 (p. 19).

<sup>396</sup> Jane Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution: Material Life in Asylums, Lodging Houses and Schools in Victorian and Edwardian England*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 10.

<sup>397</sup> Anon, ‘A strange ending to a cricket match’, *Under the Dome*, 7.26 (1898), 65-66 (p. 65).



the school where ‘we Highfield boys’<sup>398</sup> had attended; this story alludes to a common understanding of the comradere between old school-friends, and the shared male bonding experience of playing sport. Meanwhile, stereotypes of women as overtly emotional are perpetuated. For example, the chaplain discusses sending on a letter of thanks to a visiting lecturer for fear that the ladies who requested that such thanks be given become angry with him: ‘I have forwarded to the East End this protest of indignant womanhood, lest worse should befall me. Orpheus was torn to pieces by female fury for a less crime!’<sup>399</sup>. The concept of dividing the magazine into gendered sections – reflecting the domestic spaces of the hospital and of the home – is played with:

‘It had been suggested that as well as a Chaplain’s Column there should be a ‘Ladies’ Column’ in the Magazine. We can hardly promise to insert fashion plates, but we can well believe that among the many ladies here there are some who would be more willing to contribute to the Magazine if there were a special column’<sup>400</sup>.

Again, Kentish Scribbler’s presence seems to have been a rather destabilising aspect in *Under the Dome*’s understanding and depiction of gender, as this feature goes on to state ‘[i]t may be well, by the way, to remark that although there is no ‘Ladies’ Column’ one of the most successful departments of the Magazine is mainly due to the work of a lady’<sup>401</sup>. This is almost certainly the Kentish Scribbler, who contributed several poems, puzzles, and games to every edition of *Under the Dome*. Despite this, the Chaplain’s Column from 8.30 begins to feature ‘The Ladies Realm’, a section with gossip about the female patients of the hospital. Through the work of patient- and staff-contributors, *Under the Dome* arguably demonstrates an attempt to maintain a particular ideology of gender and domesticity which is occasionally subverted by

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<sup>398</sup> Anon, ‘Local Notes.’, *Under the Dome*, 3.4 (1894), 151-152 (p. 151).

<sup>399</sup> Edward Geoffrey O'Donoghue, ‘Chaplain’s Column’, *Under the Dome*, 4.13 (1895), 38-41 (p. 41).

<sup>400</sup> Anon, ‘Local Notes.’, *Under the Dome*, 3.4 (1894), 151-152 (p. 151).

<sup>401</sup> Ibid.

individual writers - particularly Kentish Scribbler. In terms of understanding the 'house identity' manifested and communicated by the magazine, this suggests that an institutional line of conventionality was idealised - probably as a method of returning patients to the 'normality' of life beyond Bethlem - but not always achieved.

### 7 - Reflections on other patient publications as informing *Under the Dome*'s formation of a Bethlem identity

Another method in which *Under the Dome* serves to create a particular 'house identity' which is representative of Bethlem is its evaluation of similar literary undertakings by fellow asylums. The magazine demonstrates a continual interest in the literary culture of similar mental health institutions; for example, Notes Apropos compares the literary culture at Bethlem to that of a number of unnamed asylums by responding to a paragraph printed in the daily press in July 1893. This article, which emphasised a supposed 'dearth of material in other places to satisfy the "literary cravings" of those sojourning therein'<sup>402</sup>, was an evaluation which 'Z.X.' (a pseudonym of H.F.H.) believed was in no way 'applicable to Bethlem Royal Hospital'. Based on his understanding of this 'official statement' which he had read in the press, 'Z.X.' suggested that patients were comparatively

'much better off in Bethlem than are those in some other like retreats; for have we not, as well as our catalogued lending library, comprising a fair number of readable works, and the scores of bound volumes in our several reading rooms, also, supplied to each gallery, daily our four morning newspapers, weekly two illustrated papers and two periodicals, and, monthly, a magazine or two'<sup>403</sup>.

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<sup>402</sup> Henry Francis Harding, 'Notes Apropos.', *Under the Dome*, 2.3 (1893), 68-75 (p. 68).

<sup>403</sup> Ibid.

This list emphasises Bethlem's investment in reading material and conscious cultivation of a literary culture within the hospital: a point also made implicitly by the very presence of 'Z.X.'s' article in such a house organ, a product of the hospital itself. As indicated above, *Under the Dome* aimed to communicate a sense of the institution as a learned, literary place, but this example demonstrates that the magazine maintained that Bethlem was particularly so in comparison to other asylums. The 'house identity' of Bethlem is here established via the implication that the hospital is in some ways superior to others, specifically within its cultivation of a literary culture.

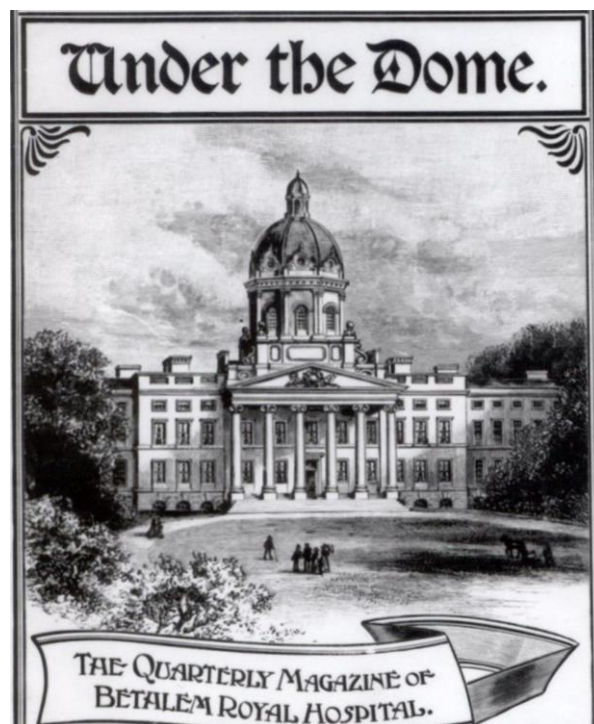


Figure 8: *Under the Dome*'s cover. Picture: sourced from Jane Hamlett, Bethlem Museum of the Mind (2015) <<https://museumofthemind.org.uk/blog/billiards-at-bethlem-2>. [accessed 13 February 2018].

This practice of comparing Bethlem with other similar institutions, specifically in relation to a literary culture, is further demonstrated in *Under the Dome*'s keen interest in the house

organs of other asylums. The magazine makes note of similar publications when contributors are made aware of the existence of titles such as *The Morningside Mirror* or *The Sunnyside Chronicle*. Before these titles are introduced to *Under the Dome*'s contributors, the magazine demonstrates a desire to find out about other house organs as a method of improving the magazine – the Chaplain's Column of 4.13 requests that 'some of our readers can tell us of other hospitals and institutions where a magazine circulates every month or quarter. The writer of this column only knows of one such periodical'<sup>404</sup>. Following this call for information, connections appear to have been made with other institutions as the hospital seems to have established a culture of magazine swapping. The editorial Local Notes of 2.5 states that the *Excelsior*, the Quarterly Magazine of James Murray's Royal Asylum in Perth, was 'received in exchange'<sup>405</sup> for *Under the Dome*, and in 5.18, it is noted that '[i]n exchange for a copy of the last number of *Under the Dome*, [...] we have received a copy of the May number of the *New Moon*'<sup>406</sup>. Other titles are referenced in *Under the Dome*'s attempt to construct an overview of patient publications. For example, a letter from the editor of *Excelsior* is sent to Bethlem and printed in issue 6.21, suggesting that the *Murthly Magazine* of Perth District Asylum is added to the list as well as providing more information about *St. Ann*'s magazine of Holloway Sanatorium, the *Sunnyside Chronicle*, and the *York Star*, as well as congratulating *Under the Dome* 'on being able to introduce illustrations. One or two illustrations appeared in *St. Ann*'s, but otherwise this seems to be a new departure in asylum literature'<sup>407</sup>. Further to this, the Chaplain's Column of 4.15 notes that the chaplain of 'Colney Hatch has been so good as to send me from time to time issues of his "Monthly Leaflet," [which] is the Magazine of the hospital, and chronicles all that is local and personal in the life of a public institution'<sup>408</sup>. Interest is extended to 'house' organs of

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<sup>404</sup> Edward Geoffrey O'Donoghue, 'Chaplain's Column', *Under the Dome*, 4.13 (1895), 38-41 (p. 39).

<sup>405</sup> Anon, 'Local Notes', *Under the Dome*, 2.5 (1893), 22-27 (p. 27).

<sup>406</sup> Anon, 'Institutional Magazines (II.)', *Under the Dome*, 5.18 (1896), 74-75 (p. 74).

<sup>407</sup> Anon, 'Correspondence', *Under the Dome*, 6.21 (1897), 33 (p. 33).

<sup>408</sup> Henry Francis Harding, 'Notes Apropos.', *Under the Dome*, 4.15 (1894), 100-102 (p. 101).

institutions which were not asylums – ‘it may here be noted that recently the present writer learnt from the public press that the last named institution has its own printed “organ,” this being “The St. Thomas’s Hospital Gazette”’<sup>409</sup> – but the main focus appears to be on the journals and magazines of other mental health hospitals.

The Reverend O’Donoghue in particular expressed interest in the house organs of other asylums. Having seen a newspaper article about the *Conglomerate* of the Middletown Asylum of Orange County, New York State, he contacted the hospital’s medical superintendent Dr Selden H. Talcott, ‘who had been so kind as to send me some specimen numbers, accompanied by a cordial acknowledgement of “Under the Dome”, which “we appreciated very much indeed”’<sup>410</sup>, the Reverend writes. O’Donoghue constructs a short review of the *Conglomerate*, emphasising the similarities and differences between this title and those produced at Bethlem. He writes that the *Conglomerate* was:

‘rich in local news, original humour, crisp articles and bright poetry. It is, indeed, an American journal in miniature, and is far in front of any of our own asylum journals in literary style, and in the quality of its original matter. It is pungent, piquant, and pithy in its general tone, but carries such solid contributions as the lectures delivered to nurses and attendants. But on the other hand, it is personal in a way which, if imitated by us, would cause our Dome to collapse under the shock to its feelings and traditions’<sup>411</sup>.

O’Donoghue demonstrates a particular investment in establishing an ongoing dialogue with these other titles: in his column of 5.18, he states that:

‘[u]nder the headline “London Wants a Few Copies” the editor of the *Conglomerate* has reprinted my letter to Dr Talcott, and has appended these kindly remarks: - “We are glad that the *Conglomerate* has penetrated the fog of London, and trust its cheery doctrines will influence English brethren.” May I in return (for I am sure

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<sup>409</sup> Henry Francis Harding, ‘Notes Apropos.’, *Under the Dome*, 3.11 (1894), 17-30 (p. 17).

<sup>410</sup> Edward Geoffrey O’Donoghue, ‘Chaplain’s Column’, *Under the Dome*, 5.18 (1896), 86-91 (p. 89).

<sup>411</sup> *Ibid.*

that I may speak for all in such a case) send from under the dome our warmest greetings'<sup>412</sup>.

In his following Chaplain's Column of 5.19, he states that he proposed to act as 'a sort of voice from Bethlem crying over seas in the shape of "[the Conglomerate's] special correspondent in London"'<sup>413</sup>. He also makes mention of another house organ: 'I have to thank Under the Dome for procuring me some personal friends across the Atlantic Ocean'<sup>414</sup>. This was the *Lancaster Argus*, a connection made 'no doubt in consequence of [his] article in the Conglomerate!'<sup>415</sup>. This publication was 'published each month by the inmates of the Provincial Lunatic Asylum, St John New Brunswick, Canada'<sup>416</sup>. It is interesting that here the chaplain evaluates the *Lancaster Argus* on its self-perception:

'As a man may be judged by his estimate of himself, we shall quote the Argus, which modestly describes itself as an "elegant, moral, and refined family journal, devoted to polite literature, wit and humor, prose and poetic gems written exclusively for the paper"'<sup>417</sup>.

This may have been a polite way of suggesting that the *Lancaster Argus* was perhaps not quite so well produced as it claimed. It also raises a point for future inquiry: following this line of thought, what did the chaplain make of *Under the Dome* in its whole? Could this line on the *Lancaster Argus* suggest his belief that a house organ's identity construction was more reflective of its own self-perception than of its realistic literary merit? For *Under the Dome*, a magazine created by and for patients with the intent of reflecting a particular 'house identity' back at itself, the reverend's evaluation is a particularly relevant to his own magazine. One wonders as to the

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<sup>412</sup> Ibid.

<sup>413</sup> Edward Geoffrey O'Donoghue, 'Chaplain's Column', *Under the Dome*, 5.19 (1896), 141-149 (p. 144).

<sup>414</sup> Ibid.

<sup>415</sup> Ibid p. 145.

<sup>416</sup> Ibid.

<sup>417</sup> Ibid.

extent of self-awareness within O'Donoghue's evaluation of the *Lancaster Argus*, and whether it was a nod to *Under the Dome*'s role as conduit of house identity.

This ongoing critical comparison of *Under the Dome* with other patient publications can also be seen in the work of another Bethlem contributor, 'H.', who pens a series of articles on 'Institutional Magazines', the first of which published in 5.17. 'Now-a-days, many Institutions have, and indeed for some period past, have had, a literary organ of their own; while some of the latter are not so designed, virtually they are magazines'<sup>418</sup>, suggests 'H.', who determines that their interest is particularly in publications by mental health patients or asylum inmates: '[t]he Institutions whose literary organs we shall here write are of those for the treatment of mental disorders'<sup>419</sup>. After suggesting that the 'present magazine had (at intervals) six predecessors'<sup>420</sup> and summarises the role of *Under the Dome* in Bethlem's tradition of producing patient publications, the author states that 'we have learned for certain of only four magazines (beyond our own) copies of three of which are now before us'. 'H.' then goes on to discuss the material quality of the other magazines: 'There is some difference in the respective types and paper of these three, and each are, in this respect and in the printer's work generally, not superior, we think, to our own Magazine'<sup>421</sup>. This suggestion of 'superiority' demonstrates that a particular pride was taken in the print quality of *Under the Dome*, which is also suggested by the repeated references to the size and presentational quality of the magazines this article references. The article gives information about *The Morningside Mirror*, 'one of the pioneers of asylum magazines' of which '[a]lmost all its articles have been written by [the hospital's] inmates', articles that 'are well varied and creditably - some more than creditably - written, if they cannot

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<sup>418</sup> Anon, 'Institution Magazines', *Under the Dome*, 5.17 (1896), 2-9 (p. 2).

<sup>419</sup> Ibid.

<sup>420</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

<sup>421</sup> Ibid, p. 3.

be said to be brilliant'<sup>422</sup>. As suggested above, a comparison is being formed, in which *Under the Dome* is suggested to be superior.

Such comparative analysis runs throughout the article, which then goes on to note *New Moon*, the title of which 'H.' suggests is, as a reference to "moony" and thus madness, 'just a little mal-apropos', but the editorial team choose to 'pass this by, as no doubt there is some local or other association justifying the adoption of the title'<sup>423</sup>. The appearance of the magazine, which by February 1896 had a 'lady editor', a Dr Margaret Dewar, who was also the assistant Medical Officer of the Institution, 'inclines somewhat to the mere circular [leading to a] sparseness of matter and inferior magazine style'<sup>424</sup>, although the magazine's Specials were thought to compensate for this somewhat. The *Excelsior* of Perth is again referenced, as a magazine which '(properly) records the life and doings in connection with the Asylum'<sup>425</sup>. 'H.' notes that 'the magazines that we have reviewed are, as the reader will have seen, of Institutions in Scotland' but an addendum to the article mentions the *St. Ann's* magazine of Holloway Sanatorium in Virginia Water, on which 'a few general remarks [...] in simple justice, will be favourable'<sup>426</sup>. The 'paper and printing are good', states 'H.', and '[i]f the amount and character of the matter, &c., can be kept up to the standard of this first number the year's volume will be hard to beat by other like magazines', or indeed to rival'<sup>427</sup>.

'H.' continues in 5.18 with 'Institutional Magazine. (II)', which starts with a piece from the *New Moon* in response to incorrect information about the title published by *Under the Dome* - *New Moon*, first published in 1844, was followed by *The Morningside Mirror*, 'appearing some ten months later', resulting in *Under the Dome* congratulating 'our editor friend of the *New*

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<sup>422</sup> Ibid, p. 4.

<sup>423</sup> Ibid, p. 5.

<sup>424</sup> Ibid, p. 5.

<sup>425</sup> Ibid, p. 8.

<sup>426</sup> Ibid, p. 9.

<sup>427</sup> Ibid, p. 9.



*Moon* in thus establishing the claim of the latter of being the pioneer of Asylum Magazines'<sup>428</sup>. This response is framed as an editorial notice that *Under the Dome* is 'favoured with', and the author takes issue that 'he does not answer the question we raised as to the origin of the title'<sup>429</sup>. An interesting point to note in terms of connecting asylum magazines with wider literary cultures, this article comments that *New Moon* has been drawn into 'the recent-day's craze with periodicals of a competition prize'<sup>430</sup>, the implication being that this is a sell-out of some sort. 'Institutional Magazines' is continued in 5.19, although it is not credited to 'H.'. This could mean that the contributor is 'H.F.H.', who passed away shortly before this number, and may have been completed by the editor - although this hypothesis cannot be confirmed. This installment in the 'Institutional Magazines' series also has a different, modest, tone, and uses hyperbolic language to review the summer number of *New Moon*, which

'far surpasses our modest endeavours, and this Burns Centenary Number eclipses not only *Under the Dome*, but also other institution magazines. The raison d'être of its being published in so magnificent a style and so profusely illustrated is manifest, and we warmly commend the laudable object of doing honour to the Scottish Bard'<sup>431</sup>.

This piece also discusses Dr W.A.F. Browne, who had died in 1885, of whom that author had a 'very vivid recollection' of him 'as one of the most enlightened mental physicians of his day' and states that 'the gentle, steadfast and brilliant qualities of that father of psychological medicine in Scotland have exerted an influence over a large number of workers of the present day'<sup>432</sup>. It also lists a number of asylum journals - along with those already mentioned in the 'Institutional Magazines', *York Star*, *Loose Leaves*, *Chronicles of the Cloister*, *The Retreat Gazette*, *The Asylum Journal*, *The Opal*, *The Meteor*, and the *Friend* are named - as '[i]t may

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<sup>428</sup> Anon, 'Institutional Magazines (II.)', *Under the Dome*, 5.18 (1896), 74-75 (p. 74).

<sup>429</sup> Ibid, p. 75.

<sup>430</sup> Ibid, p. 75.

<sup>431</sup> Anon, 'Institution Magazines.' *Under the Dome*, 5.19 (1896), 129-131 (p. 129).

<sup>432</sup> Ibid, p. 130.

interest our readers to know what asylum journals claim, or have claimed, the rights of being read'<sup>433</sup>.

This sense of hierarchy between *Under the Dome* and the literary output of other publications is reflected a piece known to have been written by H.F.H. who states:

‘In one of his recent well-known “Echoes of the Week,” [G. A. Sala], contesting a statement in print he had specified, adds, “There you are! It passes my comprehension that any newspaper not printed at Earlswood or at Colney Hatch could publish such asinine stuff.” Earlswood and Colney Hatch, not Bedlam (or Bethlem), mark you, reader! We, here in Bethlem, do not publish a newspaper, but we issue a Magazine, and we challenge our friend Mr. Sala to search its pages and find in *them* anything asinine’ [italics in original]<sup>434</sup>.

Readers of *Under the Dome* are also invited to partake in this critical response to other patient publications. 6.21 includes what is referred to as a ‘most excellent song’<sup>435</sup>, entitled ‘The Song of the Curlers’. This was written by Dr Norman MacLeod and was originally printed in *The Morningside Mirror*, along with other lines from the Royal Edinburgh Hospital newspaper, written phonetically in a Scottish dialect. A further call to action can be seen in the *Under the Dome* editor’s statement that he would ‘be pleased to receive translations of the following lines’<sup>436</sup>, proceeding a poem from *The Morningside Mirror* in phonetic Scots; in this exercise, patients are engaged in practical literary work, as well as critical engagement.

As has been demonstrated, *Under the Dome*’s interest in other house organs seems largely due to the potential for comparison. Often the Bethlem magazine deemed itself superior, but occasionally contributors identified the other title as being better, or featuring content that would not work in *Under the Dome* - such as the personal matter present in the *Conglomerate*

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<sup>433</sup> Ibid, p. 130.

<sup>434</sup> Henry Francis Harding, ‘Notes Apropos’, *Under the Dome*, 3.10 (1894), 58-61 (p.60).

<sup>435</sup> Anon, untitled, *Under the Dome*, 6.21 (1897), 34 (p. 34).

<sup>436</sup> Ibid.

that would ‘if imitated by [Bethlem], cause our Dome to collapse under the shock’<sup>437</sup>. The reviews and reports on fellow patient publications exemplify a process through which *Under the Dome* furthers its formation of a particularly literary ‘house identity’. In highlighting the similarities and differences of the Bethlem magazine to other house organs, the contributors look to fellow patient publications as a method of understanding Bethlem and how *Under the Dome* may represent the unified institutional community. It is noteworthy that, unlike in *New Moon*, there is little reference in *Under the Dome* to the living conditions of other asylums, but much engagement with their periodicals. House organs were seen, therefore, as tools of constructing literary identities which are representative of their institutions.

## 8 - Conclusion

It should be noted that a definitive understanding of different contributors’ engagement with different themes and positions are confused by lack of recorded information regarding contributor identities and the impossibility of interpreting ‘true’ intent. Due to the overlap between staff and patient contributions, there is a continual sense of slippage in attempts to accurately interpret *Under the Dome*’s written features: multiplied meanings emerge for each article as constructing a historicist analysis of certain works proves difficult due to the unknowability of contributor identity. This is the case for individual articles, but also, as suggested by the earlier discussion of the interpenetration of publication articles, impacts on readings of the articles which accompany them within the page or issue. The publication’s reflection of, for example, moral therapy and literary genres cannot be read in the same way that they are in *New Moon* because of this formalising of the publication as an official asylum magazine, as opposed to a patient periodical, in which the institutional experience is refracted

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<sup>437</sup> Edward Geoffrey O'Donoghue, ‘Chaplain’s Column’, *Under the Dome*, 5.18 (1896), 86-91 (p. 89).

through the ‘voices’ of the inmates. A sense of unknowability emerges in understanding contributors’ imagined or actual engagement with such discourses, but as with the *New Moon*, Reiss’s ‘expressive possibilities’ emerge in analysing the ‘elliptical gaps’ and presences in *Under the Dome*.

It is also important to note that the relation of *Under the Dome*’s representation of Bethlem hospital culture to the reality of institutional life is not, I suggest, relevant to this discussion of ‘house identity’ in the magazine. That the publication chose to depict the asylum as literary or learned, domesticated, and historically significant demonstrates that contributors aimed to frame the hospital within a particular rhetoric, and encouraged readers to perceive it in the same way, creating a ‘mythos’ of asylumia. It is tempting to try and find a definitive and pre-established ‘Bethlem identity’ and trace it throughout *Under the Dome*. However, the magazine is best understood as representing the very process of formulating house identity: it is the material evidence of a deliberate attempt to cultivate and form a sense of communal self, and the chosen articles are less a replication of a pre-existent official party line and more an actual act of development. This chapter has demonstrated that staff- and patient-writers worked together to produce *Under the Dome* as a publication which communicated a particular self-perception of Bethlem - a mostly aspirational, positive ‘house identity’. I have argued that creating such a reflection of an (allegedly) shared communal experience was achieved by the magazine’s interactions with three key themes - ‘external’ literary culture, institutional discourses relevant to Bethlem, and the literary identities of other mental health hospitals.

To conclude, the evidence examined indicates that one of the purposes of formulating and communicating such a ‘house identity’ to the patient-readership - the key demographic of the magazine - was to reinforce the hospital’s moral therapy practices. This ‘house identity’ formulated within *Under the Dome* is characterised by a didactic reinforcement of the tenets of moral therapy through a form of print entertainment: the concept that replicating the standards of

‘external’ society - literary and intellectual achievement, ability to function within conventions of gender, and the relevant role within the domestic sphere - is key to recovery. The sense of pride in *Under the Dome* and in Bethlem, as well as the reinforcement of the hospital’s staff-patient community, further tethered the patient-readership to this ideology. In what emerges as a recurring theme in this thesis, the ‘expressive possibilities’ of the publication are limited by the ever-present authority of medical ideology, and the institution which enforces it.

Chapter Three: *Labor omnia vincit*: The theme of 'healing' in *The Hydra* as tool of recovery

'Shell shock', which left men with confusion, 'paralysis, blindness and mutism, insomnia and nightmares'<sup>438</sup>, fatigue and tics, resulted in the loss of many soldiers from action during the First World War. Men affected by psychological 'disturbances' were evacuated from the front line, due in part to a fear of soldiers' unpredictable behaviour. Concern that individuals' psychological imbalance might jeopardize military operations or the safety of other men necessitated the establishment of specialist hospitals intended to 'cure' soldier-patients - with the objective of returning them to battle. Among these institutions was the Craiglockhart War Hospital, a military psychiatric unit located in a verdant Edinburgh suburb. Originally functioning from 1880 until the early twentieth century as a hydrotherapy centre, Craiglockhart was requisitioned by the War Office between October 1916 and March 1919 as a hospital for officers suffering from 'neurasthenia', a disorder associated with and occasionally identified interchangeably with the recently-coined 'shell shock'. These two terms were used to describe the wide-ranging psychological symptoms of those 'mental casualties'<sup>439</sup> who were suffering from war neurosis. A 'physicalist' interpretation of war neurosis linked soldiers' symptoms to the 'physical effects of exposure to a shell blast and the damage that it could case to the brain'<sup>440</sup>; later the symptoms were linked with a psychologically-rooted 'hysteria' by Charles Meyers's February 1915 article 'A Contribution to the Study of Shell Shock', although the term had been used by soldiers at the

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<sup>438</sup> Georgina Weatherdon, *Hektoen International: A Journal of Medical Humanities* (2015) <<https://hekint.org/2017/02/22/the-craiglockhart-war-hospital-of-edinburgh>> [accessed 14 November 2017].

<sup>439</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, 'The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).

<sup>440</sup> Ibid.

front prior to the publication of this piece. After 1915, neurasthenia was understood largely in psychological terms, rather than physiological.<sup>441</sup>

Britain's long nineteenth century is a period arguably characterised by, amongst other nationwide organisational structures, its asylum system: a national infrastructure which was modified and reshaped by the Great War. Whereas Chapters One and Two of this thesis have focused on literary examples from publications produced within Crichton and Bethlem hospitals in the nineteenth century, Chapter Three concentrates on the patient-led journal produced at Craiglockhart during wartime. The Edinburgh hospital was an institution which had a more distinct curative purpose, and specifically as a war hospital, it functioned differently to earlier 'asylum' incarnations.

To establish how Craiglockhart differed from the traditional 'asylum', the similarities between the therapeutic practices at the Edinburgh facility and earlier mental health hospitals should first be noted. As part of Craiglockhart's curative approach to shell shock, the establishment employed ergotherapy, also known as 'cure by functioning'. This treatment, which is often identified in modern medical lexicon as 'an early form of occupational therapy'<sup>442</sup>, was advocated by the hospital's Dr Arthur J. Brock, who treated patients alongside psychiatrist Dr William H.R. Rivers, a specialist in neurasthenia as a neurological condition. A pioneering proponent of ergotherapy, Brock encouraged Craiglockhart patients to take part in activities such as public services, light work, hobbies, and socialising, theorising that 'the shocks of War had turned his patients in on themselves, thereby detaching them from society at large to an unhealthy degree'<sup>443</sup>. Reconnection with a semblance of normality and reaffirming individuals'

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<sup>441</sup> Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder was introduced as the appropriate term for this kind of psychiatric condition in 1980.

<sup>442</sup> AM Crossman, 'The Hydra, Captain AJ Brock and the treatment of shell-shock in Edinburgh', *Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh Journal*, 33.2 (2003), 119-123 (p. 122).

<sup>443</sup> Chris Eagle, *Dysfluencies: On Speech Disorders in Modern Literature* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), p. 64.

roles - citizen, community member, or craftsman - within society was imperative for their recuperation.

Taking part in work, recreation, and socialising was therefore a key component within patients' recovery at Craiglockhart, and to this end, activities were prescribed<sup>444</sup>; the systematic approach of the hospital with its schedule and ground space was intended to contribute towards the success of this aspect of treatment. To support patients' recovery, Craiglockhart encouraged soldiers to remain active and social, to take part in light work as well as to engage in recreational hobbies such as engineering classes, sporting clubs, and debating societies. One of the treatment methodologies encouraged by the principles of ergotherapy was an emphasis on creativity. In his 'War Poetry and the Realm of the Sense', Santanus Das identifies that 'the long-established connection between creativity and rehabilitation was something that motivated Brock to encourage his participation in the hospital's literary activities'<sup>445</sup>. Craiglockhart was therefore an institution among several which credited creativity with healing abilities, and, as a result, offered many artistic activities for its inhabitants, including pottery painting, wood carving, leather working, and model boat building. One such creative project supported by the hospital was *The Hydra*, which was the title of the publication produced by patients living and being treated at this psychiatric institution. Printed fortnightly by the local company H. & J. Pillans & Wilson and costing sixpence, the initial series of *The Hydra* - comprising Numbers 1 to 12 - ran from April 28 to September 29 1917. The Edinburgh house organ then took a short break until November 1917, when it relaunched as a monthly 'New Series'. Originally the 'Journal of the Craiglockhart War Hospital' but subsequently subtitled as its 'Magazine', *The Hydra* then ran for nine issues,

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<sup>444</sup> The full extent of this practice of 'prescribing' is disagreed upon. See Anne-Catriona Schaupp, 'The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017), p. 118.

<sup>445</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, 'The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).



until July 1918<sup>446</sup>. *The Hydra*'s varied contents reflect that of earlier patient publications, containing Editorials, poems, concert reporting, short stories, and sports journalism; the publication also featured arrivals, departures and transfers from Bowhill House in Selkirk and Lennel House in Coldstream, which were neighbouring military hospitals. In addition to these features, *The Hydra* contained patients' visual artwork such as cartoons and pen-and-ink illustrations, as well as notes from Bowhill, social notices, and hospital gossip. A number of the works in the magazine are reflective pieces written by soldier-patients, who record or recount their experiences of conflict and convalescence.

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<sup>446</sup> All have been digitised apart three numbers, and one number remains missing. The No.11 (September 15 1917) issue is held at Edinburgh Napier University in the War Poets Collection, while Magdalen College, University of Oxford, holds the only copies of the February 1918 (No. 4) and March 1918 (No. 5) issues in England. Numbers 4 and 5 were located by historian John Garth, and were later donated to the archive at Oxford by a relative of one of the later editors, who also donated a few doubles of some issues to Napier. However, the No. 6 (April 1918) issue of the New Series remains missing.



cure'<sup>447</sup>. The psychiatric concepts which interested Rivers were those which saw patients 'narrating, and therefore "metabolizing" the memory'<sup>448</sup>; he stressed the necessity of reclaiming personal experiences of conflict through retelling. Therapeutic practices at Craiglockhart therefore stressed both linguistically confronting and 'working through' the trauma at the root of neurasthenic symptoms. Employment which enabled patients to undergo these processes was emphasised, and *The Hydra*, as a facilitator for both healing narrativisation and ergotherapeutic social/practical work, is a key example of this. Craiglockhart's particular therapeutic emphasis - which is perhaps unique among similar war hospitals<sup>449</sup> - can be said to represent a continuation of the strategic encouragement of activity and productivity demonstrated in earlier sanatoria, as explored in previous chapters. Continuing the moral therapy and humanistic treatments employed at asylums throughout the previous century, Craiglockhart included recreational ergotherapy within its roster of curative approaches, using work, exercise, socialisation, and creativity as mental health treatment.

This chapter will argue that although there are similarities between Craiglockhart and the therapeutic practices of earlier asylums - and indeed some material likenesses between *The Hydra* and nineteenth century publications - unlike other patient publications explored in this thesis, the Edinburgh war hospital and its house organ functioned strictly within the context of war and its impact on society and mental health treatment. I will explore how *The Hydra*'s curative purpose is complicated by these contexts of conflict, utilising an analytical model which develops that used by Anne-Catriona Schaupp in her 2017 thesis, 'The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War

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<sup>447</sup> Freud's 1914 article 'Remembering. Repeating and Working Through' discusses a process in which memories are analysed and understood, enabling the patient to move past them. Rivers had read Freud's work and was interested in his ideas. For more regarding Freud's development on and application of talking therapy, see Pamela Thurschwell, *Sigmund Freud*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), p. 120.

<sup>448</sup> Meredith Martin, 'Therapeutic Measures: The Hydra and Wilfred Owen at Craiglockhart War Hospital', *Modernism/modernity*, 14.1 (2007), 35-54 (p. 38).

<sup>449</sup> See Crossman on ergotherapeutic encouragement at Craiglockhart and other shell shock hospitals.

Hospital,' that suggests that Craiglockhart's 'therapeutic ethos [can be used] as a framework by which the creative work produced at the hospital can be examined'<sup>450</sup>. Extensive attention will be paid to the medical purposes informing the publication of *The Hydra*, as this chapter considers the impact of cure as informed by conflict upon the magazine's articles. This will lead to an interrogation of how Craiglockhart's officer-patients responded to and engaged with this paradoxical goal of healing minds to return them to the 'massacre at the Front'<sup>451</sup> in the work they created for their house organ.

### 1 - The Hydrans

Those who wrote for the Craiglockhart house organ as part of their therapeutic treatment were referred to by the magazine's first editor as 'Hydrans', as can be seen in the August 4 1917 Editorial. *The Hydra* is among the best known patient publications due to the identity of one of its 'inmate' contributors and sometime editor Wilfred Owen (1893-1918). Whereas exiguous critical attention is paid to *New Moon* and *Under the Dome*, there are a number of articles which address the Craiglockhart magazine, nearly all of which are in reference to the war poet<sup>452</sup>. The first six issues of *The Hydra* were edited by Owen, who also contributed, amongst other Editorial content and reviews under the pseudonym 'Mustard Seed'<sup>453</sup>, two anonymous poems to the publication - 'Song of Songs' and 'The Next War', penned following the three war poems he had completed before arriving at Craiglockhart<sup>454</sup>. 'Song of Songs' was published anonymously in

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<sup>450</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, 'The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).

<sup>451</sup> Georgina Weatherdon, *Hektoen International: A Journal of Medical Humanities* (2015) <<https://hekint.org/2017/02/22/the-craiglockhart-war-hospital-of-edinburgh>> [accessed 14 November 2017].

<sup>452</sup> See Elliot, Martin, and Schaupp, among others.

<sup>453</sup> Neil McLennan, 'Wilfred Owen's Edinburgh Enlightenment', *The Royal Society of Edinburgh* lecture. Edinburgh Napier University, Craiglockhart Campus. 15 August 2017.

<sup>454</sup> These were 'A New Heaven', 'With an Identity Disc', and '1914'.

the September 1 1917 issue, and was the first of Owen's poems to appear in print. 'The Next War', which opens with an epigraph taken from fellow poet Siegfried Sassoon's 'A Letter Home', was published in the September 29 1917 issue. Owen's 'The Dead Beat' was also printed in part in one of his Editorials, although it was not published in completed form in *The Hydra*.

Arriving at Craiglockhart on June 26 1917, Owen had been encouraged in his literary endeavours by Brock, who had recognised the young man's artistic temperament and handed him literary assignments as part of his treatment. This included the responsibility of editing the hospital's magazine, which Owen ran from July 21 1917 until his departure from the hospital in November 1917 to return to the Front: the last issue he worked on was Number 1 of the New Series, September 29 1917. While Brock acted as Owen's therapist, Rivers was doctor to another well-known name associated with Craiglockhart: war poet Siegfried Sassoon (1886-1967), a literary idol for Owen. An established writer before he was admitted to the Edinburgh hospital on July 23 1917, he continued to hone his craft while in the hospital, which he referred to as 'Dottyville'<sup>455</sup>. Sassoon had been brought to Craiglockhart following the printing of his written protest against the war, 'Finished With the War: A Soldier's Declaration' (1917), and thus his treatment at the hospital was not focused on curing neurasthenia but instead upon bringing him back into line. Sassoon contributed six poetic works to *The Hydra* which included, under the initials 'S.S.', 'Dreamers', published September 1 1917, and 'Wirers', in September 29 1917. After his departure from the hospital, three more poems were published under his full name: 'Thrushes' in November 1917, and both 'Break of Day' and 'Base Details' in December 1917. His 'The Rear Guard' was printed in the October 1917 issue. Much has been written about the literary relationship between Owen and Sassoon, in which the much younger author was

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<sup>455</sup> Thomas E F Webb, "Dottyville"—Craiglockhart War Hospital and shell-shock treatment in the First World War', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 99.7 (2006), 342-346 (p. 342).

impressed by the elder and brought along copies of his own poetic work for his idol to critique. While Sassoon warmed to Owen's poetic attempts, their conversations informed the younger writer's work during the few months he was a patient at Craiglockhart; they discussed the political contexts of the war and Sassoon loaned Owen *Under Fire*, Henri Barbusse's 1916 novel, as well as other books arguing the ethical dubiousness of continuing the war. Owen penned several poems after his meeting with Sassoon in August 1917: 'Anthem for Doomed Youth' was written in September and had been edited slightly by Sassoon, who had removed some of the nationalistic imagery from the work, while Owen's most famous work 'Dulce et Decorum est' was also written during his time at the hospital.

Owen jointly-edited *The Hydra* with J.B. Salmond, who was a fellow war poet and by the time of his hospitalisation an experienced journalist. This partnership continued until Owen was discharged from the hospital on October 30 1917, after editing six issues of the magazine. The editorship of the house organ was taken up from November 30 1917 to March 5 1918 by George Henry Bonner, who also 'contributed numerous poems to the magazine'<sup>456</sup>. Invalided out of the Army at some time between November 1916 and January 1917 with neurasthenia and admitted to Craiglockhart on November 30 1917, Bonner was a prolific writer in poetry and prose who would go on to regularly contribute to literary journals after the war. Contributing seven poems under the pseudonyms 'H', 'H.M.P.', and 'G.A.'<sup>457</sup>, Bonner arrived at the hospital shortly after Sassoon had been discharged, although, as has been shown, the second issue of *The Hydra* under his editorship contained works by Sassoon.

As has been demonstrated, many of the 'Hydrans' were officers with similar experiences in that they were characterised by war; patients were all undergoing therapy for disorders associated with their time in conflict. It was suggested earlier that there are distinct similarities

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<sup>456</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, 'The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).

<sup>457</sup> Ibid.

between the ergotherapeutic methodology of Craiglockhart and the moral therapy of earlier sanatoria, indicating the Edinburgh hospital's position within an evolving discourse of mental health treatments and practices. Analysis of the historical context in which *The Hydra* came into being highlights the point at which Craiglockhart deviates from this asylum tradition. Mental doctoring during the First World War, historian Peter Leese suggests, was shaped by 'wartime medical, military and civilian attitudes, [as well as] the treatment of men in France by army medical officers, related thinking on mental illness and asylum reform, [and] pensions policy and therapy'<sup>458</sup>. Such factors, Leese states, directly impacted on mental health care in British war hospitals for shell shocked officers, and illuminate the nuanced and complex social and medical environment in which such patients were diagnosed and treated. In comparison with earlier mental health facilities, there was arguably a more complex Hippocratic purpose to the curative work performed in First World War 'shell shock' institutions, and this impacted the medical treatments which were offered to patients. Therapeutic practice, employed in a war hospital as psychosocial treatment method, had what scholar Chris Eagle refers to as a 'compromised goal': as 'with most other Wartime treatments for shell shock, [ergotherapy's aim was] of returning the soldier to a state of serviceability as expediently as possible'<sup>459</sup>. Craiglockhart's developments upon earlier modes of psychiatric care can be understood as distinct both in objective: officers had been sent to the hospital specifically because they posed a potential threat to the success of military operations, and psychological recovery was imperative to returning able men to the Front. Whereas hospitals such as Crichton and Bethlem defined 'wellness', as I have suggested, as returning patients to forms of 'civilised' life, Craiglockhart not only attempted to 'cure'

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<sup>458</sup> Peter Leese, "Broken Men: Shell Shock, Treatment and Recovery in Britain 1914–30. By Fiona Reid. Continuum. 2010; Treating the Trauma of the Great War: Soldiers, Civilians and Psychiatry in France 1914–1940. By Gregory M. Thomas. Louisiana State University Press. 2009; The Politics of War Trauma: The Aftermath of World War II in Eleven European Countries. Edited by Jolande Withuis and Annet Mooij. Aksant. 2010.", *Annual Bulletin of Historical Literature*, 96.1 (2012), 89-92 (p. 90).

<sup>459</sup> Chris Eagle, *Dysfluencies: On Speech Disorders in Modern Literature* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), p. 64.

patients to alleviate them of their shell shock symptoms, but more specifically also to serve the patriotic duty of returning the men to battle.

The context of conflict also impacts the hospital's medical categorisation about shell shock. There were attempts from officials to form a clear distinction between shell shock and traditional ideas of madness, and between war neurosis hospitals and traditional mental health institutions. During the First World War, 'military and political authorities persistently argued that shell-shocked men were not mad, or that shell shocked men should not be treated as mad men'<sup>460</sup>, and certain mental health institutions requisitioned as war hospitals changed their titles to reflect this<sup>461</sup>. These practices demonstrate efforts to avoid stigmatizing officers treated for neurasthenia by disassociating shell shock from other conceptualisations of 'madness'. This decision to reframe shell shock as not-madness was structural and political; it was a product of propaganda efforts to maintain war morale. This sometimes reached an extreme in the conduct of certain military and political authorities, which implied a 'fundamental scepticism'<sup>462</sup> of shell shock, and a belief that patient-soldiers were best 'hidden' from public view. Even at Craiglockhart, which had been established specifically to treat those suffering from neurasthenia, Thomas E F Webb's analysis of the hospital's admission summaries demonstrates that psychological issues are 'subordinated to any physical complaint in the patient'<sup>463</sup>.

Mental health issues specific to psychological trauma, particularly trauma incurred through conflict or warfare, should therefore be considered as distinct from this thesis's earlier

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<sup>460</sup> Peter Leese, "'Broken Men: Shell Shock, Treatment and Recovery in Britain 1914–30. By Fiona Reid. Continuum. 2010; Treating the Trauma of the Great War: Soldiers, Civilians and Psychiatry in France 1914–1940. By Gregory M. Thomas. Louisiana State University Press. 2009; The Politics of War Trauma: The Aftermath of World War II in Eleven European Countries. Edited by Jolande Withuis and Annet Mooij. Aksant. 2010.'", *Annual Bulletin of Historical Literature*, 96.1 (2012), 89-92 (p. 90).

<sup>461</sup> See Katherine Slay, *Graylingwell War Hospital 1915-1919* (New Chichester Papers, Chichester: 2013).

<sup>462</sup> Thomas E F Webb, "'Dottyville'—Craiglockhart War Hospital and shell-shock treatment in the First World War', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 99.7 (2006), 342-346 (p. 342).

<sup>463</sup> *Ibid*, p. 344.



discussions of a more generalised ‘madness’. Shell shock as related to, but separate from, a generalised idea of ‘madness’ is a useful distinction to maintain in this thesis, as it highlights the unique circumstances under which patients suffered from this particular form of mental disorder. Understandings of ‘wellbeing’ and the purposes of recovery at Craiglockhart were shaped by military objectives: the context of conflict destabilizes understandings of the Edinburgh war hospital as a twentieth-century development of the nineteenth century ‘asylum’, and politicises the identification of shell shock as a psychological issue. Primary sources such as *The Hydra* should be considered as a product of, and response to, these discourses.

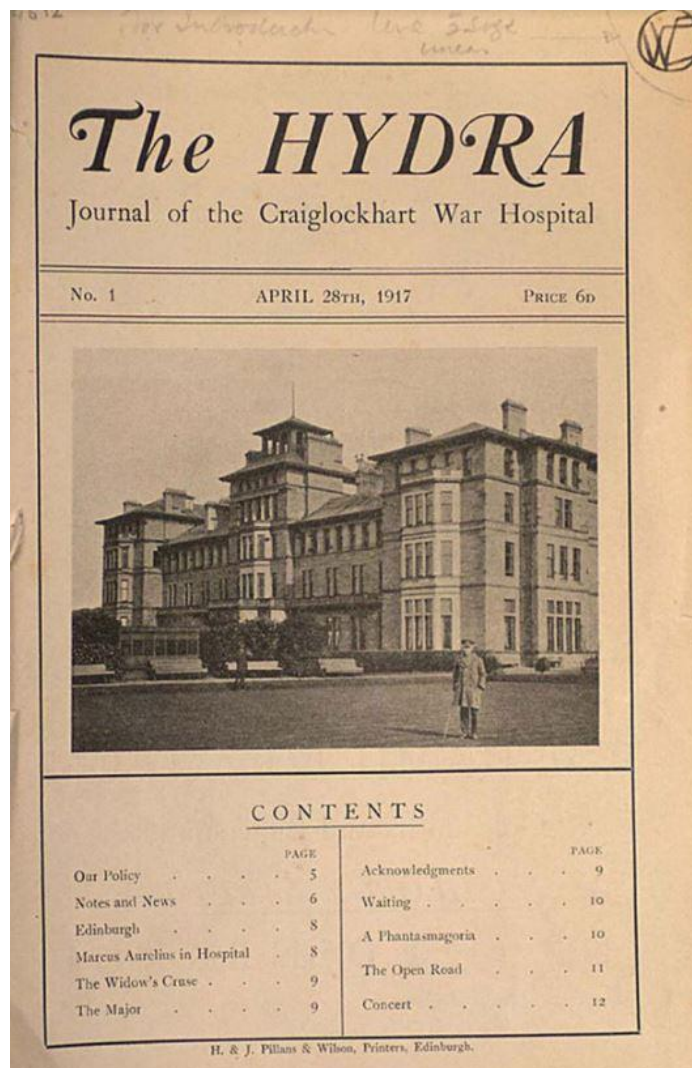


Figure 10: Cover of *The Hydra*, Vol. 1. No. 1. Picture: digitised archive.

## 2 - The Hydra as dual-method tool of healing

Brock, who regularly contributed features, used the magazine as a platform for further encouraging ergotherapeutic work. AM Crossman suggests that the doctor ‘used *The Hydra*, and the Field Club, of which he was president, to encourage patients to undertake their own Regional Survey’<sup>464</sup> and to engage with such practical work. An article by Brock published in the January 1918 issue of *The Hydra* concluded ‘Labor omnia vincit’, or ‘work conquers all’, a phrase in line with his ergotherapeutic philosophies and thus promoting the ideology to his readers. Aside from the specific ‘prescribing’ of writing given by medical staff such as Brock, the publication’s editorial team actively encouraged the community at Craiglockhart to contribute towards the journal. This is evidenced in the Editorial of Number 1: ‘We must have support. Particularly this is true in regard to literary contributions [...] We ask for contributions from every one, whether patients in the Hospital or members of the staff’<sup>465</sup>. Although staff were encouraged to contribute articles, and there were a few hospital officials, such as Brock - who is described in one edition of *The Hydra* as its ‘staunch friend’<sup>466</sup> - who penned works for the magazine, it seems that the emphasis was largely on patients in particular to produce features, as they were thought to benefit from such ergotherapeutic writing work. Unlike *Under the Dome*, *The Hydra* appears to have been primarily the work of those being treated at the Edinburgh hospital, at which the journal is said to have been ‘entirely patient-run’<sup>467</sup>. This meant that the drive for patient contributions largely came from the patients themselves. Such encouragement was often communicated through the magazine’s regular Editorials, which stated the aim that *The Hydra*’s

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<sup>464</sup> AM Crossman, ‘The Hydra, Captain AJ Brock and the treatment of shell-shock in Edinburgh’, *Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh Journal*, 33.2 (2003), 119-123 (p. 121).

<sup>465</sup> Anon, ‘Our Policy’, *The Hydra*, 1.1 (1917), 5 (p. 5).

<sup>466</sup> Anon, ‘Editorial’, *The Hydra*, 2.7 (1918), 1-2 (p. 1).

<sup>467</sup> Meredith Martin, ‘Therapeutic Measures: The Hydra and Wilfred Owen at Craiglockhart War Hospital’, *Modernism/modernity*, 14.1 (2007), 35-54 (p. 44).

contents would provide ‘both amusement and food for thought’<sup>468</sup>, inspiring soldier-patients to provide interesting content for one another to enjoy, and also suggesting the pleasure of having a byline in a publication: ‘[n]ext time you have nothing to do, go and write something. It will probably be printed, and there is a certain amount of satisfaction in seeing one’s name in print’<sup>469</sup>. Meredith Martin points out that this emphasis on contributions ran deeper than a general request for stories, poems, or pictures. She states:

‘The magazine takes on “ergophobia” is a leitmotif, spoofing one officer who cannot think of a useful hobby and begins to have nightmares about his inability to occupy himself, and scolding patients who do not submit writing to the magazine as sufferers of “hydra-phobia”’<sup>470</sup>.

Here, Martin suggests that undertaking the therapeutic process of creating written work was deemed so imperative that social pressure was employed by the patient-contributors to encourage more patients to take part.

As with earlier patient publications such as *New Moon*, *The Hydra* was intended to act as a method of delivering therapy to its patient-authors and -readers, and engagement with the journal was promoted by both medical staff and the patient editorial team. Chapter One argued that the Crichton Royal Institution’s house organ was deliberately intended to function as a ‘tool’ of healing for the patients who wrote for it - and for those who read it, who might benefit from consuming the magazine as a receptive (and, perhaps, captive) audience. It was further suggested that *New Moon*’s role as this ‘tool’ of healing should be understood as ‘dual-method’: the content of the assigned texts, and the practices of reading and writing, were two methods of administering moral therapy to the magazine’s readers and writers. This literary ‘dual-method’ process of delivering therapy is also present in *The Hydra*, which performs a similar curative role

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<sup>468</sup> Anon, ‘Editorial’, *The Hydra*, 2.8 (1918), 1-3 (p. 1).

<sup>469</sup> Ibid.

<sup>470</sup> Meredith Martin, ‘Therapeutic Measures: The Hydra and Wilfred Owen at Craiglockhart War Hospital’, *Modernism/modernity*, 14.1 (2007), 35-54 (p. 46).

for Craiglockhart's patients as *New Moon* did for Crichton's 'inmates'; a factor which, incidentally, further indicates ergotherapy to be a development of moral therapy. In introducing the 'dual-method' framework in Chapter One, it was claimed that the Crichton publication operated as both a literal literary 'device' which healed through engaging readers and writers in the practical 'work' of creating and understanding, and as a collection of works which contained messages advocating a particular understanding of mental wellbeing. As has been stated, the context of war shapes *The Hydra* in its objectives, execution, and reception, and complicates the magazine's role as a device for delivering therapy. This chapter will suggest that Craiglockhart's house organ fulfils this ergotherapeutic role, but within this specific context of war.

*The Hydra*'s works demonstrate Brock's emphasis on the act of writing as ergotherapeutic operating in tandem with Rivers's theories of 'talking through' issues by articulating memories - the act of writing and the themes of such writing are two components of the 'cure' to shell shock. Whereas 'cure by functioning', as promoted by the former, was enacted by patients in the creation of poetry, writing about experiences in war and convalescence emphasises the 'expressive aspects of Freudian psychotherapy practised by Rivers (narrating traumatic experiences in order to "move through" them)'<sup>471</sup>. My reading of *The Hydra* as 'dual-method tool of healing' reflects this.

#### 2a - *The Hydra* as ergotherapeutic tool

In the case of the former function - the magazine acting as a practical tool of ergotherapeutic healing - general creative exercises such as reading, writing, and drawing, were key components of ergotherapy as a development of moral therapy. In his role as proponent of ergotherapy, Brock recommended such activities, and particularly creative endeavours, as positive methods of

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<sup>471</sup> Ibid, p. 37.

helping soldiers recover: *The Hydra* played a key role in the delivery of this therapy. Writing with definitive structures and conventions was considered to have potentially therapeutic qualities for ‘educated “officer-poets”’<sup>472</sup>. The practical creation of poetry, in particular, had a specific function within the ergotherapeutic writing practices as part of the healing which was encouraged at Craiglockhart. Previous critical attention paid to *The Hydra* has often focused on its poetic contents; in addition to interest in the specific works by war poets such as Owen and Sassoon, poetry as a form is of significant interest to scholars of literature of this period as it was a particularly ‘popular avenue of expression for soldiers during the First World War as a way to comprehend traumas experienced at the front’<sup>473</sup>. Brock theorised that producing familiar metrical forms of poetry addressed the lack of ‘order’ thought to be a key psychological issue for shell shocked patients, whose minds had been “shattered”. Linking the act of composing in meter to ‘controlling time’<sup>474</sup>, Martin reads Brock’s ergotherapeutic methods as ‘forc[ing] the patients to actively and metrically order their mental chaos [in which the structure of] the five-beat line of a poem, a first-person narrative or short-story’<sup>475</sup>, which would enable patients to reframe and recoordinate their scattered thoughts. This understanding of the purpose of poetic exercises for *The Hydra* is reflected by Deanne Elliot in her paper “‘All people think us mad’: Expression, Protest, and Healing in the Poetry of *The Hydra* at Craiglockhart War Hospital’, which maintains that such practice provided an outlet for soldiers suffering from shell shock by presenting the opportunity of ‘reordering those mentally trying experiences, and therefore [acted as] part of the healing process’<sup>476</sup>. To correct these symptoms of shell shock, writing in familiar metric formats

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<sup>472</sup> Deanne Elliot, “‘All people think us mad’: Expression, Protest, and Healing in the Poetry of *The Hydra* at Craiglockhart War Hospital’, *University of California, Riverside Undergraduate Research Journal*, 9.1 (2015), 25-30 (p. 26).

<sup>473</sup> *Ibid*, p. 25.

<sup>474</sup> Meredith Martin, ‘Therapeutic Measures: The Hydra and Wilfred Owen at Craiglockhart War Hospital’, *Modernism/modernity*, 14.1 (2007), 35-54 (p. 37).

<sup>475</sup> *Ibid*, p. 41.

<sup>476</sup> Deanne Elliot, “‘All people think us mad’: Expression, Protest, and Healing in the Poetry of *The Hydra* at Craiglockhart War Hospital’, *University of California, Riverside Undergraduate Research Journal*, 9.1 (2015), 25-30 (p. 25).

served as both a subconscious disciplining, but also acted more specifically as a practical, therapeutic method which was thought to reorder soldier-poets' disordered and disengaged minds.

I suggest that this literary method of processing trauma is also represented in prose examples from *The Hydra*. 'The Counter Attack - A Story Full of Morals' is an account of a day experienced by author 'Windup', published in the July 21 1917 issue. The formatting of this first person piece results in the work seeming broken and irregular in its speech pattern:

'Nothing doing; one shop finished: and I felt sure that poor shop girl wouldn't have the counter cleared in time to knock off at 6! [...] Careless lift boy! He banged the door - that did me in . . . . When I came to, Nurse was quite excited as she had struck the exact colour she was in search of, and in silk (let me whisper it), openwork too!'<sup>477</sup>.

In using excessive punctuation, breaking sentences regularly with exclamation marks and semicolons and frequently using ellipsis, this piece echoes the scattered or shattered thought processes of a soldier-patient recovering from shell shock. This piece of work could represent the author's early attempts to use writing as a method to restructure his language in a bid to reform order within his own psychological condition.

Brock's methodology conceptualised 'ordered' writing as a route not only to mental clarity, but to the social reconnection deemed crucial to patients' recovery. As Martin suggests,

'therapeutic measures of meter were used as a method of reordering a neurasthenic patient's chaotic psyche [while the] active metrical exercise of fitting fragments of experience into a predetermined order that connects the writer, through the history of the form, to the social world'<sup>478</sup>.

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<sup>477</sup> Anon, 'The Counter Attack - A Story Full of Morals', *The Hydra*, 1.7 (1917), 10 (p. 10).

<sup>478</sup> Meredith Martin, 'Therapeutic Measures: The Hydra and Wilfred Owen at Craiglockhart War Hospital', *Modernism/modernity*, 14.1 (2007), 35-54 (p. 37).

Replicating 'familiar' writing structures could serve as a link between soldier-patients and the wider community with which they were encouraged to reconnect. The Edinburgh war hospital placed great emphasis on social interaction and communal experience, although this philosophy had been present at the medical bases set up to immediately treat patients on the front line. Before their conditions were deemed poor enough to require their being sent to Craiglockhart, officer-patients were cared for at neurological treatment centres, which would 'enabl[e] them to remain close to their comrades with whom they had formed meaningful bonds'<sup>479</sup>, and this philosophy was reflected by medical practices at the hospital. Brock was influenced by Patrick Geddes's theories that 'mass migration from the country to the city during the nineteenth century had caused people to become dissociated from their environment, and the relationship 'place-work-folk' had broken down'<sup>480</sup>, and thought that soldiers' experiences of conflict could disengage them from their communities. A sense of identity within a community was therefore part of the 'process by which the neurasthenic patient was brought back into meaningful contact with his environment'<sup>481</sup>, an ideology Brock communicated to his patients through his explanation of the relevance of the Antaeus myth in the January 1918 issue of *The Hydra*:

'Now surely every officer who comes to Craiglockhart recognises that, in a way, he is himself Antaeus who has been taken from his Mother Earth and well-nigh crushed to death by the war giant or military machine [...] Antaeus typifies the occupation cure at Craiglockhart. His story is the justification of our activities'<sup>482</sup>.

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<sup>479</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, 'The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).

<sup>480</sup> AM Crossman, 'The Hydra, Captain AJ Brock and the treatment of shell-shock in Edinburgh', *Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh Journal*, 33.2 (2003), 119-123 (p. 120).

<sup>481</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, 'The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).

<sup>482</sup> Arthur J. Brock, 'Antaeus, or Back to the Land.', *The Hydra*, 2.3 (1918), 3-4 (p. 3).

Antaeus, a wrestler who drew his strength from his surroundings, was defeated after Hercules lifted him into the air and away from his source of power; this story was adopted as a metaphor for Brock to express his belief that a ‘modern individual [could regain wellbeing] if he was able to connect meaningfully with his wider environment’<sup>483</sup>. Soldier-patients were intended to identify with the temporarily defeated Antaeus, who could be returned to full power upon being regrounded in “normal” life and society. Reintegrating into “normality” - a social life, meaningful employment, a creative outlet - would, in theory, bring the soldier-patients “back down to earth”.

Craiglockhart’s notion of community seems to encompass many real and imagined groups - the soldiers’ relationships to each other and their institutional home, the citizens of Edinburgh and of Great Britain, and a literary sphere, to which patients were linked via *The Hydra*: it was thought that familiar writing structures would help patients redevelop a ‘connection with the larger community of English writing and of Britain in general’<sup>484</sup>. Schaupp discusses the magazine’s role within a ‘wider outpouring of soldier magazines’, specifically front line ‘trench newspaper’ *The Wipers Times* and the *Craigleith Hospital Chronicle* of the Second Scottish General Hospital, and suggests that the Craiglockhart house organ should be understood as ‘participat[ing] in the wider literary culture of the conflict’<sup>485</sup>, a national community of shell shock patients using creativity as a method of recovery.

Shell shock psychiatrists such as Rivers - who expressed boredom with ‘uneducated’ men, believing that ‘officers possessed a higher faculty for expression’<sup>486</sup> - utilised the

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<sup>483</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, 'The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).

<sup>484</sup> Deanne Elliot, “‘All people think us mad’: Expression, Protest, and Healing in the Poetry of The Hydra at Craiglockhart War Hospital’, *University of California, Riverside Undergraduate Research Journal*, 9.1 (2015), 25-30 (p. 27).

<sup>485</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, 'The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).

<sup>486</sup> Meredith Martin, ‘Therapeutic Measures: The Hydra and Wilfred Owen at Craiglockhart War Hospital’, *Modernism/modernity*, 14.1 (2007), 35-54 (p. 38).



knowledge of poetry-writing of many officer-patients, obtained through their often privileged education, as a method of encouraging such therapeutic resocialisation. In this practice, the invoking of literary conventions familiar to officer-patients were thought to provide healing possibilities for shell shock sufferers, reconnecting them with the security and safety of “the real world”, and with their shared pre-war class. Alongside the encouraged practical application of literary convention, the magazine’s frequent references to classics, the fine arts, and literature were also intended to unite the patient community as writers and readers. Brock believed that such allusions to mythology, painting, and gentlemanly pursuits would help forge the ‘kind of connection between officers that [he] longed for [as] the magazine allowed the officers to reconnect with both their social class and with their past communities of school and home’<sup>487</sup>. The similar pre-war class status of the officer-patients meant that there was a common ‘language’ of cultural and social understanding among the Craiglockhart inhabitants, and thus reading and recognising this ‘language’ in *The Hydra* could aid patients’ therapeutic reconnection with their communities.

## 2b - Content as curative

The concept of ‘content as curative’ is the second component of the ‘dual-method’ framework of understanding *The Hydra* as tool of healing. This is the notion that the ideas or subjects explored by patient-officers in their articles were thought to offer healing potential for authors, and, to some degree, readers. Medical staff at the Edinburgh hospital emphasised this notion of ‘content as curative’ with reference to wartime experiences; for the psychiatrists at Craiglockhart, the very process of ‘writing through’ specific memories, thoughts, and emotions had therapeutic merit as a way of overcoming traumatic experiences. In his ‘An Address on The Repression of

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<sup>487</sup> Ibid, p. 44.

War Experience', published on February 1918 in *The Lancet*, Rivers theorised that 'war neurosis' was not specifically a result of the distressing experience of conflict, but instead 'the attempt to banish from the mind distressing memories of warfare or painful affective states which have come into being as a result of their war experiences'<sup>488</sup>. Repression caused greater issues for soldiers, and it was by 'examining the circumstances of their breakdown, combined with interrogating their wider emotional experiences'<sup>489</sup>, that soldier-patients were able to recover. To avoid officer-patients being psychologically limited by their pasts, Rivers's theory promoted the use of creative activities to engage with traumatic memories, express and explore emotions, and process experiences of conflict, specifically as a method of overcoming the psychological breakdown and physiological symptoms of shell shock. I will explore curative content in *The Hydra* more extensively below.

## 2c - The dual-method in action

Hydran articles which discuss war memories or emotions pertaining to conflict demonstrate both aspects of the magazine's 'dual-method' process of healing at play simultaneously. In works which directly address traumatic experiences of the war (and specifically circumstances in which soldiers experienced injury or artillery bombardment) the therapeutic act of writing for *The Hydra* operates alongside the therapeutic expression of experience. This is exemplified by 'Ballades of France. No. 2. Any Private to Any Private.', a poetic work from the November 1917 issue which directly depicts the writer's memories of war. Written in a phonetic Scottish dialect, this piece of work describes a trench scene in which the speaker's friend 'Wullie' has been

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<sup>488</sup> William H.R. Rivers, 'An Address on The Repression of War Experience', *The Lancet*, 191.4927 (1918), 173-177 (p. 173).

<sup>489</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, 'The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).

killed, and his brutalised corpse is being brought ‘down the line’<sup>490</sup>. He is grateful that Wullie’s wife will not see her husband’s body - ‘Man, she’s spared a sicht’ - but fears that now she is a war widow, she will be abandoned by the state: ‘They’ll pester her, and crack a dagoned lot; An’ Heaven kens, they’ll lave her awfu’ ticht’<sup>491</sup>. The poem conjures a clear image of a traumatising incident witnessed by the speaker, specifically seeing the bodies of fellow soldiers now left nothing more than a ‘mess’, suffering grief at the death of a close friend (‘A clever loon/Was Wullie [...] A’body liked him round about the toun [...] An’ noo he’s deid.’<sup>492</sup>), and worrying about the emotional and financial concerns for widows such casualties leave behind. Here, the practical act of writing down direct memories and emotions acts as a tool of ergotherapeutic healing, both fulfilling the criteria of Brock’s ‘cure by functioning’ and Rivers’s process of ‘writing through’ traumatic memories in order to recover from them. Poems ‘that articulated war-time experiences printed in *The Hydra* were likely the result of Dr. Brock’s therapy methods’<sup>493</sup>, suggests Elliot, implying that works that demonstrated the act of depicting lived experiences through the written word were often the result of this ergotherapeutic process of engaging with the past in order to progress. ‘Ballades of France. No. 2. Any Private to Any Private.’ demonstrates the enactment of recovering from trauma through the practice of writing, while directly exploring the root memories in order to move past them: the ‘dual-method’ practice of *The Hydra* in action. This reading can be applied to any piece of work produced for the publication which utilises themes of conflict or convalescence as a method of ‘working through’ trauma.

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<sup>490</sup> Anon, ‘Ballades of France. No. 2. Any Private to Any Private.’, *The Hydra*, 2.1 (1917), 9 (p. 9).

<sup>491</sup> Ibid.

<sup>492</sup> Ibid.

<sup>493</sup> Deanne Elliot, “‘All people think us mad’: Expression, Protest, and Healing in the Poetry of The Hydra at Craiglockhart War Hospital’, *University of California, Riverside Undergraduate Research Journal*, 9.1 (2015), 25-30 (p. 27).

### 3 - Themes of conflict

Returning to the concept of ‘content as curative’, articles produced for the publication that examined topics related to conflict either took the form of direct records of wartime experiences, or stories or poems that creatively interpreted themes of war (or, in several cases, articles that combined elements of both). Whereas ‘Ballades of France. No. 2. Any Private to Any Private’, as suggested by the above analysis, is an example of the former, other works explored war as an interpretive theme, as metaphor or allegory, or through symbolism. I argue that these ‘abstracted’ creative explorations of war found particular expressive potential in the poetry of *The Hydra*. My reading is supported by Schaupp, who identifies a similar relationship between abstracted exploration of war trauma and the poetic form. She suggests that articles in *The Hydra* can be seen as representative of a ‘tension between the repression and articulation of experience’<sup>494</sup> in which patients struggled to overcome repression and verbalise their emotional states, engage with memories, and critically examine the conditions of their psychological disorders. This tension, she argues, is particularly visible in the exploration of wartime settings in poetic examples from *The Hydra*, as the form provided a space to tackle difficult and upsetting themes with the degree of specificity which best suited the writer. As ‘a means by which difficult emotional experiences could be engaged with and the movement from the repression to the articulation of experience negotiated’<sup>495</sup>, the expressive potential of poetry offered Hydrans a creative outlet to discuss thoughts and memories creatively, or through a form of poetic abstraction.

An example of this can be seen in the use of narrative positioning of war as the antithesis of nature, and the two as metaphors for evil and good, a theme which features in a number of *The*

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<sup>494</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, 'The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).

<sup>495</sup> Ibid.

*Hydra*'s works, including in 'Synjin's' poem 'A Shattered Hope', published in the July 7 1917 issue. This poem personifies nature as a mother, an ever-giving force which the speaker aspires to mirror; her ability to take 'the crumbling earth' and 'give it room to be a greater spirit' is what 'Synjin' hopes to be able to do with his lover, the 'fellow soul to live with'<sup>496</sup> that he had hoped for. In 'A Shattered Hope', Nature experiences more grief when 'she takes back the life of a dead world' than she does giving birth to 'a new one severed from her depth', a pain the speaker feels as he 'yielded thee'<sup>497</sup>, 'thee' being the object of affection, from their emotional bonds. This poem uses love's echoing of Nature as a benevolent and forgiving force as a metaphor for mankind's ability to also demonstrate these positive traits and allow a new, kinder world to emerge. Elliot shares such a reading and states that 'A Shattered Hope' uses a personification of Nature which 'offers redemption for the injury inflicted on her by the war and forgiveness to those complicit in her attack by bringing forth a new world for them to inhabit'<sup>498</sup>. I suggest that this poem demonstrates the author's use of metaphor to 'write through' his experience of war; seeing violence enacted, 'Synjin' says that he will be relinquishing the 'crumbling earth' or 'dead world' of war-stricken Europe to allow in 'hope/ That greater happiness will thence arise'<sup>499</sup>. In this reading, the 'poem embodies its author's willingness to begin engaging with his distressing emotional experiences'<sup>500</sup> by cautiously addressing the topic as metaphor: in addition to providing the ergotherapeutic experience of writing about war memories, engaging with conflict as an abstracted poetic theme enables the writer to creatively and critically engage with the conditions of their illness. By framing the suffering 'yielded' by 'Synjin' and his fellow

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<sup>496</sup> Anon, 'A Shattered Hope.', *The Hydra*, 1.6 (1917), 11 (p. 11).

<sup>497</sup> Ibid.

<sup>498</sup> Deanne Elliot, "'All people think us mad": Expression, Protest, and Healing in the Poetry of The Hydra at Craiglockhart War Hospital', *University of California, Riverside Undergraduate Research Journal*, 9.1 (2015), 25-30 (p. 26).

<sup>499</sup> Anon, 'A Shattered Hope.', *The Hydra*, 1.6 (1917), 11 (p. 11).

<sup>500</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, 'The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).

soldiers as a cosmic sacrifice for the benefit of a new and better world, the literary device of metaphor enables the poet to conceptualise his circumstances as something which makes sense and has a larger purpose. As with direct records of war, creating more abstracted accounts of conflict experiences through the medium of poetry offers an alternative method of incorporating ‘traumatic experiences [...] into the wider narrative of the patient’s life’<sup>501</sup>. The poetic form here acts as an expressive means of interpreting conflict memories in order to heal.

‘Thoughts on the Human Body’ also explores war as an abstracted topic in order to process traumatic memories. Published in the June 9 1917 issue of *The Hydra*, this article combines a poetic work, entitled ‘The Incarnate Word’, with a prose introduction. The author of this piece, ‘Cockney’, discusses at length the beauty and perfection of the human physical form, writing:

‘It is impossible for the human mind to imagine anything more beautiful than the human body. It represents the limit of our imagination. Those who do not regard the human body as the highest expression of beauty have perverted minds, and the measure of their perversion may be estimated according to the degrees of indifference’<sup>502</sup>.

Here, the author suggests his belief that the human form represents the height of aesthetic pleasure, while he uses the derisive term ‘perversion’ to indicate his distaste in any other opinion about the body’s sanctity. The writer is clearly demonstrating a concern that others do not share the high priority he grants to the human form. ‘Cockney’ goes on to discuss the perfect beauty of the body in context with ideas of a ‘incomplete’ or ‘corrupted’ physical form:

‘Cherubs, satyrs, mermaids, spirits, and all disembodied and de-sexualised conceptions represent man’s impatience with his highest means of expression. They are the work of minds incapable of the highest sense of beauty, and are perverse attempts to grasp by phantasy that complete satisfaction which the human body represents’<sup>503</sup>.

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<sup>501</sup> Ibid.

<sup>502</sup> Anon, ‘Thoughts on the Human Body.’, *The Hydra*, 1.4 (1917), 17 (p. 17).

<sup>503</sup> Ibid.

This article's positioning of bodies as aesthetic figures - the ideal human male or female form, versus the quasi-humanoid creatures as 'perversions' of natural beauty - can be read as Cockney's abstracted exploration of the physical impact of conflict on the bodies of soldiers, 'disembodied' by conflict and left as incompletely human as the animal-human hybridised mermaid or satyr.

Cockney's conceptualisation of the 'perfect' human body as one free from any aberrations can be directly understood within a literary-psychological context: these deconstructed, mythical forms reflect a widespread understanding of shell shock as a disorder which 'breaks' the body apart, while near or actual physical impact on the body shatters the mind. Such anxiety about the completion of the human form is reflected in a then-contemporary short story by Richard Aldington, 'The Case of Lieutenant Hall'. Suffering from war neuroses, Lieutenant Hall experiences hallucinations about a German soldier he has killed. Refusing to take leave and visit a brothel, he states: 'I said that since I had seen so many men's bodies mangled, suffering and dead, the thought of human flesh was repulsive to me'<sup>504</sup>. Men, such as those in Aldington's story, Trudi Tate suggests in her introduction to a collection of stories from the Great War, 'are spectacles of injury, mutilation, and suffering'<sup>505</sup>, experiences which result in a severe hatred of women as those which have survived full and able bodied from conflict, 'blamed for men's suffering, and hated for their wholeness'<sup>506</sup> and for escaping such debilitating physical and mental anguish. 'Wholeness' is here understood both as a physical state - in the case of those who have escaped injury - and also in terms of soldiers' psychology, in which their former 'complete' minds are shattered by shell shock. As in 'The Case of Lieutenant Hall',

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<sup>504</sup> Richard Aldington, 'The Case of Lieutenant Hall', in *Women, Men and the Great War: An anthology of stories*, ed. by Trudi Tate (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 77-91 (p. 85).

<sup>505</sup> Trudi Tate 'Introduction', in *Women, Men and the Great War: An anthology of stories*, ed. by Trudi Tate (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 77-91 (p. 5).

<sup>506</sup> *Ibid.*

‘Thoughts on the Human Body’s’ themes of the impact of conflict on both the body and mind are invoked - in the latter case, metaphorically by discussion of ‘whole’ or ‘incomplete’ bodies - cherubs, mermaids, and satyrs represent fractured human physiques spliced with those of animals. In ‘Cockney’s’ article, the physical human form can also be understood as a synecdoche for a more holistic understanding of self which has been damaged by conflict.

Cockney further explores the damage inflicted upon the mind-body self by conflict through speech as symbolism in ‘The Incarnate Word’, the poetic section of this article. In this part of the text, harsh words represent physical impact. The poem asks ‘What language hast thou learned,/Body of mine?’ and tells the reader to ‘List how these bodies shout!’, suggesting that the ‘speaking’ body is one that is enacting upon others. ‘Cockney’s’ poem posits that the human body, ‘so long despised! So long enslaved!’ and treated ‘With cruelty ingrained’ will be freed from this violence as ‘Love shall set thee free [...] And thou shalt weep no more with stammering fear/ For thy defence’<sup>507</sup>. The poem promises that a ‘voice sweet’ will replace a ‘tongue as coarse/ As thy half-uttered thought’, a ‘conversation’ which serves as metaphor for the poet’s desire to no longer behave with ‘cruelty ingrained’ to the physical bodily ‘form so long despised’<sup>508</sup>. Speech becomes quite literally ‘embodied’ in the author’s use of verbal violence as allegory for physical conflict: both mind and body are damaged in ‘Cockney’s’ understanding of war. By using speech as a metaphor for inflicting harm, ‘Cockney’ creatively explores war as an abstracted topic in order to process his own experiences of conflict, and his wish to end the violence: in ‘The Incarnate Word’, language represents harm, but also the potential to heal.

The author of this piece identifies himself only as ‘Cockney’; however, ‘The Incarnate Word’, which the author states ‘has not yet appeared in any ancient or modern book’<sup>509</sup> at the time of printing, was later printed in Mark (more commonly known as Max) Plowman’s 1917

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<sup>507</sup> Anon, ‘Thoughts on the Human Body.’, *The Hydra*, 1.4 (1917), 17 (p. 17).

<sup>508</sup> Ibid.

<sup>509</sup> Ibid.



collection of poems *A Lap Full of Seed*<sup>510</sup>. 'Crucifixion', another poem by 'Cockney' which was published in the May 12 1917 issue of *The Hydra*, also appears in Plowman's collection. I hypothesise that the identity of 'Cockney' is Tottenham-born Plowman, who was hospitalised at Craiglockhart's branch at Bowhill (another poem by 'Cockney' on 'Edinburgh' is noted to have been written at Bowhill) after suffering concussion from an exploding shell and being diagnosed with shell shock. A writer who later edited *The Adelphi*, Plowman produced the works for this poetry collection along with an anti-war pamphlet entitled 'The Right to Live' while he was convalescing, during which he was treated by Rivers. A committed pacifist and Christian who believed in the doctrine of Incarnation, in which God was man's flesh - as in the poem's title, 'The Incarnate Word' - Plowman was adamantly against war which he saw as 'organised murder'<sup>511</sup>. Plowman's religiosity and belief in the sanctity of the human body is reflected by Cockney's imploring readers 'to make our bodies obviously "temples of the Holy Ghost." Wise thoughts should produce graceful actions; happy thoughts, rapid movements; and so on, until our bodies are the beautifully expressive works of divine art they were intended to be'<sup>512</sup>. Plowman's express desire to protect and preserve the human body and the psyche, representative of the soul and body of God - the 'spirit and flesh [which] speak whole/ The incarnate word'<sup>513</sup> - is reflected throughout what I believe to be his article.

#### 4 - Themes of healing

Previous critical attention to the magazine has primarily focused on content that specifically engages with memories of war or reflections on conflict as a method of 'working through' past

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<sup>510</sup> Max Plowman, *A Lap Full of Seed* (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1917).

<sup>511</sup> Jonathan Atkin, *A War of Individuals: Bloomsbury attitudes to the Great War* (Manchester, Manchester University Press: 2002), p. 110.

<sup>512</sup> Anon, 'Thoughts on the Human Body.', *The Hydra*, 1.4 (1917), 17 (p. 17).

<sup>513</sup> Ibid.

trauma<sup>514</sup> (as I have also discussed above). There is good reason for this; works which articulate wartime memories and emotions connected with conflict appear regularly throughout *The Hydra*. However, I would like to consider how works within this publication explore the theme of ‘healing’; as perhaps, the ying to the yang of conflict-as-theme. In *The Hydra*, as tool to achieve a ‘compromised goal’<sup>515</sup>, the two are separate concepts that interlock or interconnect, and necessitate the input of the other. The ability to return to functioning on the front line was seen as a result of successful therapy, whilst successful therapy comes after positive engagement with thought processes surrounding conflict. By focusing on articles that explore the theme of healing, this thesis can further consider how both *The Hydra*’s author base and its readership could benefit from the magazine, beyond the curative function of writing down thoughts and emotions, which primarily benefited the authors. Such an approach also enables a wider exploration of *The Hydra*, as a public platform for officer-patients’ work, and as politicized object.

I will henceforth consider articles within *The Hydra* which explore notions of healing from conflict, how such content was intended to be curative, and what this tells us about how the patient Hydrans engaged with Craiglockhart’s paradoxical objectives for therapy. The remainder of the chapter will focus on how officer-patients critically considered the theme of this compromised ‘healing’ as both writers and readers - aware of and engaging with ideas of conflict-informed therapy while undergoing the treatment. I suggest that there are two forms of healing-specific ‘curative content’ in the Craiglockhart house organ that can broadly be understood via Schaupp’s description of the magazine as not only documenting ‘daily life at the hospital, [but] also showcas[ing] the creative work produced by the patients there’<sup>516</sup>.

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<sup>514</sup> This approach has been thoroughly and adroitly demonstrated by scholars such as Elliot and Schaupp,

<sup>515</sup> Chris Eagle, *Dysfluencies: On Speech Disorders in Modern Literature* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), p. 64.

<sup>516</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, ‘The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).

Developing this description, I demonstrate that healing-themed content in *The Hydra* can be divided into those articles which record the day-to-day activities of the soldier-patients, and those works of poetry, fiction, or humour which creatively explore or interpret experiences of healing.

#### 4a - Records of healing

The former types of contributions to *The Hydra*, in which daily life is documented, will henceforth be referred to as ‘records of healing’ to highlight their journalistic emphasis. This mode of ‘curative content’ served to document patients’ therapeutic treatments through reports and records: large sections of *The Hydra* are dedicated to updates on badminton, lawn tennis, the baths, carpentry room, camera club, papers and periodicals, cricket, bowls, golf, gardening, billiards, the stage, and general meetings. In terms of authorship, most club and activity reports of the original series (all printed in 1917) do not have a byline, although there are a few exceptions: ‘Lawnbad’ is credited as the author of the Badminton and Lawn Tennis report of April 28 while ‘Bucolics’ does the Camera Club report of June 4, June 9, and July 21 – although reports on a ‘New Camera Club’ of July 21 and August 4 were penned by ‘The Secretary’. ‘S.’ reports on Golf on May 12, ‘Peas-Blossom’ writes the Concerts report of the same issue, and ‘A. Rocketts, Hon. Secy.’ wrote the General Meeting report of June 23. It is therefore likely that members of the individual clubs and societies contributed these short reports for each new issue, as is probable for the New Series, which lists reports alongside the name of the secretary of the particular club being reported and occasionally specifies an author - such as ‘H.P. Wells’ of ‘Room 21’ who wrote the Gardening report of June 1918. This content leads historian John Garth to suggest that *The Hydra*, ‘reads like a school or college magazine, and reports

enthusiastically, and often with gentle wit on the clubs and pastimes fostered by the hospital inmates'<sup>517</sup>.

The first issue's Editorial states that the magazine's purpose was 'to serve as a journal of the events in the house and to be the recognised mouthpiece of various societies and clubs, the news of whose activities will be faithfully recorded'<sup>518</sup>. Remaining committed to this editorial promise, column space on the range of recreational activities in which patients took part, such as meetings, sports, club gatherings and entertainments, forms a significant proportion of most numbers of *The Hydra*<sup>519</sup>. The Editorial of the magazine's New Series, published November 1917, questions 'Why launch?' the new issue. The explanation provided - 'We debate; we take photographs; we build model yachts. On the golf links, the tennis lawn, the billiard table, the bowling-green, the debating floor, and the concert platform, we seek the return of interest, health, and vigour'<sup>520</sup> - indicates that recreational and creative activity is imperative to the recuperation of the patient-soldiers, as is the documentation of such activities.

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<sup>517</sup> John Garth, *Oxford Today* (2014) <<http://www.oxfordtoday.ox.ac.uk/news/2014-10-06-recovering-hydra>> [accessed 3 March 2017].

<sup>518</sup> Anon, 'Our Policy', *The Hydra*, 1.1 (1917), 5 (p. 5).

<sup>519</sup> This characteristic differentiates *The Hydra* from *New Moon*, wherein such reports are scarce. such content in the Edinburgh house organ is more in line with *Under the Dome*, in which the inclusion of such coverage of patient activities contributes towards the Bethlem magazine's formulation of 'house' identity, as argued in Chapter Two.

<sup>520</sup> Anon, 'Editorial', *The Hydra*, 2.1 (1917), 1-2 (p. 1).



### Model Yacht Club.

The Club held the usual weekly regatta on 1st October. A strong westerly wind was blowing, and an excellent day's sport was witnessed. In the first event, Mr Hole was successful with "Challenger" on her maiden trip, and, in the second, Capt. Williams' "Rover" secured the first place.

First Event.	Second Event.
1. "Challenger."	1. "Rover."
2. "The Scot."	2. "The Scot."
3. "Pompey."	3. "White Wings."

It was decided to hold a monthly championship race, and the first was sailed on 4th October in very boisterous weather. Mr Brand's "Pat" won a very interesting race, Mr Hubbard being second with "Nonpareil," and Mr Beers third with "White Wings."

The usual weekly regatta was sailed on 8th October, and attracted quite a large gathering. In the first event, Mr Rhind's "The Scot" won a popular victory after an exciting finish. In the second event, the champion, Mr Brand's "Pat," was successful.

First Event.	Second Event.
1. "The Scot."	1. "Pat."
2. "Nonpareil."	2. "The Scot."
3. "Green Linnet."	3. "Pompey."

The Yacht Club is still making steady progress, and new members are joining every week. Several new boats are expected to take the water very shortly. The Motor Boat Section is progressing, and the Committee hope to be able to include an event for this class in the weekly programme.

"German commercial methods should be adopted in this country after the War." Capt. Murray proposed the motion in a very able speech, and, bringing his wide commercial experience to bear on the subject, made out a very strong case. Mr Angel, who opposed, took a more philosophical and ethical line, and declared that German commercial methods were wrong, being purely for the purpose of aggrandisement. Messrs Lee and Binns supported the motion, and Mr Reynolds spoke for the opposition. On the motion being put to the vote, it was declared carried by 7 votes to 3.



### Camera Club.

*President*—Major W. H. BRYCE.  
*Chairman*—Major J. HUNTER, D.S.O.  
*Secretary*—Capt. J. MACKENZIE.  
*Shopkeeper and Treasurer*—Mr L. K. RODGER.

The club was started during the summer, and has steadily progressed to a firm position, with an executive and a shop. The latter is a show case in the corridor, and contains all the usual sizes of films, plates, etc., as well as materials for toning, fixing, and mounting. The goods and case are the property of Mr J. B. Watson, who has arranged to give prizes of 15s. weekly in materials for the Camera Club. The prizes are competed for weekly, for general and sometimes special subjects. Lately the various activities in the Hospital have been taken, and it is intended to group these photographs for show purposes.



### Debating Society.

*Chairman*—Capt. EVANS.  
*Secretary*—Mr ANGEL.  
*Committee*—Messrs OWEN, SHADDICK, LEE.

The first debate was held on 3rd October, Capt. Mackenzie presiding. The motion before the meeting was to the effect that



### Tennis and Badminton.

The tennis season is over, but a few games are still played on the hard court. The grass court is out of commission until next season. The tennis, on the whole, has been rather a failure, although some very good sets have been seen. It was, however, found impossible

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Figure 11: Illustrations and copy in *Notes and News*, The Hydra , Vol. 2 No. 1. Picture: digitised archive.

In considering the purpose of this comprehensive account and the magazine's commitment to its continuation, it could be proposed that such a record of patients' access to activities, sports, and crafts may have been intended to qualify the hospital's work to an external audience. The publication itself was aware of its ability to impact upon the outside world, and commented on its platform thus:

‘*The Hydra* has already acquired a footing in the world outside, and when we found a copy reposing bashfully in a hairdresser’s shop we were overcome with joy [...] a large number of people too, have become subscribers on leaving the Hospital’<sup>521</sup>.

This comment suggests a keen interest in the magazine reaching a wider audience<sup>522</sup>, perhaps indicating, as with *New Moon*, a desire for the general public to bear witness to the civilised and educated behaviour of the soldier-patients. Certainly, Schaupp argues that the magazine may have served to demonstrate to hospital supporters the beneficial work done to ‘cure’ soldiers - and to the patients and staff, to signal that ‘positive progress was being made on the road to recovery’ as such accounts ‘served as proof of the fact that patients were achieving success in their battle against neurasthenia’<sup>523</sup>. However, there is little evidence within *The Hydra* or its paratexts to suggest that this was the intended impact of the editorial team. There was an investment in the success of *The Hydra*’s circulation, but this has been linked to patients’ desire to continue the magazine, ‘as revenues created by sales of magazine were invested into the production of future issues [and to this end it was sold at] Bowhill Hospital, its adjunct hospital in the Scottish Borders [as well as at] various locations around Edinburgh’<sup>524</sup> such as bookstalls and booksellers. The emphasis is on circulation numbers rather than response: no mention is made of other magazines’ coverage of *The Hydra*, or of any impact that it might have on hospital funding bodies or other such interested parties. An alternative suggestion as to the question of the purposes of *The Hydra*’s ‘records of healing’ is that the magazine was intended to fulfil a similar role to *Under the Dome* in contributing towards the formation of a ‘house’ identity. Although *The Hydra* reflected a group of soldier-patients united by mirrored experiences and suffering

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<sup>521</sup> Anon, ‘Editorial’, *The Hydra*, 1.4 (1917), 7 (p. 7).

<sup>522</sup> The investment in the success of *The Hydra*’s circulation was also linked to patients’ desire to continue the magazine, ‘as revenues created by sales of magazine were invested into the production of future issues [and the magazine was also sold at] Bowhill Hospital, its adjunct hospital in the Scottish Borders [as well as at] various locations around Edinburgh’ (Schaupp) such as bookstalls and booksellers.

<sup>523</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, ‘The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).

<sup>524</sup> Ibid.

from similar illnesses - and often emphasised these links as a way of promoting community - it is arguable that for these reasons a sense of a collective patient identity was largely formed upon arrival at Craiglockhart, and such a 'house' identity is present within *The Hydra* without the need for active editorial involvement. It also is plausible that *The Hydra*'s record of patient activities was intended to fulfil both of these roles to certain degrees, simultaneously communicating positive messages regarding therapeutic practices and recovery to an external audience while also uniting patients behind a common institutional identity as 'Hydrans'.

In turning to the primary sources, however, the magazine's emphasis on encouraging creativity and advocating its healing properties to soldier-patients becomes further apparent. The intended role of *The Hydra*'s 'records of healing' is alluded to in the November 1917 Editorial, which states that the magazine was to fulfil 'a two-fold function. On the one hand it provides a means for the expression of two further activities - the wielding of pen and of pencil; while, on the other, it acts as the link between each and every activity'<sup>525</sup>. My conceptualisation of *The Hydra* as both a 'tool of healing' and a 'report on healing' reflects the magazine's own idea of itself as both enabling the 'wielding' of the pen as an ergotherapeutic activity intended to aid convalescence, and also to provide a thorough and connecting record of the other healing activities undertaken at Craiglockhart for the benefit of its patient-readers.

'Records of healing' enabled patients to engage with the personal experiences of healing shared by those in similar circumstances, reinforcing the sense of a communal environment. '*The Hydra*'s detailed accounts of hospital life', states Schaupp, 'embodied the sense of community that existed at Craiglockhart and further cemented the bonds that existed between patients by describing the realities of their everyday experiences'<sup>526</sup>. The records of these groups emphasise the companionship and society deemed by Craiglockhart staff to be key to recovery: there is a

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<sup>525</sup> Anon, 'Editorial', *The Hydra*, 2.1 (1917), 1-2 (p. 1).

<sup>526</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, 'The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).

report on the Debating Society in the April 28 1917 issue which states that the group should prove a source of ‘good fellowship’, a lamentation of the ‘familiar faces’ who had left the Billiards group by May 12 1917, and a greeting for the new arrivals to the hospital who were said to have ‘brought very welcome reinforcements to the cricketers’<sup>527</sup> in the July 7 1917 issue. The ‘Notes and News’ section of the November 1917 issue asks: ‘Is it not some comfort to be met by a representative of the Club who gives you all the help he can, and initiates you in the various activities?’<sup>528</sup>. Sports players are often referred to by name, implying personal recognition, and groups are usually referred to by the first person plural pronouns ‘us’ and ‘we’, indicating a sense of belonging for the authors who often took part in the activities they reported in *The Hydra*.

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<sup>527</sup> Anon, ‘Notes and News’, *The Hydra*, 1.6 (1917), 7-8 (p. 8).

<sup>528</sup> Anon, ‘Notes and News’, *The Hydra*, 2.1 (1917), 16-21 (p. 16).





## NOTES AND NEWS.

### Craiglockhart War Hospital Officers' Club.

*Chairman*—Capt. EVANS.  
*Hon. Treasurer*—Mr F. GLYNN GILLING.  
*Hon. Secretary*—Mr C. H. HAWES.

How many officers really know and appreciate the benefits which are to be derived from this Club?

What are our feelings on arriving here amidst 150 to 200 strangers after a long tiring journey? Is it not some comfort to be met by a representative of the Club, who gives you all the help he can, and initiates you in the various activities?

The following is a synopsis of the organisations of the Club:—

**Camera Club** (Capt. M'Kenzie, Secretary).—Meetings are held every Sunday at 8 o'clock. There is a stall in the corridor from which can be purchased any photographic article required. Competitions are run and prizes given. There is a completely equipped dark room in the basement.

**Field Club** (Mr Chase, Secretary).—A lecture is held weekly, every Monday at 7 o'clock, and an optical lantern has been purchased by the Club to illustrate the various subjects. Weekly excursions are made to the Edinburgh region, which is being systematically surveyed.

**Debating Society** (Mr Angel, Secretary).—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m. Come along and argue!

**Yacht Club** (Capt. A. D. Foster, Secretary).—This Club is very popular. About twenty model yachts have been built in the workshop. Races are held weekly.

**Workshop** (Mr Braggins, Secretary).—A completely fitted workshop on the premises provides for any branch of workmanship.

**Billiards** (Mr W. E. P. Turner, Secretary).—There are two billiard tables, and the Club is endeavouring to add another at an early date. Competitions are held monthly. No charge for a game!

**Golf** (Mr C. R. Boak, Secretary).—Several sets of clubs are provided for use of Members. Competitions are organised. Golf balls can be purchased from the tobacco stall. Beginners can be assisted by the representative.

**Tennis, Badminton, Croquet, Bowls, etc.** (Mr De Wilton, Secretary).—All the materials for these games are provided and competitions held monthly.

**Agriculture, Gardening, and Poultry-Rearing** (Mr Bird, Secretary).—Every facility is given for those interested, including lectures at the East of Scotland College of Agriculture.

**Concerts** (Capt. M. W. A. Williams, Secretary).—There is a fine concert every week. The Hydro orchestra is quite renowned. All can help.

**Indoor Games** (Mr Arnott, Secretary).—Whist drives are held weekly, and the Secretary will be pleased to have any suggestions for entertainments during the winter evenings.

**Magazine** (Mr Salmond, Editor).—This worthy chronicle of all our doings, etc., adds interest to our stay here. Send an article along!

**Tobacco Stall** (Mr Proctor, House Steward).—Little need be said to advertise the boon this offers to all!

**Library** (Mr W. E. P. Turner, Librarian).—Books to suit all tastes. Additions monthly.

**Laundry** (Rev. C. Richardson).—Laundry collected and delivered at special contract prices.

**Boys' Training Club** (Capt. C. Griffiths, Secretary).—Officers lecture and assist Boy Scout movement.

Figure 12: Notes and News, The Hydra, Vol. 2 No. 1. Picture: digitised archive.

Beyond a general interest in the activities of fellow soldier-patients, the enactment of such pre-war leisure activities comforted participants with their familiarity; recording the ergotherapeutic practices of inmates also emphasised the necessity of the communal contact and ergotherapeutic employment that such social roles as 'sports player' or 'craftsman' provided.

Herein, *The Hydra* highlighted and emphasised the community and activity deemed imperative for the recovery of shell shocked soldiers.

Thorough journalistic reporting on the many facets of hospital life means that patients' recreational activities are particularly well documented in *The Hydra*. This emphatic recording of such therapeutic hospital activities can be additionally interpreted as serving a role within the magazine's curative function beyond advocating for ergotherapeutic community and activity: as discussed above, regaining a sense of order or structure and a reconnection with social spheres was a key objective for those who were suffering from shell shock. The Craiglockhart house organ's reports can 'be read as a further manifestation of the desire of soldiers to enforce order on an otherwise disordered experience'<sup>529</sup>, in which a reassuring 'order' is plotted onto and against the hospital's regular pattern of activities. The recording of such 'healing' activities formed a semantic connection between structure and societal reconnection as the desired benefits of ergotherapy and activities such as sports and social groups.

#### 4b - Stories about healing

*The Hydra*'s 'records of healing' articles, in which hobbies and group activities are recorded and day-to-day life is reported, should be examined as distinct from what I will refer to henceforth as 'stories about healing', a term that reflects such articles or images' abstracted, fictionalised, or interpretative formats. As suggested earlier in this chapter, Schaupp and Elliot explore how wartime memories were translated into creative 'curative content' as part of Craiglockhart's therapeutic practices; here, I discuss creative works from *The Hydra* which explore more specifically themes of healing. Maintaining the discursive application of 'healing' beyond its

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<sup>529</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, 'The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).

practical purpose and into the realms of self-reflexivity, *The Hydra* features several pieces of work which explore ‘healing from conflict’ as an abstracted concept or theme, while alluding to the specific treatment undergone by soldier-patients at Craiglockhart.

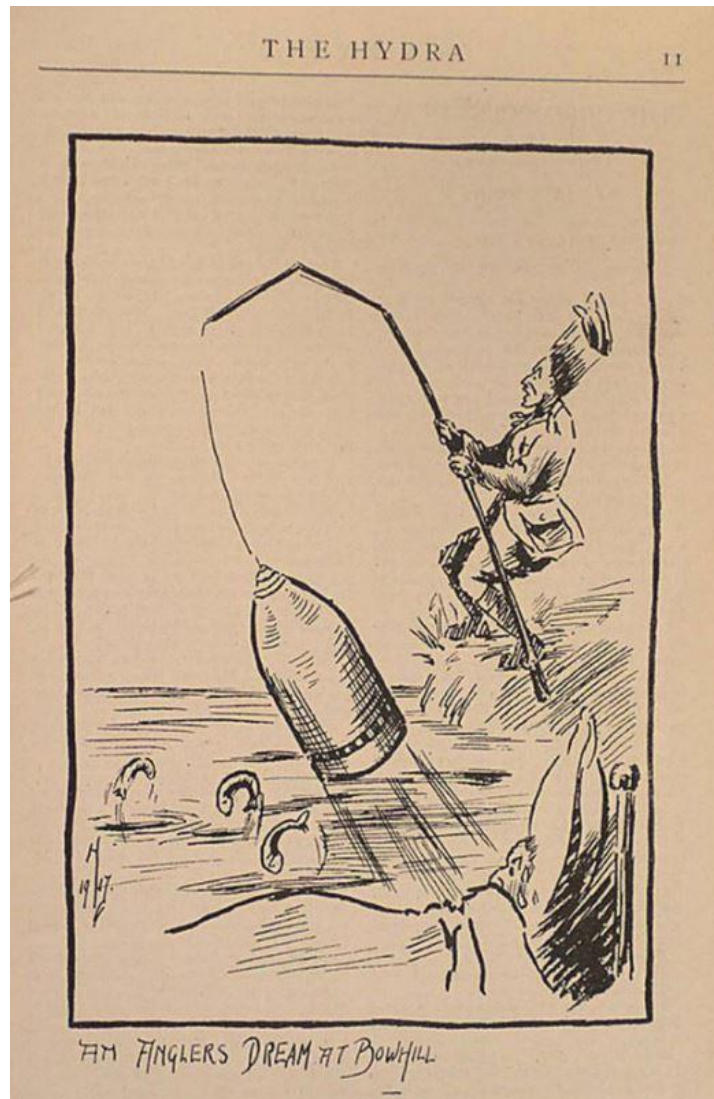
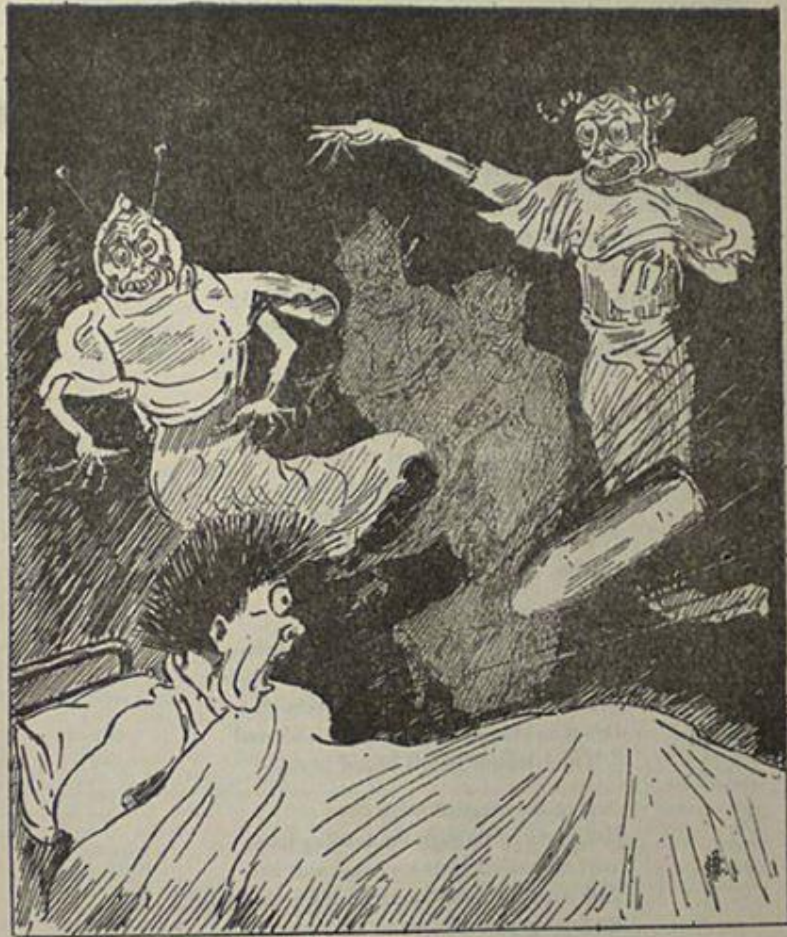


Figure 13: ‘An Anglers Dream at Bowhill’, *The Hydra* Vol. 1 No. 4. Picture: digitised archive.

For example, the Edinburgh hospital’s anti-repression ideology was visually illustrated by the artist/s of two cartoons from *The Hydra*, ‘An Anglers Dream at Bowhill’ and ‘Shell Shock!’, both of which explore the concept of the negative consequences of repressing traumatic memories of conflict, depicting the common issue of war-related nightmares. ‘An Anglers Dream at Bowhill’, from the June 9 1917 issue, depicts a soldier-patient, sweating with panic and

with the covers of his bed pulled up under his nose, as he awakens from a dream in which he accidentally fishes a shell out of the pond. His dream-self is depicted as so frightened that his cap flies clear off of his head in shock. This cartoon suggests that what lies “below the surface” of the patient’s mind will come back to haunt him in his dreams, even if he tries to abandon it in the depths: trauma must be addressed, and repression should be avoided if one wants to get any peaceful sleep. This visual piece of work uses the theme of night terrors to demonstrate the patient creatively engaging with the notion of healing through undergoing Craiglockhart’s therapeutic measures.





SHELL SHOCK!

*Figure 14: 'Shell Shock!', The Hydra, Vol. 2 No. 2. Picture: digitised archive.*

The cartoon 'Shell Shock!', from the December 1917 issue, follows a similar theme: a petrified sleeper sits straight up in bed, eyes wide open, hair standing on end, and mouth open in shock - as a shell flies towards his bed. Around the darkened room, hideous and threatening creatures begin to emerge: floating ghouls with curved devil horns and arms outstretched

towards the sleeper, a caped creature with antenna, and more strange figures manifest from the darkness. 'Shell Shock!' follows in a visual tradition of depicting psychological trauma as something monstrous visiting the sufferer in their sleep, in which the literal presence of the preternatural, often spirits, incubi/succubi, or demons, as in Henry Fuseli's iconic 1781 oil painting *The Nightmare*, is a symbol for mental health issues. This sketch, created by an unknown artist, utilises this established visual language by depicting the arrival of the shell as heralded by strange creatures which float threateningly towards the bed. Schaupp suggests that this image 'can be 'read' as embodying an act of articulation as a negative and distressing aspect of neurasthenia, the nightmares suffered by the hospital's patients, is here acknowledged rather than being hidden away'<sup>530</sup>. Although, as Schaupp says, articulation of war trauma - as arguably symbolised by the flying shell - is depicted as negative by this cartoon example, the artist's depicting of the source of his terror represents the real act of engaging with difficult memories, and thus overcoming them. Rivers's theorisation is here interpreted visually by a patient who is critiquing the method of treatment while simultaneously implementing it.

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<sup>530</sup> Ibid.



Figure 15: Henry Fuseli's *The Nightmare*<sup>531</sup>

As 'An Anglers Dream at Bowhill' and 'Shell Shock!' suggest, such psychological concepts were depicted by Craiglockhart's visual artists; however, creatively engaging with the motif of healing, as a method of progressing in recovery from conflict, found more regular expression in *The Hydra*'s written content, such as 'The Counter Attack', a creative narrativisation of the healing experiences of author 'Windup'. This article uses creative discussion to engage with a Craiglockhart-specific conceptualisation of 'wellness'. Through a retelling of his day in town, 'Windup' outlines a number of his shell shock symptoms, and how he is improving: he avoids motor buses that 'back fire at the sight of [his] blue band',

<sup>531</sup> Henry Fuseli, *The Nightmare*, 1781, oil on canvas. Detroit Institute of the Arts.

presumably to avoid the sound making him jump, and notes when he avoids stammering: “‘We’ve clicked,” I said, without stuttering at the “c,””<sup>532</sup>. He also expresses himself to the nurses he meets in Edinburgh, who are shopping for silk stockings and ask him to join them - “‘I feel terribly nervy down town by myself,” I replied, looking depressed’ - and acknowledges when moments are difficult due to his psychological state - ‘Careless lift boy! He banged the door that did me in....When I came to, Nurse was quite excited as she had struck the exact colour [stockings] she was in search of [sic]’<sup>533</sup>. Likewise, he writes about his severe trouble sleeping, a problem he encounters due to war flashbacks: ‘Last night I slept badly. Oh, those awful war dreams ! ! !’, and his dream combines memories of the Front with the events of the day: ‘It was zero minus one hour, and the barrage would start any minute now [...] We went over shortly afterwards, but I got hung up on the wire which was covered with silk stockings’<sup>534</sup>. Although this dream is unsettling and upsetting for ‘Windup’, he uses this anecdote to finish on a positive and humorous note about his recovery: ‘My doc has since told me to stay in bed for complete rest, and concentrate on anything except for *les bas en soie* [silk stockings]’ [italics in original]<sup>535</sup>. ‘The Counter Attack’ functions to enable the author to express emotions and engage with symptoms of war trauma as a method of healing. As with several of the examples that have been explored above which reflect on ‘healing’ as either report or creative exercise, ‘The Counter Attack’ demonstrates the author’s critical engagement with the topic while undergoing its enactment.

Earlier in this chapter, an analysis of “‘Ballades of France. No. 2. Any Private to Any Private.’, demonstrated that Hydran articles which discuss war memories or emotions pertaining to conflict demonstrate both aspects of the magazine’s ‘dual-method’ process of healing at play simultaneously. Such a doubled role is also apparent in articles which explore themes of healing

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<sup>532</sup> Anon, ‘The Counter Attack - A Story Full of Morals’, *The Hydra*, 1.7 (1917), 10 (p. 10).

<sup>533</sup> Ibid.

<sup>534</sup> Ibid.

<sup>535</sup> Ibid.



from conflict and succinctly demonstrated by the article ‘One of my Little Troubles’, authored by ‘Luni’ (which could be a play on ‘Lunatic’, a self-referential joke for an inmate of a mental health institution) and published in the June 23 1917 issue of *The Hydra*. Like ‘The Counter Attack’, this piece is a creative retelling of one patient’s experiences of recovery: it follows an officer who is on the hunt for a new activity to occupy him, as recommended by his doctor: ‘It was at my first interview with the doctor that he suggested a hobby’<sup>536</sup>. After playing bowls and smoking his pipe (instead of reading, as he usually would), he reflects on his first hobby, which was keeping white mice, a thought he rejects as ‘some ass would go and let them out’<sup>537</sup>. Collecting butterflies is pondered but rejected as ‘Luni’ is ‘rather doubtful as to what the A.P.M. [Assistant Provost Marshal] would do if he saw an officer in uniform’ undertaking such an activity, and keeping snakes is thought to be something to which the doctor would not agree: ‘I had a vague suspicion that his idea of a hobby was something strenuous - like gardening or carpentry’<sup>538</sup>. After a stressful dream involving ‘huge grey slugs’ in a garden he is attempting to care for, and going for a swim, ‘Luni’ goes back to speak to his ‘cheery medico’<sup>539</sup>. After they playfully argue for and against various hobbies, the ‘dear doctor’ suggests photography: ‘I gasped; photography was the one thing I *had not* thought of [...] I could not think of an excuse - reason, I mean of course, - why I should not take up photography’ [*Italics in original*]<sup>540</sup>. This article is a documentary-style record of patients’ ergotherapeutic practices, whilst, in the act of having been written, the piece simultaneously demonstrates the enactment of a literary ‘cure’. The theme of healing is both enacted and critically reflected upon.

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<sup>536</sup> Anon, ‘One of my Little Troubles’, *The Hydra*, 1.5 (1917), 11 (p. 11).

<sup>537</sup> Ibid.

<sup>538</sup> Ibid.

<sup>539</sup> Ibid.

<sup>540</sup> Ibid.

Further exemplifying this is a short poem entitled 'Why Worry!', written by 'Synjin' and published in the August 4 1917 issue. It is a humorous take on the concept of 'compartmentalising' trauma, in which 'boxing away' problems is depicted literally:

'Make for yourself a good strong box,  
Fashion each part with great care,  
And when you are troubled, dear reader,  
Just "bung" all your troubles in there;  
Hide there all thoughts of your failures,  
And each bitter cup that you quaff  
Lock all your heartaches within it,  
Then sit on the lid, friend, and laugh'<sup>541</sup>.

This poem depicts a soldier-patient suffering from shell shock, who relegates or 'bungs' his traumatic experiences, or 'troubles', into 'a good strong box', rather than dealing with them. This piece is largely sarcastic, as conveyed in the humorous tone, the use of the colloquial term 'bung', the sing-song ABAB rhyme scheme, and in reference to the reader as 'friend', and in the suggestion that the soldier-patient can 'sit on the lid [...] and laugh'<sup>542</sup>, a humorous punchline to the poem as well as a direct reference to finding such an act funny. The title of the poem, 'Why Worry!', is significant. For a poem aimed at soldier-patients who were set to return to the brutal front line which had sent them, traumatised, to Craiglockhart in the first place, the carefree exclamation 'Why Worry!' suggests a bleak, sarcastic humour. Although this poem could be read as 'arguably advocat[ing] the repression of experience rather than its articulation'<sup>543</sup>, I suggest that the humorous approach to shell shock implies that the author saw - perhaps begrudgingly - potential in anti-repression methods as advocated by Craiglockhart's therapeutic practices. While 'Synjin' displays a flippant tone, mocking convoluted attempts to restore mental

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<sup>541</sup> Anon, 'Why Worry!', *The Hydra*, 1.8 (1917), 10 (p. 10).

<sup>542</sup> Ibid.

<sup>543</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, 'The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).

health rather than just ‘bunging’ all negative memories in a ‘good strong box’, the ridiculousness of this alternative is clearly highlighted. As with ‘An Anglers Dream at Bowhill’ and ‘Shell Shock!’, ‘Why Worry!’ demonstrates a soldier-patient’s creative and critical engagement with Craiglockhart’s therapeutic practices, while simultaneously enacting them via the process expressing thoughts around the condition of his breakdown.

As these examples show, in *The Hydra*, humour is a method through which authors can engage with thoughts and experiences around healing and recovery and subsequently encourage readers to do the same; the footnote to ‘One of my Little Troubles’ makes a joke out of the pressure soldier-patients received to take up a hobby as part of their ergotherapy. On the topic of excuses to not take up photography, ‘Luni’ says that he knows of ways to avoid this work: ‘I now know several [excuses], and shall be pleased to supply them to any new patients free of charge’. Humour is a processing tactic which also emerges in the first installment of ‘The Patchwork Quilt’, a work exploring themes of medical intervention and convalescence. The story, featured in the June 9 1917 issue of *The Hydra* by an anonymous contributor, is a collection of tales about operations: it includes a story of a devout old woman, who will only undergo a minor surgical operation to remove her appendix if a minister is there, stating “‘if I was to be opened, I would like to be opened wi’ prayer”’<sup>544</sup>, and a comic account of one of the last conversations that a characteristic Scotsman had with his wife on his sickbed. Each tale - stitched together to make the ‘patchwork quilt’ of the title - explores sickness and recovery with a distinct sense of humour, adding a lightness to the topic. Humour accompanying the trope of healing features throughout *The Hydra*, offers a sense of positivity at the prospect of recovery for its authors and readership.

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<sup>544</sup> Anon, ‘The Patchwork Quilt’, *The Hydra*, 1.4 (1917), 9-10 (p. 9).



Figure 16: George Frederic Watts's *Hope*<sup>545</sup>

Further positivity at the prospect of recovery is also demonstrated in the concluding stanza of a poem by 'Carolus' printed in the May 12 1917 issue of *The Hydra*, 'Lines on Watts' Picture of "Hope"', another example of a piece in which 'healing' is explored as an abstracted concept or theme. This poem refers to G.F. Watts's 1886 allegorical painting 'Hope', which depicts a blindfolded woman playing a lyre on which all strings apart from one have broken. She bends her head to hear the final, faint notes of music while crouched on a dark globe in a melancholy sky – but far behind her in the atmosphere is the shining light of one star, representing the eponymous 'hope'. 'Carolus' describes the woman as sitting upon 'a world of tears,/ Placed by the Lord of Sorrows in mid space', while '[t]he sight of earthly sorrow, gloom,

<sup>545</sup> George Frederic Watts, *Hope*, 1886, oil painting. Tate Britain.

and pain,/Closes around'<sup>546</sup>. It is clear that the poet is referring to the original 1886 version of the painting and not the 1897 replica in which the artist omitted the celestial marker of optimism, as although the world seems to be ending, this 'yet fails to dim the star/ That, shining there afar,/ Lights hope again'<sup>547</sup>. This hope of rescue from 'gloom, and pain', which has been inflicted by the 'Lord of Sorrows', is perhaps intended to serve as a metaphor for the potential of recovering from the traumatic experiences which have resulted in the misery of shell shock; healing as allegory reinforces the reader's optimism, communicating positivity to 'Carolus's' audience. Schaupp identifies a similar optimism in Bonner's poem 'Invocation', published under the pseudonym 'G.A.' in the February 1918 issue, which she calls 'a moving statement of his great faith in Craiglockhart's therapeutic method'<sup>548</sup>. In this piece, the war hospital's emphasis on connecting with the past and re-engaging with their environment provides a 'balm for the troubled souls of the hospital's patients'<sup>549</sup> and the speaker considers these factors as representative of hope for the future - the 'far sunrise'<sup>550</sup> to which Antaeus will lead them and their fellow soldiers.

There are further examples more directly discussing a Craiglockhart-specific conceptualisation of 'wellness', and demonstrate patients' attempts to understand or achieve it. In these examples, which take the form of creative 'reports' or 'records' of patients' symptoms and methods of recovery, personal reflections on healing serve as positive therapeutic experiences for both the patient-writers and -readers. A short, untitled, and uncredited poem concluding the May 26 1917 issue of *The Hydra* provides a record of a hospital routine at Craiglockhart:

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<sup>546</sup> Anon, 'Lines on Watts' Picture of "Hope", *The Hydra*, 1.2 (1917), 16 (p. 16).

<sup>547</sup> Ibid.

<sup>548</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, 'The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).

<sup>549</sup> Ibid.

<sup>550</sup> Ibid.

'Hi! Come Along! Turn out!  
 Hark to the fearsome shout.  
 What is it? Fire or flood?  
 Or awful battle rout?  
 Nay, gentle stranger, calm  
 Your dread. That great alarm  
 Means only that it's time to rise,  
 Tis Sister ---'s morning psalm'<sup>551</sup>.

The narrative follows an officer-patient waking from a war nightmare to be comforted by a roommate. The poem demonstrates the intrusion of shell shock into hospital life: the conflict overcasting convalescence in Craiglockhart. Martin suggests that this work should be read as 'reinforc[ing] the feeling of limbo resulting from the inevitable realization upon waking from haunted dreams that they were actually in the hospital for that very reason'<sup>552</sup>; the night terrors that disturb sleeping soldier-patients are real, lived experiences, to which they are intended to return. This reading, which accurately acknowledges the relationship of the poem to the well-documented night terrors experienced by shell shocked soldiers - Sassoon stated that the hospital was "'full of men whose slumbers were morbid or terrifying'"<sup>553</sup> - can be extended further by close analysis of the poem. The untitled work seems to be addressed to a new arrival at Craiglockhart - the 'gentle stranger' who must be calmed - while the speaker could be a patient who has become well acquainted with the routines of the hospital, and someone with innate knowledge of the traumatic dreams and confusion exhibited by the sleeper. In this reading, the poem is a comforting piece, in which the speaker 'calm[s] [the] dread' of the 'gentle stranger' by reassuring him that there is no 'fire or flood', but simply the 'Sister' who will read the morning

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<sup>551</sup> Anon, untitled, *The Hydra*, 1.3 (1917), 16 (p. 16).

<sup>552</sup> Deanne Elliot, "'All people think us mad": Expression, Protest, and Healing in the Poetry of The Hydra at Craiglockhart War Hospital', *University of California, Riverside Undergraduate Research Journal*, 9.1 (2015), 25-30 (p. 27).

<sup>553</sup> Sassoon quoted in Deanne Elliot, "'All people think us mad": Expression, Protest, and Healing in the Poetry of The Hydra at Craiglockhart War Hospital', *University of California, Riverside Undergraduate Research Journal*, 9.1 (2015), 25-30 (p. 25).

psalm. In this sense, the poem offers sympathy, understanding, and fellowship to new patients who may be reading *The Hydra* - the social contact their illness has taken from them - and implies that in time, they, too, will know that the 'great alarm/ Means only that it's time to rise', meaning that their healing process is working and symptoms have subsided as they are no longer frightened by the morning bell.

Patients also acknowledged the theme of 'healing from conflict' in their publication's title. Named in reference to the hospital's pre-war role as a centre for hydrotherapy, the publication's name also evoked a reference to the many-headed monster of Greek myth with its occasional cover image of the monster. This, as Garth suggests, was 'wry humour by officers suffering from war trauma'<sup>554</sup>, who perhaps envisioned either the political context of their circumstances, or maybe the multifaceted nature of their psychological and physiological illness, as this complex, ever-evolving leviathan. The cover of the original series of *The Hydra* featured a photograph of the hospital exterior, with an officer standing on the lawn in the foreground. The New Series of the magazine featured a replacement cover, designed by Adrian Berrington. A patient at Craiglockhart at the same time as Owen and Sassoon, Berrington had worked on *The Hydra* during Owen's editorship, contributing illustrations for the early editions of the magazine, and pen-and-ink drawn vignettes in the new issues. The cover shows a patient in the grip of the monstrous Hydra - symbolic of a shell shock nightmare, the many heads represent the various symptoms of war neurosis and its 'ability to regenerate a head that had been cut off symbolis[ing] the threat of relapse'<sup>555</sup> - or perhaps blown into the air by the Hydra as a metaphor for the shell itself, but with the reassuring presence of the hospital in the background, and two angelic nurses bring medicine and tea to his side. *The Hydra* as monstrous allegory for shell

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<sup>554</sup> John Garth, *Oxford Today* (2014) <<http://www.oxfordtoday.ox.ac.uk/news/2014-10-06-recovering-hydra>> [accessed 3 March 2017].

<sup>555</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, 'The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).



shock is also echoed in the article ‘The Patchwork Quilt’ discussed earlier, in which the anonymous contributor says that he has ‘been asked to crush one of the heads of the Hydro with some stories’<sup>556</sup>. Here, removing one of the heads of the leviathan is a metaphor for undertaking the ergotherapeutic work of writing for the magazine, forming a semantic connection between the author’s illness and the therapy they are encouraged to continue undertaking. This image of the Hydra served to demonstrate and champion the outcomes of the hospital magazine.

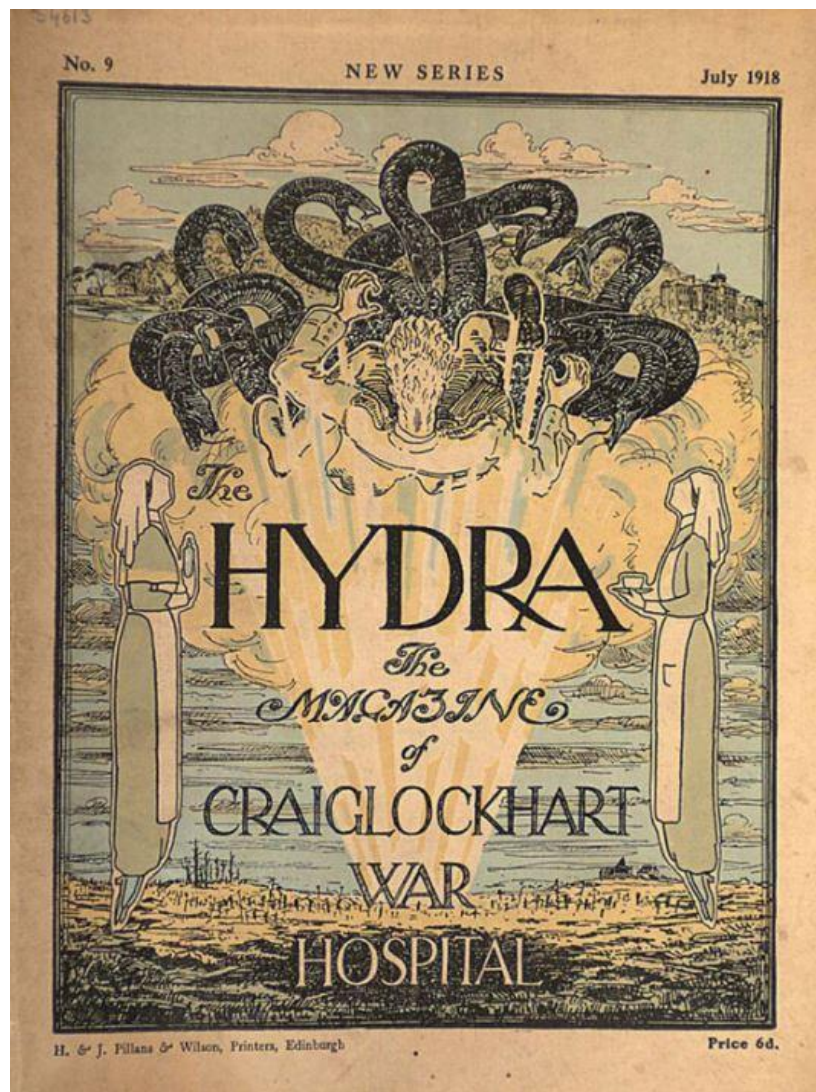


Figure 17: The front cover of the New Series of The Hydra, Vol. 2 No. 9. Picture: digitised archive.

<sup>556</sup> Anon, ‘The Patchwork Quilt’, *The Hydra*, 1.4 (1917), 9-10 (p. 9).



The numerous heads in the front cover image further demonstrate link between the image of the Hydra and Craiglockhart's therapeutic practices. There was no preference for any particular form of expression but instead *The Hydra* aimed to give a platform to the wide 'versatility of talent'<sup>557</sup> at Craiglockhart:

'The name of the journal will indicate what we wish its character to be: many headed - many sided. Only by the constant co-operation of the present patients and those who spring up in their places from time to time can it hope to maintain a long and useful existence'<sup>558</sup>.

In this reading of the publication's title, the imagery of the monstrous Hydra is reclaimed, not as the spectre of the war or the psychological disturbance caused by conflict, but instead as the multi-faceted creative body of Craiglockhart: a more positive understanding of the hospital's role in their convalescence. In this reimagining, the Hydra as monster and *The Hydra* as magazine represent the restorative power of a creative community, for whom collective artistic endeavour has the power to heal and transform. As the Editorial of Number 1 indicates:

'It is the hope of the Medical Officer in Charge that this may be the case [that generations of soldier-patients continue to contribute to the magazine], and when it is remembered that it is edited and produced by patients who may have been moved to other spheres before the next issue shall appear, the necessity for continued interest and support will be obvious'<sup>559</sup>.

The untitled poem from the May 26 1917 issue, and the magazine's title and front cover are among many examples from *The Hydra* of articles which consider themes of recovery and convalescence through social reconnection of patients with their community. These examples indicate that *The Hydra*'s contributors engaged with Craiglockhart's conflict-healing paradox by

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<sup>557</sup> Anon, 'Our Policy', *The Hydra*, 1.1 (1917), 5 (p. 5).

<sup>558</sup> Ibid.

<sup>559</sup> Ibid.

using the magazine to frequently emphasise notions of reconnection, resocialisation, and the necessity of supporting the recovery of fellow officer-patients.

Works within *The Hydra* illustrate that a curative ‘literary community’ of soldier-patients, as both readers and writers, was formed at Craiglockhart<sup>560</sup>. A ‘printed embodiment of the literary culture that existed at the hospital’<sup>561</sup>, *The Hydra* was the tool by which hospital residents could share experiences of conflict and convalescence. Depicting recognisable thoughts, feelings, and memories was a key way in which the Hydrans forged a sense of fellowship between writers and readers; works within the magazine are representative of authors’ experiences of ‘building new relationships with fellow patients suffering similarly’<sup>562</sup>. As a unifying force within a close community such as that at Craiglockhart, shared trauma and therapeutic resocialisation is given a perhaps natural prevalence in the material culture produced within these institutions.

As discussed earlier, Brock wanted patients to participate in the larger community, something which could be achieved through writing as a specific form of wide-reaching communication: this ‘community’ would be comprised ‘of other patients, of possible patrons (hospital magazines raised money for the hospital, and patients were charged for copies), an imagined community of literary connoisseurs and other publishing poets’<sup>563</sup>. Despite the connections patients developed within the hospital’, a ‘social reconnection with the wider, non-

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<sup>560</sup> The hospital did, at one point, have an official Literary Society.

<sup>561</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, ‘The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).

<sup>562</sup> Deanne Elliot, “‘All people think us mad’: Expression, Protest, and Healing in the Poetry of The Hydra at Craiglockhart War Hospital’, *University of California, Riverside Undergraduate Research Journal*, 9.1 (2015), 25-30 (p. 25).

<sup>563</sup> Meredith Martin, ‘Therapeutic Measures: The Hydra and Wilfred Owen at Craiglockhart War Hospital’, *Modernism/modernity*, 14.1 (2007), 35-54 (p. 41).

military community was critical because shell shock, in essence, was “a flight from [the] intolerable reality” of the trenches or their memories of them’<sup>564</sup>, suggests Elliot.

Craiglockhart’s creative ‘community’ semantically forms alongside this imagined ‘society’ from which soldier-patients were isolated and which they attempted to rejoin as part of their return to health. Articles within *The Hydra* demonstrate that patients responded to both objectives of ‘reconnection’ in their work. The contributors demonstrate diverse critical engagement with these conceptualisations, acknowledging that both ‘community’ and ‘society’ are defined by war and convalescence, and identifying the successes of their attempts to integrate. Hydrans’ direct engagement with this resocialisation aspect of Craiglockhart’s conflict-healing philosophy had a twofold benefit for their recovery. The theme of ‘healing’ served the purpose of helping soldier-patients engage analytically with their recovery and to ‘write through’ experiences, and thus, as has been shown, to use this public writing to develop community ties and integrate into society. At the same time, exploring the topic of ‘reconnection as wellbeing’ enabled Hydrans to vocalise this process of engagement-based recuperation, aiding the recovery of both author and reader.

### 5 - Challenging the ‘compromised goal’

The examples of ‘records of healing’ and ‘stories of healing’ discussed so far have indicated that the patient Hydrans engaged with the paradoxical nature of Craiglockhart’s therapeutic measures by demonstrating their attempts to undergo them and their successes in doing so, as well as encouraging other patients to take part. This latter point is also evidenced by the numerous calls for content from the patient-editors and -contributors in *The Hydra*. The works discussed in this

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<sup>564</sup> Deanne Elliot, “‘All people think us mad’: Expression, Protest, and Healing in the Poetry of The Hydra at Craiglockhart War Hospital’, *University of California, Riverside Undergraduate Research Journal*, 9.1 (2015), 25-30 (p. 28).

chapter, I argue, serve to deliver therapy to the patient-contributor producing the work, but also to communicate the benefits of Craiglockhart's therapeutic measures to its readership. This advocating of therapeutic engagement is evidenced in, for example, 'The Counter Attack', which demonstrates one patient's creative recounting of his experiences recovering from shell shock: a literary act with curative powers beyond the therapeutic purpose for the author, in which readers see their own experiences reflected back at them. Communicating such experiences in which the patient is positively putting his therapeutic measures into practice reinforces notions of Craiglockhart's specific medical philosophy to the patient-writer and his readers, demonstrating the process of recuperation to an audience sharing similar symptoms and forging a sense of shared experience - and thus, hope of recovery for all.

It could be argued, therefore, that patients were not only encouraged to write about their experiences of healing for the act's therapeutic benefit, but also to discursively reinforce Craiglockhart's medical ideology for both contributors and audience. There is the possibility that these articles were selected for publication specifically to communicate such messages to the readership - reinforcing, as suggested above, notions of Craiglockhart's specific medical philosophy to patient-writers and -readers. This is implied by Webb, who suggests that for Brock *The Hydra* was an 'important tool [...] to communicate his aims to the patients'<sup>565</sup>. This reading, which lends from this thesis's earlier discussion of patient publications as negotiating institutional ideology and destabilising binary notions of patients and hospital as 'oppressed' and 'oppressor', would link *The Hydra* to *New Moon* and *Under the Dome* as limited in its patient autonomy, and fundamental indeterminability. Soldier-patient contributors, whether intentionally or not, echo institutional philosophy, serving to deliver positive messages about Craiglockhart's treatment methods and understandings of 'wellbeing'. This has been considered earlier in this

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<sup>565</sup> Thomas E F Webb, "Dottyville"—Craiglockhart War Hospital and shell-shock treatment in the First World War', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 99.7 (2006), 342-346 (p. 344).

thesis in context with *New Moon* and *Under the Dome*; for a community of shell shocked patients who were convalescing to return to the Front, however, such messages could also function as war propaganda.

As a counterpoint, I draw attention to the evidence that *The Hydra* was substantially patient-driven and -orientated, implying that there is less presence of an ‘institutional line’ as has been discussed in context with Crichton or Bethlem. This drive is implied in the publication’s acknowledgment of its role within the wider literary culture of the war. In its first editorial, the patient editor acknowledges that *The Hydra* was one of a number of soldier magazines, positioning the publication within ‘an age devoted very widely to literary endeavours of all kinds’ in which there was ‘a generally expressed desire [...] for some sort of magazine’<sup>566</sup>. This suggests that *The Hydra* was created to fulfil soldier-patients’ requirement, and provide a space for their creative output.

There are also examples of articles which are more critical of the therapeutic practices at the facility, implying less censorship - although it should be noted that it is not clear what works may have been edited or left out of the publication. This is a further example of the ‘elliptical gaps’ which can obstruct analysis, as discussed by Reiss and as is also apparent in *New Moon* and *Under the Dome*. However, a certain degree of patient autonomy can be seen in other soldier-patients’ work which challenges Craiglockhart’s medical ideology. Although many works advocated for reconnection and communal focus, the failure of resocialisation is a theme touched upon several times by Hydrans. Elliot suggests in her examination of major themes of the poetry within *The Hydra* that such works reflect patients’ ‘feelings of otherness caused by their injury and their subsequent positioning in a psychiatric hospital’<sup>567</sup>. Although therapeutic tactics such as encouraging officer-patients to take part in different activities and occupy a

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<sup>566</sup> Anon, ‘Our Policy’, *The Hydra*, 1.1 (1917), 5 (p. 5).

<sup>567</sup> Deanne Elliot, “All people think us mad”: Expression, Protest, and Healing in the Poetry of The Hydra at Craiglockhart War Hospital’, *University of California, Riverside Undergraduate Research Journal*, 9.1 (2015), 25-30 (p. 25).

number of social roles was intended to build a connection with society that would further their recovery, the practices could lead to a fragmented sense of identity. Soldiers not only felt disconnected from society due to their experiences in conflict, but also due to their isolation as inhabitants of Craiglockhart as a geographically removed location: 'being in hospital is essentially a liminal experience, particularly one designated for shell-shock patients'<sup>568</sup>. This liminality, and the isolation it enforces, is articulated in the poem 'Stared At', by the contributor 'An Inmate', in the June 1918 edition of *The Hydra*. The first person speaker tells of his experiences being stared at - or at least, feeling as if he is stared at - no matter if he 'walk[s] in Princes Street,/ Or smile[s] at friends [he] chance[s] to meet,/ Or, perhaps a joke with laughter greet[s]'<sup>569</sup>. This he puts down to his 'blue band on his arm [and] A small white tab'<sup>570</sup>, which refers to patients' privilege of leaving the hospital grounds during their leisure time and before the pre-arranged curfew, provided that they 'wore a blue armband in addition to their uniform [which] signalled that they had been wounded, while the presence of a white tab indicated that they were a patient at Craiglockhart'<sup>571</sup>. Whereas the 'blue band' is 'surely [...] not any harm', says the poet, it is the 'small white tab' that 'may be the charm'<sup>572</sup> and demarcates him as 'An Inmate'.

The more severe political response to shell shock - intentional ignoring or outright denial of the condition's existence - does not seem to have reached the magazine's pages. Thoughts about being 'hidden away' are infrequently voiced in *The Hydra*, perhaps due to Craiglockhart's use of ergotherapy, which emphasised reintegration into the community. In some such cases, it could be argued, reframing shell shock as not-madness can be understood as an attempt to

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<sup>568</sup> Ibid, p. 26.

<sup>569</sup> Anon, 'Stared At', *The Hydra*, 2.8 (1918), 12 (p. 12).

<sup>570</sup> Ibid.

<sup>571</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, 'The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).

<sup>572</sup> Anon, 'Stared At', *The Hydra*, 2.8 (1918), 12 (p. 12).

prevent isolating soldiers any further than their illness had already done. This does not seem to have benefited ‘An Inmate’: ‘Stared At’ demonstrates a preoccupation with mental health stigma, alluding to the speaker’s fear that all the local Edinburgh residents will ‘think us mad’. The speaker directly links the hospital with his misery, suggesting that being associated with a psychiatric institution is damaging to his self-worth and reputation: ‘Craiglockhart mem’ries will be sad,/ Your name will never make us glad;/ The self-respect we ever had/ We’ve lost - all people think us mad’<sup>573</sup>. Further to this, ‘An Inmate’s’ decision to use a pseudonym is a conscious attempt to remain anonymous, in order to avoid the stigma of ‘madness’: ‘If “Someone” knew who writes this verse/ My simple life would be much worse’<sup>574</sup>. Fearing that other people will perceive him as ‘mad’ here contributes towards his inability to integrate into the Edinburgh society he is visiting in the hopes of forming social connections and thus healing. Furthermore, neither the process of writing, or the topic of the poem, appears to be helping the patient in his recovery.

This failure of resocialisation is also present in the poem ‘Waiting’, printed in the April 28 1917 edition of *The Hydra* and written by a ‘J.W.O’C.W’. It describes the experiences of the speaker who has come to a bleak and unfriendly ‘great drear city’, where he ‘care[s] not for [the] fog or rain’, and feels that he is ‘An object of scorn and pity’ who can find ‘nowhere a friend’<sup>575</sup>. The author’s dislike of Edinburgh and its weather represents a failure of Brock’s desire to return the soldier-patients, as Antaeus figures, to their “Mother Earth”. The patients’ sense of otherness and isolation is an experience which Elliot notes as present in Sassoon’s ‘Dreamers’, a poem about longing for home. This work, she suggests, is ‘critical in identifying the dichotomy of home versus war front, and reinforces the in-between nature of a hospital stay that distances one

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<sup>573</sup> Ibid..

<sup>574</sup> Ibid.

<sup>575</sup> Anon, ‘Waiting’, *The Hydra*, 1.1 (1918), 10 (p. 10).

emotionally and physically from both'<sup>576</sup>. In 'Stared At', 'Waiting' and 'Dreamers', the authors convey the difficulties of 'resocialisation' after shell shock, critically engaging with the psychological damage done by conflict and the ineffectual treatment offered in order to help officer-patients reconnect and reorder their minds.

Patient-contributors also communicate a critical view on Craiglockhart's practices in their works' interrogation of the hospital's paradoxical 'compromised goal', in which soldiers' minds were healed in order to return them to the Front. Craiglockhart's 'compromised goal' is acknowledged in the editorial of the September 1 1917 issue, which states: 'many of us who came to the Hydra slightly ill are now getting dangerously well...In this excellent Concentration Camp we are fast recovering from the shock of coming to England'<sup>577</sup>. Owen, who penned this piece in his role as editor, used the phrasing of becoming 'dangerously' well as a subtle nod towards the underlying purpose of the therapeutic treatment that officer-patients were undertaking at Craiglockhart - returning to the 'massacre at the Front'<sup>578</sup>. Further demonstrating this reading, in returning to *The Hydra*'s front cover, the image's positive depiction of the potential of communal creative endeavour as therapeutic can be interpreted as a sentiment which was not shared by all other patients: for example, the cover contains a subtle reference to officers' scepticism about literature's capacity to heal. Martin identifies that the soldier in the illustration has dropped a book, and it is as if the artist is demonstrating 'that literary form cannot possibly hold the horrific and fantastical visions of a world blown apart and scorched by war'<sup>579</sup>.

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<sup>576</sup> Deanne Elliot, "All people think us mad": Expression, Protest, and Healing in the Poetry of The Hydra at Craiglockhart War Hospital', *University of California, Riverside Undergraduate Research Journal*, 9.1 (2015), 25-30 (p. 28).

<sup>577</sup> Wilfrid Owen, 'Editorial', *The Hydra*, 1.10 (1917), 7 (p. 7).

<sup>578</sup> Georgina Weatherdon, *Hektoen International: A Journal of Medical Humanities* (2015) <<https://hekint.org/2017/02/22/the-craiglockhart-war-hospital-of-edinburgh>> [accessed 14 November 2017].

<sup>579</sup> Meredith Martin, 'Therapeutic Measures: The Hydra and Wilfred Owen at Craiglockhart War Hospital', *Modernism/modernity*, 14.1 (2007), 35-54 (p. 45).



Literary output or consumption is powerless in the face of the debilitating trauma experienced by soldier-patients.

‘Thoughts on the Human Body’ also demonstrates this critical engagement with care at Craiglockhart. Earlier, ‘Cockney’s’ depiction of violent speech as metaphor for violent actions was read as serving curative function for the author. However, this article can also be interpreted as ‘Cockney’s’ interrogation of the idea that writing works for *The Hydra* could facilitate healing for Craiglockhart’s officer-patients. In connecting speech and action, ‘Cockney’ forges a literary connection between mind and body - the ‘[s]pirit and flesh [that] speak whole’<sup>580</sup>. This poetic concept demonstrates the author’s exploration of the shattered physical-psychological self; it can also be understood as representative of the conditions of the neurasthenic voice. Such a ‘voice’ necessarily encompasses both camps of the holistic self: characterised psychologically, by the content of the speech, but also physically, such as the verbal markers of shell shock. In ‘Cockney’s’ poem, mind and body ‘speak whole’ to vocalise the trauma of war: the author includes a ‘neurasthenic voice’ in referencing ‘stammering’, alluding to the infamous stutter, the involuntary gunfire sound, which was a symptom of war neurosis. Much has been written about how war poets integrate literary devices which mimic such sounds into their work - literary ‘stammering’ indeed became a significant Modernist method of defamiliarising language<sup>581</sup>. ‘Cockney’ reflects on the neurasthenic voice, saying that this ‘stammering fear’ will be overcome by being voiced, and will trouble sufferers ‘no more’, if they embrace ‘Love’ and thus reclaim their ‘native eloquence’<sup>582</sup>. This ‘Love’ is a religious appreciation for the sanctity of the human form - the title of the poem, ‘The Incarnate Word’, means God made human flesh. For Cockney, the neurasthenic voice was one that communicated trauma physically and psychologically; war was the root cause of the issue, and embracing ‘Love’ as a philosophical or

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<sup>580</sup> Anon, ‘Thoughts on the Human Body.’, *The Hydra*, 1.4 (1917), 17 (p. 17).

<sup>581</sup> Chris Eagle, *Dysfluencies: On Speech Disorders in Modern Literature* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014),

<sup>582</sup> Anon, ‘Thoughts on the Human Body.’, *The Hydra*, 1.4 (1917), 17 (p. 17).

religious stance was the method of cure. Staff at Craiglockhart had a different approach to treating physical symptoms of shell shock: Martin suggests that the stammer was thought to 'indicate a disruption of linear time, a doubling back into the repressed past of the traumatic experience, and the inability of the patient to locate himself in his present environment'<sup>583</sup>. It was theorised that patients could use language to write themselves out of a disorder which linguistically and psychologically kept them in a recursive loop of past trauma. Martin suggests that in 'instances of neurasthenic trauma, psychologists were often charged with the task of realigning linguistic ruptures, manifested by expressive stammer or even complete aphasia'<sup>584</sup>: a psychological condition which manifested as speech disorder was combated with specifically literary tactics. Overcoming a stammer meant that a patient had broken this cycle of 'doubling back' into a traumatic past by engaging with his memories, and that he was able to progress to a more positive future. For 'Cockney', vocalising the specifically neurasthenic voice meant healing from trauma; this was distinctly different from the therapy practiced at Craiglockhart, which aimed to eradicate such speech.

This reading of 'Thoughts on the Human Body' can be challenged by considering that although the curative tactic 'Cockney' suggested was different from that promoted by the curative culture at the Edinburgh war hospital, their objectives remain the same. Speech represents the physical-psychological undoing of an officer-patient, but, for both 'Cockney' and Craiglockhart's medical staff, can also signal the beginnings of a return to wellbeing. 'Cockney' acknowledges this both in the theme of his 'Thoughts on the Human Body' and 'The Incarnate Word', but, interestingly, also in the therapeutic practice he is undergoing by writing this piece. 'Cockney', as a sufferer of war neurosis, is demonstrating Craiglockhart's practice of

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<sup>583</sup> Meredith Martin, 'Therapeutic Measures: The Hydra and Wilfred Owen at Craiglockhart War Hospital', *Modernism/modernity*, 14.1 (2007), 35-54 (p. 40).

<sup>584</sup> *Ibid*, p. 37.

abstractedly engaging with traumatic memories to overcome them, while writing is here also being adopted as an ergotherapeutic practice.

Schaupp, Elliot, and Martin all consider the general success of *The Hydra* as tool for enabling, and record of, psychological development. Schaupp's thesis questions whether Craiglockhart's literary culture 'exert[ed] a tangible impact on the hospital patients' and interprets *The Hydra*'s poetry as 'embodying the willingness of the hospital's literary-minded patients to engage with the hospital's therapeutic method through their creative endeavours'<sup>585</sup>. Soldier-patients' attempts to engage with ergotherapy is also highlighted by Elliot in her article, which suggests that whereas some works demonstrate a positive reconnection with society, other pieces instead highlight patients' difficulties in achieving this ergotherapeutic goal. In the latter case, *The Hydra*'s poetry demonstrates an 'emotional and physical distance between the soldier and society, the home front and the battle front'<sup>586</sup>: such written accounts depict a desire to achieve but failure to attain the resocialisation deemed necessary to their recovery. This conclusion is also suggested by Martin, who interprets the relationship between patient and 'therapy through poetic order' as complex and nuanced, highlighting the patients' problematic awareness of the practice. She states that works within *The Hydra* demonstrate how soldiers were 'suspicious of the artificiality of re-education through forms of physical, social and mental reordering, and yet at the same time were relieved and, essentially "cured," from many symptoms of neurasthenia by the structures that those therapies provided'<sup>587</sup>. All three scholars acknowledge the limitations of the success of Craiglockhart's therapeutic measures by exploring soldier-patients' scepticism and difficulties achieving positive outcomes.

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<sup>585</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, 'The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).

<sup>586</sup> Deanne Elliot, "'All people think us mad": Expression, Protest, and Healing in the Poetry of The Hydra at Craiglockhart War Hospital', *University of California, Riverside Undergraduate Research Journal*, 9.1 (2015), 25-30 (p. 27).

<sup>587</sup> Meredith Martin, 'Therapeutic Measures: The Hydra and Wilfred Owen at Craiglockhart War Hospital', *Modernism/modernity*, 14.1 (2007), 35-54 (p. 37).

## 6 - Political illness, public platform

*The Hydra* demonstrates a variety of interpretations of Craiglockhart's therapeutic measures; contributors' explorations of the successes and failures of the hospital's medical practices illustrate how officer-patients critically engaged with their healing processes. Evidence within the publication also draws attention to the soldier-patients' interrogation of the wider discourses surrounding shell shock, extending beyond a scepticism towards treatment to direct analysis of the socio-political circumstances responsible for patients' illness and hospitalisation. This critical inquiry was a factor of ergotherapy at Craiglockhart: Brock, like Rivers, suggested that patients 'engage in contemplation of the wider [social] circumstances of their breakdown'<sup>588</sup>. He also championed the concept of 'synoptic vision', a process 'in which the individual, as part of his ergotherapy, was encouraged to consider his relation to his wider environment'<sup>589</sup>. To achieve their personal therapeutic objectives, *The Hydra*'s author base and immediate readership were encouraged to consider the political formation and conditions of their conflict-associated illnesses, in addition to their connection to their communities.

Articulation of experience not only enabled psychological recovery, but enabled soldier-patients to 'express their pent up rage'<sup>590</sup>, suggests Elliot. 'Cockney's' use of the word 'indifference'<sup>591</sup> in his 'Thoughts on the Human Body' demonstrates this frustration, as he suggests that political uninterest in the safety of soldiers leads to both physical and psychological casualties. His choice of term implies an unsurprising anger that an injured First World War soldier might feel towards those deemed ambivalent about the bodies of others. This work is also

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<sup>588</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, 'The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).

<sup>589</sup> Ibid.

<sup>590</sup> Deanne Elliot, "'All people think us mad": Expression, Protest, and Healing in the Poetry of *The Hydra* at Craiglockhart War Hospital', *University of California, Riverside Undergraduate Research Journal*, 9.1 (2015), 25-30 (p. 27).

<sup>591</sup> Anon, 'Thoughts on the Human Body.', *The Hydra*, 1.4 (1917), 17 (p. 17).

politicised by its public discussion of systemic disregard for human bodies as a perversion. 'Cockney' directly links his philosophy of the body with conflict by suggesting that 'such diverse subjects as the war and modern forms of dancing should provide fine opportunities for future satirists'<sup>592</sup>. This implies that the supposed ridiculousness of modern dancing was akin to the ludicrous circumstances of the war, while also forming a connection between what Cockney believed to be the unpalatable movement of the human body in contemporary dance and the mutilation of the bodies and minds of soldiers. The article's theme, when read as an exercise used to encourage psychological healing after being in action, uses the creative outlet not only for personal healing purposes, but to politically engage with modern conceptions of the body and its care following conflict.

'F.V.B's' 'Sonnet', from the January 1918 issue of the magazine, is a further example of interrogation of wider political discourses in *The Hydra*. This piece 'makes an impassioned protest against the war'<sup>593</sup>, raging against the lost lives of the soldiers who 'Went in the night, and in the morning died' and the immorality of the conflict ('the thing he dearly bought/ For wrong is right when wrong is greatly wrought')<sup>594</sup>. The emphasis here is 'not on individual suffering but rather the wider circumstances that make this suffering possible'<sup>595</sup>. He suggests that religious justifications for the war are erroneous, stating that 'the Nazarene [had become] The great unchallenged Lord of No Man's Land' and a mere 'puppet of war'<sup>596</sup>; this, 'F.V.B' suggests, is rhetoric which should be questioned rather than blindly followed. In 'Sonnet', in which social contexts such as propaganda, 'the old lie' of the glory of war and blind patriotism -

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<sup>592</sup> Ibid.

<sup>593</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, 'The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).

<sup>594</sup> Anon, 'Sonnet', *The Hydra*, 2.3 (1918), 2 (p. 2).

<sup>595</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, 'The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).

<sup>596</sup> Anon, 'Sonnet', *The Hydra*, 2.3 (1918), 2 (p. 2).

what the poem calls ‘the splendour of a simple thought/ [...] for England’<sup>597</sup> are challenged. This politicisation can also be seen in ‘Ballades of France. No. 2. Any Private to Any Private.’, in which the speaker expresses anger about the government’s treatment of war widows. They will only receive a ‘bob or twa’, and will be deemed ‘A burden to the state’<sup>598</sup>, even though they have given so much to the cause.

It is interesting to note that this socio-political impact of conflict had unexpectedly positive benefits upon the production of *The Hydra*. Mike Jay characterises the period of the Great War as one of transition in which ‘[m]edical, social and psychological therapies were all on the march, and the outlines of another revolution were taking shape’<sup>599</sup> as understandings of mental health began to shift due to the context of war. Jay’s acknowledgement of the impact of the First World War accurately reflects the inescapable and omnipresent influence conflict had upon mental health care for patients who were specifically suffering from shell shock, war neurosis, or neurasthenia. It also draws attention to the diverse medical discourse surrounding these conditions. Schaupp’s thesis suggests that the British Army’s ‘lack of consensus’ regarding the most appropriate treatment for war neuroses ‘facilitated the development of Craiglockhart’s expressive culture’<sup>600</sup>. This is exemplified by the wide range of material produced for the magazine, which, as this chapter has demonstrated, showcases a variety of perspectives and experiences. The hospital’s ideologically divergent character is also suggested by Webb, who indicates that the ‘administrative shake-ups’ caused by the two replacements of the commanding officer at the hospital ‘illustrate very well the differing views held by the War Office’<sup>601</sup>. *The*

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<sup>597</sup> Ibid.

<sup>598</sup> Anon, ‘Ballades of France. No. 2. Any Private to Any Private.’, *The Hydra*, 2.1 (1917), 9 (p. 9).

<sup>599</sup> Mike Jay, *This Way Madness Lies: The Asylum and Beyond* (London: Thames & Hudson Limited, 2016), p. 134.

<sup>600</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, ‘The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).

<sup>601</sup> Thomas E F Webb, ‘“Dottyville”—Craiglockhart War Hospital and shell-shock treatment in the First World War’, *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 99.7 (2006), 342-346 (p. 42).

*Hydra* is a title in a wider tradition of similar publications created at 'shell shock' hospitals: Martin states that '[m]ost shell-shock hospitals had small papers or gazettes that published hospital activities, though none was quite as literary as *The Hydra*'<sup>602</sup>. This particular characteristic of the magazine could be a result of the environment in which it was created: it is entirely plausible that this evolving therapeutic discourse in which opposing ideas came into play is the reason for *The Hydra*'s particular sense of exploratory literariness. Such expressive emphasis was not limited to textual contributions. Reflecting other, earlier patient publications in its embracing of written creativity in all forms, including prose, poetry, and journalism, *The Hydra* served to showcase the wide variety of creative work - both written and visual - which had been contributed to the magazine. There is, however, quite understandably no reference to the social-political contexts which enabled this diversity of expression, and instead works in the magazine emphasise socio-political themes of the horrors of the Front, political indifference, and corruptive propaganda.

The works printed in *The Hydra*, originating in a military psychiatric unit and tackling subjects related to shell shock, were inherently political in subject matter and institutional origin, but in enabling patients to showcase their work in a publically-available magazine, such writing and art was politicised further upon entry into a wider sphere of discourse. The journal, as a public platform deliberately circulated within and outside of the hospital, enabled patients to showcase their work to the wider community, politicizing and thus transforming their representations of healing, and contributing to a wider discourse around shell shock and psychological care. The magazine can be simultaneously viewed as illustrating the relationship between healing, conflict, and creativity as both a creative outlet and as a collection of articles, but crucially it is this public face of the magazine which takes the medical-political nature of *The Hydra* - as a literary act and in its content - and makes it, to some degree, 'activist'. In both the

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<sup>602</sup> Meredith Martin, 'Therapeutic Measures: The Hydra and Wilfred Owen at Craiglockhart War Hospital', *Modernism/modernity*, 14.1 (2007), 35-54 (p. 44).

act of representing the process of recuperating from shell shock, and in providing a public platform for these representations to be formed, *The Hydra*'s contents were transformed beyond therapeutic creative expressions into politicised statements with the potential to impact the discourse surrounding the war and mental health.

Various potential avenues for further research emerge that pertain to the actual influence of *The Hydra*, beyond its potential as a neurasthenic vox populi: Where and how was *The Hydra* circulated? Did doctors or other medical professionals read *The Hydra*, and what did they make of it? Did members of the public see *The Hydra* as a politically-charged publication, or as a small creative experiment without the means to make an impact? The works certainly had the potential to contribute to a wider discourse surrounding 'shell shock' and military psychological care - but what sort of impact did *The Hydra* actually have? The evidence drawn from my research indicates that, as a patient-powered publication created with support by hospital staff, *The Hydra* demonstrates how medical professionals and convalescing soldiers worked together to enable mental health service users to verbalise their medical-political experiences, showcase their creative work, and further politicise their representations of healing.

## 7 - Conclusion

Building upon the work of Schaupp, Elliot, and Martin, I have aimed to further centralise patients' voices in discussions surrounding therapeutic efficacy. The use for modern scholars of Craiglockhart's house organ as historical document is clear: Garth describes the magazine as 'a fascinating glimpse into a lost world, in which traumatised officers understandably fell back on the comfortable certainties of life as they had known it before the war'<sup>603</sup>. The historian Janet Morgan suggests *The Hydra* is a 'reminder of the generous and cultivated approach to medicine

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<sup>603</sup> John Garth, *Oxford Today* (2014) <<http://www.oxfordtoday.ox.ac.uk/news/2014-10-06-recovering-hydra>> [accessed 3 March 2017].



practiced by the doctors at Craiglockhart and the atmosphere of imaginative sympathy in which art was created and minds began to be healed'<sup>604</sup>. This 'reminder' functions upon two levels: *The Hydra* both documents the ergotherapeutic practices employed at Craiglockhart, and demonstrates the method in practice via its very material existence. Officer-patients explore and discuss ergotherapy's emphasis on community, creativity, and memories of conflict, and their work provides critical and personal insights into such themes. As medical subjects, their work reveals the unique viewpoints and experiences of those who underwent ergotherapy, and patient-led evaluations provide crucial perspectives into the reception, success, and outcome of such practices.

*The Hydra*'s emphasis on topics of recovery and recuperation - and the associated themes of activity and community - engaged both contributors and readers in a wider, mentally beneficial discussion about conflict and healing. For authors, this meant that they could critically engage with Craiglockhart's curative methods while simultaneously undergoing them, potentially furthering their own recovery. This 'wider discussion' was facilitated by the publication's role as a public platform, which meant that readers could benefit from the 'work' of reading and from the critical ideas introduced by the magazine's content. But it also meant that what were sometimes challenging responses to the successes and failures of war neurosis care - and the conditions which led to soldiers' hospitalisation - were made public.

As suggested above, *The Hydra* was aware of its circulation and thus its potential to contribute to a wider discourse of mental health and conflict. In this capacity as political object, the publication enables the further reach of its patient-contributor voices, reinforcing necessary changes for Craiglockhart patients and contributing towards a developing understanding of psychiatric disorders and their care. In other words, the shell shock-specific treatments of reflecting and writing platformed a number of voices who could provide authentic insight into

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<sup>604</sup> Quoted in Ben Riley-Smith, 'Long-lost Wilfred Owen magazines finally discovered', *Telegraph*, 18 March 2014, p. 1.

conflict-associated mental health recovery. As illustrated in the examples discussed earlier, *The Hydra* features work which reflects on the medical treatments of the time as well as the socio-political conditions of patients' illnesses, illustrating the relationship between mental health, creativity, and war trauma. Such publications, therefore, provide a possibility for those who experienced advancements in the medical field first-hand to unite their voices to contribute to the public debate surrounding the discoveries and experimentations generated by these developments.

This chapter has argued that *The Hydra* follows a 'dual method' process of administering therapy to Craiglockhart's officer-patients, in which the physical act of reading and writing the magazine and the contents within the publication deliver wellbeing. Often, the examples in *The Hydra* demonstrate a critical and creative engagement in their written and visual work; the act of creating which demonstrates both the ergotherapeutic practices of Brock and Rivers's emphasis on memory/emotion narrativisation simultaneously at play. 'Healing' was a central theme in the magazine, and these examples of *The Hydra* as a record of soldier-patients' hospital experience, both literal and abstract, demonstrate a symbiotic relationship between creating and healing for these military men: whilst the journey of healing is enacted by the process of writing, the creative content itself is transformed by the theme of healing as informed by experience. The magazine, therefore, represents in a literal sense the restorative power of the arts as an outlet which could benefit patients through creative therapy, but it also demonstrates how 'healing' became a concept which transformed *The Hydra*'s creative content. As I have shown, viewing the magazine as a 'hospital record' demonstrates that convalescence informs the art, and the art encourages the convalescence: in actively and creatively engaging with 'healing', both writer and writing are ameliorated. In addition to facilitating the therapeutic endeavour of creating and consuming media, *The Hydra* demonstrates and, in some cases, embodies an ongoing interaction with the theme of healing as a method of encouraging officers' recovery.

Patients' creative works in this publication engage with the paradoxical themes of conflict and healing, therefore, by utilising various different formats to critically engage with their traumatic memories, experiences at the hospital, and the successes or failings of their treatment. However, positive therapeutic outcomes for patients at Craiglockhart were not recoveries that came accompanied with any sense of freedom or a return to normality: a reality of which officer-patients were acutely aware. One Editorial comments: 'one contributor seems so well in love with the life here that he writes inquiring: Shall I mutter and stutter and wangle my ticket? Or try another flutter and go back in stick it?'<sup>605</sup>. This reference to stuttering alludes to the malingerers' ability to get a discharge home by faking a speech disorder, a possibility which weighed heavily on the minds of officer-patients. Brock's working cure exacerbated this moral quandary, argues Daniel Hipp in *The Poetry of Shell Shock*, in the context of the impact of this decision on Owen, who could 'resist the remedy and remain shell-shocked, incapable of doing anything or he could [...] prepare himself for the activity of bringing more suffering upon himself and others in the trenches'<sup>606</sup>. Although both Owen and Sassoon carried the guilt of leading their men into death, they also felt conflicted by abandoning their soldiers by being away at the hospital. Both returned to the Front, and Owen, who had been discharged from the hospital and deemed fit for light regimental duties, was killed in action four months later on November 4 1918.

'Remobilization or rehabilitation?'<sup>607</sup>, asks Webb, whereas Crossman questions: 'For what future did Craiglockhart rehabilitate patients?'<sup>608</sup>. Whereas positive treatment at Craiglockhart may have led to improved states of being for those patients who were deemed

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<sup>605</sup> Wilfrid Owen, 'Editorial', *The Hydra*, 1.10 (1917), 7 (p. 7).

<sup>606</sup> Daniel Hipp, *The Poetry of Shell Shock: Wartime Trauma and Healing in Wilfred Owen, Ivor Gurney and Siegfried Sassoon* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc, 2005), p. 59.

<sup>607</sup> Thomas E F Webb, "Dottyville"—Craiglockhart War Hospital and shell-shock treatment in the First World War', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 99.7 (2006), 342-346 (p.344 ).

<sup>608</sup> AM Crossman, 'The Hydra, Captain AJ Brock and the treatment of shell-shock in Edinburgh', *Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh Journal*, 33.2 (2003), 119-123 (p. 122).

unfit for duty and returned to civilian life<sup>609</sup>, ‘effective’ therapy for those at the war hospital had tragic outcomes for those who had managed to overcome their shell shock. *The Hydra*, however, represents the wider success of the pioneering treatment undertaken at the Edinburgh war hospital; the magazine provided a public platform for soldiers to creatively represent their experiences of healing and to thus contribute to a much wider dialogue surrounding mental health, conflict, and recuperation. As with *The Hydra*’s fellow patient publications, the magazine as historical object serves to illuminate how new attitudes towards mental health care led to changing methods of sanatoria management and maintenance.

The magazine’s politicising of the personal is key in considering the impact that Craiglockhart and *The Hydra* had on mental health care during this period. Tracey Loughran suggests that shell shock provided a powerful impetus for change to the mental health care system, demonstrating a crucial need for effective and immediate treatment for those suffering from what we now call Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder<sup>610</sup>. Although there was a strong movement for reform, the Mental Treatment Act, which made provision for voluntary treatment at outpatient clinics, was passed several years later in 1930. Likewise, despite this prominent challenge to the government’s inadequate mental health care facilities, it appears that attitudes within the military did not change. The British government’s ‘response was to evade costs wherever possible, to reject mental cases as non-attributable, not least because they were so difficult to prove, and to target psychiatric cases for economies in the cash-strapped inter-war years’<sup>611</sup>. Institutional improvements were very slow, and mental health was not a priority for the government; military authorities did not maintain a psychiatric service, despite the fact that

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<sup>609</sup> See Schaupp and Crossman on this.

<sup>610</sup> Tracey Loughran, *BBC iWonder: Did Craiglockhart hospital revolutionise mental health treatment?* <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/guides/z9g7fg8>> [accessed 12 November 2017].

<sup>611</sup> Peter Leese, “Broken Men: Shell Shock, Treatment and Recovery in Britain 1914–30. By Fiona Reid. Continuum. 2010; Treating the Trauma of the Great War: Soldiers, Civilians and Psychiatry in France 1914–1940. By Gregory M. Thomas. Louisiana State University Press. 2009; The Politics of War Trauma: The Aftermath of World War II in Eleven European Countries. Edited by Jolande Withuis and Annet Mooij. Aksant. 2010.”, *Annual Bulletin of Historical Literature*, 96.1 (2012), 89-92 (p. 91).

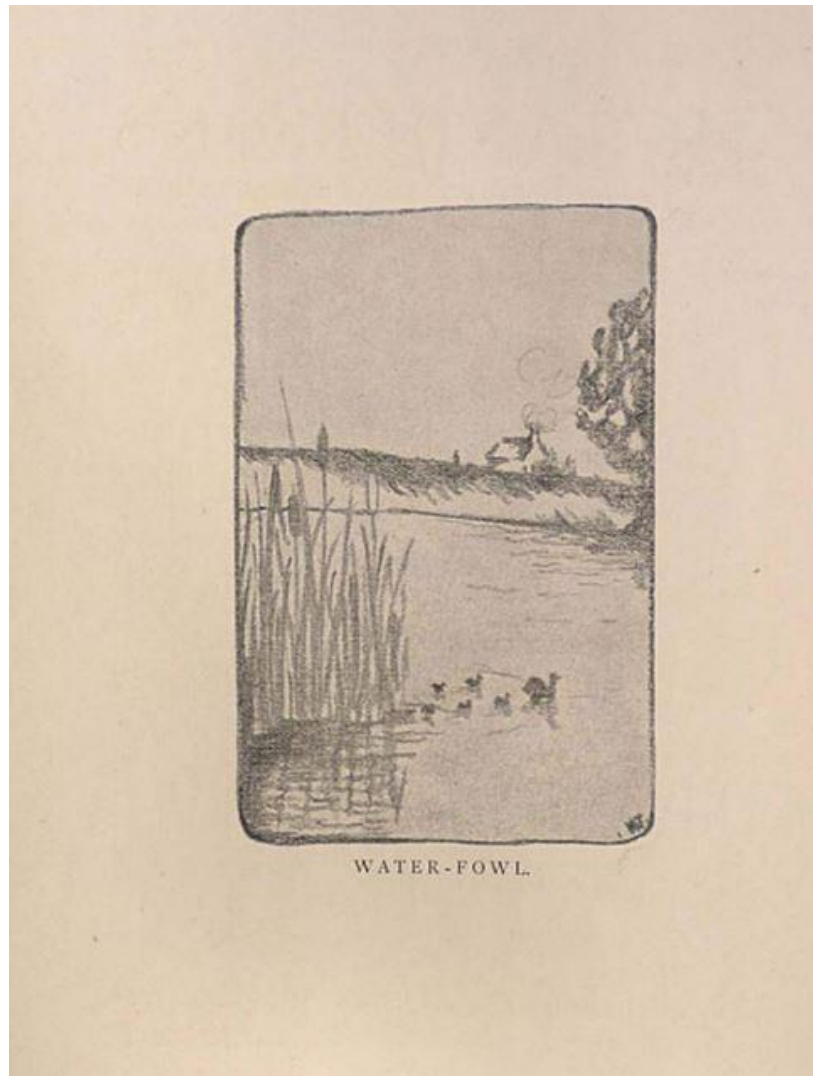
80,000 officers and ordinary soldiers had suffered a debilitating mental disability by the end of the war. However, Loughran suggests, ‘shell shock did change how doctors thought about mental illness. Doctors gained new understanding of psychological problems, and experimented with new therapies’<sup>612</sup>. Craiglockhart itself played a key role in the ‘development of British neuropsychiatry’ as the ‘concept of a psychological stressor resulting in physical symptoms was still a relatively novel one in this period’<sup>613</sup>. Hydrans challenged and changed the discourse around healing and conflict, and the impact of their work can also be seen within recent fictional contexts - *The Hydra* makes an appearance in Pat Barker’s 1991 historical war novel *Regeneration*, which is set at Craiglockhart and follows the lives of convalescing soldiers. As a tool for healing, utilised directly by the Craiglockhart patients, and as a series of representations of the process of healing, *The Hydra* was - and still is - a valuable document in comprehending the inner lives of those suffering from shell shock and seeking psychological amelioration through the arts.

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<sup>612</sup> Tracey Loughran, *BBC iWonder: Did Craiglockhart hospital revolutionise mental health treatment?* <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/guides/z9g7fg8>> [accessed 12 November 2017].

<sup>613</sup> Thomas E F Webb, ‘“Dottyville”—Craiglockhart War Hospital and shell-shock treatment in the First World War’, *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 99.7 (2006), 342-346 (p. 342).

## Conclusion



*Figure 18: 'Water-Fowl', The Hydra, Vol. 2 No.3. Picture: digitised archive.*

This thesis has examined three key examples of patient publications produced at various points between 1844 and 1918 in Scotland and England; the titles used as case studies were selected to demonstrate the scope of diverse expressions that patient publications have taken. *New Moon*, *Under the Dome*, and *The Hydra*, in representing different eras within a time period, also indicate the evolution of the format during these three quarters of a century. By exploring the links between patients' creative work and the medical practices influencing their recovery and

creative endeavours, I have demonstrated specific ways in which the journals have also highlighted the changing character and contexts of mental health care through this period.

*New Moon*, *Under the Dome*, and *The Hydra* were publications which functioned to deliver an aspect of moral therapy or ergotherapy; like other patient publications, they are intrinsically linked to conceptualisations of ‘curing’ mental health illness. The three publications illustrate how moral therapy evolved, in response to the wider contexts of care. The earliest title considered, *New Moon*, embodied a form of creative moral therapy which encouraged patients to aspire towards refined, civilised behaviour reflective of external society and supposedly representative of wellbeing. *Under the Dome* similarly represented Bethlem’s emphasis on moral therapy as replicating the standards of ‘external’ society through a ‘cyclical’ construction of ‘house identity’. *Under the Dome* as a tool of moral therapy, however, functions differently to *New Moon*, as the former is a publication which was explicit about those ways in which it was significantly shaped by staff, both in editorship and as contributors. *The Hydra*, meanwhile, was a publication inescapably shaped by the context of war: Craiglockhart’s practices of recreational ergotherapy, including the creation of the house journal, were informed by a concept of ‘wellness’ characterised by behaviour deemed appropriate for service. Crichton’s conceptualisation of a recovering patient as one attempting to replicate the refined, civil behaviours of external society is therefore quite different from, for example, the definition of ‘wellness’ at Craiglockhart. At this institution, ‘mental health’ was characterised as patients’ adherence to a set of behavioural and physiological traits that would make them effective and compliant soldiers. The titles of each of the publications explored in this thesis say something of the nature of the individual journals’ aims, and consequently map out this evolution of moral therapy. *New Moon*’s title alludes to its role as a consistently recurring therapeutic or ‘moral’ directive, in which patients would be regularly reminded of the objective of ‘refinement’. *Under the Dome*, as a title, paid homage to the tall, birdcage-like dome under which patients at Bethlem

lived and were treated, serving to remind readers of the hospital itself: the home which housed and united patients in their identity as such. ‘*The Hydra*’, as discussed in Chapter Three, made reference to the ‘compromised goal’<sup>614</sup> of Craiglockhart’s therapeutic practices, and the nature of shell shock.

These three publications represent a form which encompasses a wide range of titles produced in different circumstances, not only responding to various interpretations of the ideology of moral therapy, but also engaging with changing social and cultural contexts. In my introduction, I claimed that Reiss’s ‘Letters to Asylumia’ draws conclusions which are further evidenced by works featured in *New Moon*, *Under the Dome*, and *The Hydra*, and that his interrogative framework closely matched the themes and questions prioritised in my research. This analysis focused on the necessity of skepticism of objectivity in asylum journals and acknowledging unknowability, as well as the impact of cultural, social, and medical ‘conditions’ on patients’ experiences of recovery and creative endeavours. Throughout the chapters I have referred to these ‘elliptical gaps’ of knowability inherent in the patient publication format, and the impact of relevant contextual ‘conditions’ has informed my analysis of the three titles under discussion.

Each title can be interpreted as a response to the cultural, social, and medical ‘conditions’ of its specific moment in the wider chronology. I have argued that *New Moon*’s patient-contributors responded to the socio-medical philosophy of the ‘refinement as wellbeing’ ideology, partly demonstrated by the title’s replication of the literary trends and conventions of its era. *Under the Dome*’s patient- and staff-contributors responded to a different set of ‘conditions’. From a medical perspective, the creative therapy enacted by the publication was intended to serve as entertainment rather than as conventional treatment, and employed the tactic of creating a ‘house identity’ as a method of reinforcing medical ideology. The Bethlem

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<sup>614</sup> Chris Eagle, *Dysfluencies: On Speech Disorders in Modern Literature* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), p. 64.



publication also engaged directly with discourses surrounding domesticity and gender in late Victorian Britain, as well as with literary trends and contemporary conceptualisations of ‘madness’. *The Hydra* was preoccupied with the looming spectre of the Great War: as a socio-political ‘condition’, this context underlies much of the creative work produced for the Craiglockhart journal, either directly as a topic or implicitly through reference to soldiers’ hospitalisation. Works within this title are concerned with medical discourses, as demonstrated by the oft-visited themes of healing from war trauma and awareness of the ‘compromised’ nature of soldiers’ convalescence. The journal’s emphasis on poetry, as a form of writing thought to offer particular expressive potential conducive to recovering patients, particularly well demonstrates *The Hydra*’s connection with literary discourses.

I also argue that, as a format, patient publications illuminate an evolution within healthcare practices used in long nineteenth century mental health institutions, and demonstrate how this evolution intersects with literary discourses. The very existence of such documents highlights new attitudes towards mental health care; specifically, the introduction of moral therapy and its emphasis on creative employment as a means of care and recovery. As demonstrated, the ‘journal’ format of patient publications is notable due to its development coinciding with the period in which the ‘journal’ format became influential in mainstream media. Patient publications can, therefore, be said to reflect literary trends of the moment as well as medical discourses. I argue that it is the interrelationship of these two factors - that of a contemporary clinical emphasis on creativity and of the emergence of a distinctive style of Victorian journalism - that led to the production of patient publications, objects with potential to serve as first hand literary contributions to the medical discourse surrounding mental health care. The asylum journal was specifically a method of cultural rehabilitation. For many, as Reiss points out in ‘The Writing Cure’, ‘literary activity was a solace in their lonely and frequently

humiliating condition’<sup>615</sup> and served a very practical purpose within their medical care. The process of writing offered patients ‘the opportunity to compose [their] thoughts to order them in conventional terms, and to see them in print’<sup>616</sup>, and thus creative output functioned to improve or alleviate their mental health conditions.

### 1 - Thesis findings

Throughout this thesis, I have considered the individual circumstances which led to the creation of these three titles; this consideration has enabled me to use critical analysis to closely consider *New Moon*, *Under the Dome*, and *The Hydra* as individual publications. Considering the titles as a collective, however, enables conclusions to be drawn about the key concerns and interests of the publications as representative of the wider patient journal format. Developing on this analysis, I suggest that *New Moon*, *Under the Dome*, and *The Hydra*, regardless of their different structures and contents, are linked by their similarities, as illustrated by shared content themes and contexts. Despite the long chronology, and the evolution of the format during the period under consideration, the continual re-emergence of such themes within each of these titles reflects, what I demonstrate, are key characteristics of the patient publication format.

A central focus of interrogation in each of the three titles has been the relationship between institutional authority and patient autonomy. This can be seen in *New Moon*, which, I have argued, can be understood as a tool of ‘repressive tolerance’<sup>617</sup> in which patients’ critical engagement with ‘refinement’ might be a necessary, permitted aspect of reinforcing institutional authority. *Under the Dome*, however, represents a patient-staff literary relationship in which the boundary between those being treated and those doing the treating became blurred. Thus, I have

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<sup>615</sup> Benjamin Reiss, ‘The Writing Cure’, *New York Archives*, 3.4 (2004), 25-28 (p. 26).

<sup>616</sup> Ibid.

<sup>617</sup> Lynn Pykett, ‘Reading the Periodical Press: Text and Context’, *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 22.3 (1989), 100-108 (p. 106).

suggested, staff- and patient-writers worked together to produce *Under the Dome* as a publication which communicated a particular self-perception of Bethlem as a method of reinforcing the hospital's moral therapy practices. *The Hydra*, meanwhile, encouraged patient-writers to critically engage with the cure-conflict discourse by producing written work about their experiences of living this paradox. The relationship here between staff and patients is made more complex by the context of war: journal works display greater resistance to the socio-political circumstances of patients' necessitated recovery, than to the institution as creative or expressive restraint. The prevalence of this theme suggests that the relationship between patient and institution is key to understanding the nature of these publications. Analysis of these relationships also demonstrates that patients, regardless of the impact of their institution, often attempted to find genuine creative expression in their publications, and exercise something akin to autonomy in their visual and written work.

Developing this discussion of the relationship of these three titles to each other, attention should also be paid to the repeated and interlinked themes of identity and community, which are present in each of the titles. Moreover, each journal represents a literary and therapeutic community, in which - theoretically, at least - staff supported patients, who in turn encouraged each other, to utilise creativity within the publication to express and heal themselves. Asylum patients are positioned as a community separate from that of the 'sane' world beyond the confines of the hospital. *New Moon*, *Under the Dome*, and *The Hydra* are also concerned with constructing and depicting a particular form of identity. The two factors, I suggest, are often interlinked in the production of patient publications. *New Moon*'s patient-contributors are preoccupied with the notion of presenting themselves as refined, intellectual citizens, equal if not superior to those who lived beyond the asylum walls. The formation of 'house identity' was explored extensively in my chapter on *Under the Dome*, which suggested that the magazine aimed to create a particular 'mythos' of Bethlem as literary or learned, domesticated, and

historically significant. Patients at Craiglockhart were united by their experience of symptoms of a specific illness; as a result, their work often refers to symptoms and treatments assumed to be universally understood and experienced by the majority of *The Hydra*'s readership. Similarly, regular references to military jargon and memories of conflict demonstrates that this journal perceived of its readership as soldiers as well as patients - or perhaps more specifically, a category of individual who embodied both roles simultaneously. Reconnection with communities was a key aspect of ergotherapy, which encouraged officer-patients to reintegrate with the society which provided them with distinct social roles. These three identity constructions are interlinked with notions of the individual as a component within a wider community. Whether exploring the role of 'refined citizen', 'Bethlem patient', or 'shell shocked soldier', patient-contributors were positioning themselves within society, or hospital or military communities.

Earlier in this conclusion, I returned to the discussion of each title as responding to the cultural, social, and medical 'conditions' of its specific moment in the wider chronology. This engagement with 'external' or wider culture should further be considered as a recurring theme within the content of the selected numbers of *New Moon*, *Under the Dome*, and *The Hydra*. In addition to evidencing the titles as representative of different moments within the evolution of the patient publication format, this repeated theme highlights a key characteristic of these three journals. Patient-contributors, along with the staff who supported them, were keenly interested in understanding, interpreting, and responding to the discourses which affected their immediate communities, as well as similar institutions. This is understandable, as literary, cultural, and social 'conditions' played key roles within the lives of asylum patients and had the potential to impact their experiences of recovery. Sarah Chaney, in a blog post for the Wellcome Library, links the work of *Under the Dome* contributor H.F.H to the founding of the Mental Patients' Union in 1972, a 'radical movement, influenced by anti-psychiatry and Marxist theory' and a

group which ‘advocated for the dignity of mental patients’<sup>618</sup>. The Union campaigned to raise awareness of their experiences in the mental health system and emphasised that ‘mental illness needed to be understood in its social and political context’<sup>619</sup>. The ‘conditions’ impacting mental health treatment and the experiences of those accessing services at hospitals are, arguably, key contexts for those seeking to understand their own circumstances, as well as for scholars forming historical analyses.



Figure 19: William Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress* - 'In The Madhouse'<sup>620</sup>

<sup>618</sup> Sarah Chaney, *Where is the survivor archive?* (2016) <<http://blog.wellcomelibrary.org/2016/12/where-is-the-survivor-archive/>> [accessed 3 January 2017].

<sup>619</sup> Ibid.

<sup>620</sup> William Hogarth, *In The Madhouse - A Rake's Progress*, c.1732, oil painting. Sir John Soane's Museum.

This engagement with ‘external’ discourses can be linked to another factor introduced earlier in this conclusion; a theme which links *New Moon*, *Under the Dome*, and *The Hydra*. All three, as patient-powered publications - albeit with support from hospital staff - produced works with the potential to contribute to the discourses surrounding their treatment. I have examined in each chapter the circumstances of each publication’s circulation and reception; what links the three is an interest in communicating something of their experiences specifically as mental health patients. As I have demonstrated, the nature of this statement of experience differs in each title: for example, *New Moon* advocates for staff to place their trust in patients, to whom they should act kindly, and rails against the unnecessary nature of curtailing patients’ liberties in works such as ‘Promenades of the Patients in the Asylum of Stephansfeld, Strasbourg’. It also illuminates patient-contributors’ desire to be taken seriously and for their work to be seen as an elevated example of literary endeavour. *New Moon* communicates patients’ desires for dignity, autonomy, and freedom, as does *Under the Dome*. The Bethlem title depicts the patient body as literary or learned, capable of replicating late Victorian gender roles and adhering to a domestic routine reflective of the social norm. This suggests that patients at this institution were either living this life or felt the need to represent their lives as such; it also implies that a sense of unified identity was important to patients, some of whom had lived at Bethlem for many years and considered it home. H.F.H’s Notes Apropos of 2.8 contains a section reflecting on the author’s hopes that *Under the Dome* will challenge perceptions of Bethlem, after hearing that the librarian of the British Museum was hoping to place copies in the National Library. A wider readership of the magazine would ‘prove [...] the error and injustice of confounding the Bethlem of to-day - and of not a few years preceding - with the “Bethlem” of old times, and which in the use and application of the latter term, our present-day Authors and Journalists (not a few of them) too commonly do, but who ought to know better’ [italics in original]<sup>621</sup>. Here, H.F.H stresses that

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<sup>621</sup> Henry Francis Harding, ‘Notes Apropos.’, *Under the Dome*, 2.8 (1893), 114-121 (p. 117).

contemporary writers still perceived Bethlem as a barbaric place populated by characters such as those in Hogarth's famous illustration of the hospital, 'In The Madhouse' of *A Rake's Progress*. He instead hoped that the 'talents' of patients would be clear to their readers, and an understanding of Bethlem as a literary and civilised domestic setting would replace older preconceptions about the institution. Likewise, the editor states that the magazine is useful to readers from the wider community as a 'record of the events of local interest which happen from time to time in the Hospital'<sup>622</sup>. *The Hydra*, however, depicts the experience of convalescence as a gentle routine of visits with doctors, employment, recreation, social outings, and exercise, interjected with horrific trauma following experiences in war. Life as a mental health patient is depicted as a more uniform experience at Craiglockhart, partly due to the regimented normality of military life but also because of the similar illnesses and treatments experienced by the soldier-patients. Chapter Three discusses how their works become politicised through the magazine as a public platform, and identifies the numerous ways in which contributors engaged with the socio-political contexts of conflict and convalescence.

Patients at asylums (as well as the staff directing their treatments) demonstrate keen awareness of these discourses or 'conditions' - both as medical subjects and as literary consumers. As has been established, mental health care had begun to focus on concepts of 'cure by functioning', utilising creative expression as a healing tool. By their very ergotherapeutic purpose, patient publications were intended to encourage patients to express their ideas and communicate their feelings, views, and experiences to a wider audience. Patients, therefore, were not only exposed to this new literary sphere of discussion, but were actively encouraged to take part in the discourse by contributing their work to their own asylum's publication. These two factors contributing towards the creation of patient publications in the long nineteenth century - the literary atmosphere and the advent of creative therapy in asylums - have a symbiotic

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<sup>622</sup> Anon, 'Editorial', *Under the Dome*, 1.4 (1892), 36-37 (p. 36).

relationship that was mutually enabling. Patient publications, as medical exercises, enabled the use of journalism within its pages as a healing tool, and the developing form of journalism and mass produced publication during the mid-nineteenth century was a factor which promoted the very development of the patient publication as a format. In addition to this, hopes and concerns about medical developments were discussed in the wider literary sphere by both professionals and by the general populace; this indicates that by the mid nineteenth century, there was a literary prototype for such discussions. Therefore, a progressive, experimental type of publication, borne out of new devices for healing and communicating and the various connections between these two ideas and practices, enabled first hand contributions from the patients themselves. This, of course, should be considered within the limitations of knowability put forward by Reiss in 'Letters to Asylumia'.

*New Moon*, *Under the Dome*, and *The Hydra* are also linked by contributors' hopes for the future. A poem in No. 4 of *New Moon* entitled 'The Millennium' reflects on the illnesses suffered by the author's friends: 'Around me nought but misery I survey;/ Still see my fellows thousand ills endure'<sup>623</sup>. The speaker, however, looks forward to a better future in which 'The light shall stream forth to make us glad', acknowledging that 'though ourselves that day may never see,/ 'Tis bliss enough to know it once shall be!'<sup>624</sup>. Here, the poet positions this piece of creative work within an evolving medical discourse in which patients might not experience this 'brighter day'<sup>625</sup>, but hope can be derived from knowing that one day others may have the comforts and happiness they have been unable to attain. For patient-contributors to *The Hydra* and *Under the Dome*, the aspirations that are discussed are more specifically about the role of their publications in years to come: both titles address the idea of their 'house organ' serving as a record for the future. These two publications were perceived, at least by some contributors, as

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<sup>623</sup> Anon, 'The Millennium', *New Moon*, 1.4 (1845), 3 (p. 3).

<sup>624</sup> Ibid.

<sup>625</sup> Ibid.



documents preserving patients' creative identities and experiences of recovery. *The Hydra*, as discussed in Chapter Three, serves as a historical record of life at Craiglockhart, demonstrating the extent of recreational activities in which patients were able to take part and providing a comprehensive account of their access to activities, sports, and crafts. This characterisation of the journal as a method of preserving a particular moment in literary, social, and medical chronology is shared by Schaupp, who refers to *The Hydra* as 'a vivid account of experience provided for posterity'<sup>626</sup>.

The notion of an asylum journal as fulfilling a role as a historical record for future generations is most apparent in *Under the Dome*. The journal specifically demonstrates an interest in what the future may hold for the hospital - the Chaplain's Column of 7.28 hypothesises that 'In 53 years or 1840 years (statists are still quarrelling over an odd year or two) there will be no medical superintendents, and there will be no attendants, but patients will be everybody and do everything'<sup>627</sup> - but is also keenly interested in what the magazine might communicate to those who might uncover the journal in years to come. H.F.H, in his Notes Apropos of 2.8, presents the interest demonstrated by the British Library in housing their magazine as a chance for both contemporary and future readers to gain insight into the experiences of those living at the hospital: he states 'by this means not only Bethlem's "literary cravings" but its talents also will be by our Magazine made manifest to future generations'<sup>628</sup>. This wish was shared by staff: in the Editorial of 1.4, the writer suggests that one

'reason for continuing [publication] is that the Magazine has already begun to be a record [...] and perhaps in this way may be valuable and interesting to the archaeologist at some future date, long after your present Editor has ceased to be able to put pen to

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<sup>626</sup> Anne-Catriona Schaupp, 'The Repression and Articulation of War Experiences: A Study of the Literary Culture of Craiglockhart War Hospital' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017).

<sup>627</sup> Edward Geoffrey O'Donoghue, 'Chaplain's Column', *Under the Dome*, 7.28 (1898), 167-176 (p. 173).

<sup>628</sup> Henry Francis Harding, 'Notes Apropos.', *Under the Dome*, 2.8 (1893), 114-121 (p. 117).

paper, and a bound copy may in some distant age evoke the same excitement that the discovery of important papyri in Egyptian tombs does at the present time'<sup>629</sup>.

Here, it is made clear that it was hoped that *Under the Dome* would serve an important purpose to future scholars in communicating something specific about patients' psychological and creative experiences within Bethlem, something which came from the patients as active agents in their own work and treatment.

## 2 - Future research

'Future archaeologists', therefore, are invited to take up the mantle. Based upon a body of new archival research, this thesis has aimed to open up discussion of how patient publications demonstrate sanatoria's newfound emphasis on creative expression in mental health care. It has also explored how, as products and reflections of their institutions, individual hospital's 'asylum journals' can be seen to echo ideological changes in asylum healthcare. I have also attempted to demonstrate how journal contributors' reflections on their creative or psychological identities provide insight into their lives as both patients and artists. The lack of scholarship on the patient publication format means that this thesis has been largely exploratory in its discussion of the individual titles, and has attempted to construct an initial introduction into this specific form of patient creativity.

This thesis project grew from research I undertook as an administrative assistant on the Graylingwell Heritage Project, a project exploring the social and cultural history of Graylingwell Hospital - a mental health institution based in Chichester - which ran until 2015. I was asked to write a piece for the project book, *Under the Water Tower*, on the patient-produced *The Wishing Well*, a magazine published from 1946 until at least 1960. My interest in *The Wishing Well* grew

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<sup>629</sup> Anon, 'Editorial', *Under the Dome*, 1.4 (1892), 36-37 (p. 36).

into a desire to find similar publications which provided a platform for patients' voices and creativity. Having been unaware of the existence of such types of media prior to my work on the Graylingwell Heritage Project, I looked for references to any examples of similar titles and found many from a number of countries. Realising the potential scope of the project, this initial inquiry led to the decision to focus on titles within a distinct geographical boundary in order to take into consideration the relevant cultural and societal conditions which impacted the patient publication format in source material from a select area. This led me to a number of digital and physical archives across England and Scotland in search of such titles, and has resulted in an extensive body of research accumulated over the past years. Even under this restriction, it became clear that the number and variety of publications produced by mental health patients within this geographical confine would be too extensive to cover in this thesis. In addition to this, I wanted to ensure that I paid adequate attention to individual titles and the patient work that they showcased. I decided to focus on *New Moon*, *Under the Dome*, and *The Hydra* because they succinctly demonstrated the variety of the format, and illustrated its evolution over a time period. Considered as a collective, as discussed above, the three titles are linked by the similarities in their themes, and can illustrate some of the hopes and concerns experienced by mental health patients. Such insight is most relevant to asylum studies.

My process of research has revealed that there is still much that remains to be done to draw attention to patients' voices and creative expressions. It is hoped that research into patient publications - both as individual titles and as a collective format - will continue. Such texts provide valuable insight into the creative and psychiatric experiences of mental health patients - despite the limitations of the 'asylum journal' as 'elliptical record'. I have attempted throughout this study to consider the presences, absences, and contexts within and surrounding patient journals, enabling an image of the various influences and ideas impacting on the creation and publication of these works to develop. In turn, this offers a clearer view of the material object

and what it can tell us; by considering all available information about the patient publication in question, an understanding of the work and its contents begins to emerge.

Showcasing both medical subject and public writing, patient publications serve a similar purpose to medical and non-medical writings on the asylum patient experience. However, as discussed above, ‘house organs’ arguably enabled those with first hand experience of medical developments to contribute - within limitations - to the developing discourses of psychiatry. More extensive research could further elucidate this discursive impact; likewise, it would be interesting to consider the effect of these titles on wider cultural and social discourses.

*New Moon*, *Under the Dome*, and *The Hydra* are all sources with potential for future research. For example, attention might be paid to the differing geographical contexts of *New Moon* and *The Hydra*, as publications from Scottish institutions, and *Under the Dome*, an English title. Michelle Higgs, in her book *Life in the Victorian Hospital*, suggests that during the nineteenth century, the ‘rules in Scotland were more liberal than those in England and Wales, because they allowed for voluntary admission to asylums’<sup>630</sup> - might these social differences be read in the publications created in either country? Divisions of gender and class have clear impact within a nineteenth century institution, and necessarily will have ramifications visible within the content produced for asylum publications. Returning to Reiss’s statement that case notes for patient contributors to *The Opal* suggest that they ‘paid privately for their care and were well educated’<sup>631</sup>, and often were given these positions on the journal ‘in part because their physicians recognised that they were unaccustomed to labor’<sup>632</sup>, class divisions might be further considered as impacting the material evidence. Such publications, de Young suggests, were limited to a specific category of patient: writing and editing responsibilities were granted to

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<sup>630</sup> Michelle Higgs, *Life in the Victorian Hospital* (Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2009), p. 91.

<sup>631</sup> Benjamin Reiss, ‘Letters from Asylumia: The “Opal” and the Cultural Work of the Lunatic Asylum, 1851-1860’, *American Literary History*, 16.1 (2004), 1-28 (p. 8).

<sup>632</sup> *Ibid.*

'patients who not only were literate, but who were deemed rational and sentient enough to comment in an entertaining, inspirational or educational way about their surroundings'<sup>633</sup>. For class does not only affect the type of treatment patients received, but the themes and tensions of this economic hierarchy would necessarily have informed, however subliminally, the production of patient publications. Gender differences are also reinforced by content published within *The Opal*: and Reiss suggests that 'that the voice of "sanity" to which the patients aspired was a gendered one, with different literary norms associated with each sex'<sup>634</sup>. Future discussion of the three titles examined in my thesis might focus specifically on exploring the divisions of class and gender within Crichton, Bethlem (which, as has been discussed, presented gender norms in several articles) or Craiglockhart, and how these affected the patient publications produced within their walls.

As demonstrated by Appendix A, there is an extensive chronology of patient publications which offers myriad research opportunities: some titles have received scholarly interest but all would benefit from greater attention. The 150 year span of the format means that a range of cultural, social, and medical 'conditions' have impacted the production and consumption of these titles. Future research might consider them in conjunction with the corresponding history of publications created by patients after their discharge from mental health institutions, from the nineteenth century titles identified by Sarah Wise in *Inconvenient People*<sup>635</sup>, to the works created by the psychiatric survivors movement in the 1960s.

Patient narratives can also be politicised, such as those which have been produced by inmates who challenged authoritative institutions or hierarchical medical structures. Alternative narratives that counter 'official' documentation are often contended, usurped, or distanced by

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<sup>633</sup> Mary de Young, *Encyclopedia of Asylum Therapeutics, 1750-1950s* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2015), p. 118.

<sup>634</sup> Benjamin Reiss, 'Letters from Asylumia: The "Opal" and the Cultural Work of the Lunatic Asylum, 1851-1860', *American Literary History*, 16.1 (2004), 1-28 (p.11).

<sup>635</sup> See Sarah Wise, *Inconvenient People: Lunacy, Liberty, and the Mad-Doctors in Victorian England* (London: Vintage, 2013).

institutions which the narratives set out to expose to some degree. A comparison of writings by patients living within or discharged from institutions would shed light on the institutional impacts on publications. There is considerable scope for research possibilities not only due to the diversity of the extensive patient publication format, but also to the fascinating minutiae with the pages of individual titles.

A plethora of further questions emerge from my research: for example, do patient publications present a unique challenge to preconceived notions of nineteenth century mental health care? Further research into the contexts surrounding patient publications might explore the impact of wider cultural understandings of the importance of the accessibility and role of creativity and recovery, and what impact this might have had on care in mental health institutions. Analysis of asylum staff magazines would provide an interesting counterpoint to such journals created by and for mental health patients. Examples could include *The Asylum Record*, The National Asylum Workers' Union's own magazine; my initial research has also indicated the existence of staff magazines specific to individual institutions, such as *Hospital News*, the staff magazine of St Francis Hospital in Haywards Heath, which ran during the 1960s and 70s.

Patient publications are fascinating examples of material culture which occupy a multiple liminal space between patient and institution, the humanities and medicine, the visual and the literary, the private and the public. As a result, they provide exciting opportunities for further research in asylum studies, and offer the potential for exploring the complex and nuanced experiences of patients living and being treated in mental health institutions during a 150 year period. Highlighting a relationship between the treatment of mental health disorders and the production of cultural objects, these publications present a challenge to conventional understandings of the historical treatment of mental health illnesses.

In speaking of searching for the voices of mental health patients, ‘service users’, or survivors, in the historical record, Chaney references the limited number of survivor archives and records available. This leads, she suggests, to a centralising of professional voices at the expense of those receiving treatment, as well as a continual framing of mental health narratives within a strictly medical discourse. Despite these constraints, she argues that ‘patients’ voices *can* be found buried in the records of medical institutions, but they are rarely allowed to stand alone’ [italics in original]<sup>636</sup>. This thesis has attempted to understand patients’ creative expressions as shaped by those forces which do not permit them to fully ‘stand alone’, but while searching for the ‘expressive possibilities’ within these publications. Exploring how those who contributed to *New Moon*, *Under the Dome*, or *The Hydra* were affected by discourses external and internal to their hospital homes illuminates aspects of the patient-writer or patient-artist experience. There is, however, still much work to be done in understanding the role of asylum journals and ‘house organs’ in mental health treatment, in the long nineteenth century and beyond. In Chaney’s phrase, ‘Let’s hope this is just the beginning’<sup>637</sup>: scholarly research into patient publications can further extend the platform that moral therapy practices arguably first offered to those with marginalised voices, continuing the important work achieved by patient creatives.

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<sup>636</sup> Sarah Chaney, *Where is the survivor archive?* (2016) <<http://blog.wellcomelibrary.org/2016/12/where-is-the-survivor-archive/>> [accessed 3 January 2017].

<sup>637</sup> Ibid.

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### Appendix A - Chronology of patient publications and extended literature review

I here lay out a brief timeline of patient publications, naming titles produced in mental health hospitals in the UK, the US, South Africa, Canada, and Australia, from the earliest example located so far, to the modern incarnations of the format which largely ceased publication in the UK after the movement towards implementing care in the community. By identifying patient publications chronologically, I aim to illustrate how the format has developed over a period of around 150 years. Publications created by patients who were under the care of an asylum, or had recently been discharged and still maintained contact with the hospital, have been included in this history. In order to focus on those publications which are specifically ‘house organs’, works that were produced by ex-patients without immediate connection to the asylum have been excluded. This appendix will also form a literature review, outlining the critical writing produced thus far on patient publications, from both historical and literary perspectives. Sarah Chaney suggests: ‘As far as we know, Britain was indeed the country with the largest number of asylum magazines in the nineteenth century’<sup>638</sup>. This certainly seems to be the case in the research I have undertaken - which also demonstrates that Scotland has a particularly high number of such house organs - although critical attention has largely been paid to American patient publications.

Although has been claimed that *The Gartnavel Minstral*, first published in 1845 by the Gartnavel Royal Hospital in Glasgow (formally known as the Glasgow Lunatic Asylum), is the ‘earliest example of a publication written and edited by hospital patients’<sup>639</sup>, evidence suggests that the earliest version of a publication is another title from this hospital. Jonathan Andrews, in *Let There Be Light: A History of Gartnavel Royal Hospital From its Beginnings to the Present Day*, writes: ‘it was Gartnavel that seems to have given birth to the first magazines in Scotland

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<sup>638</sup> Sarah Chaney, ‘No “Sane” Person Would Have Any Idea’: Patients’ Involvement in Late Nineteenth-century British Asylum Psychiatry’, *Medical History*, 60.1 (2016), 37-53 (p. 39).

<sup>639</sup> Anon, *Wellcome Library* (2014), <<https://wellcome.ac.uk/press-release/wellcome-library-funds-new-partnership-digitise-800000-pages-mental-health-archives>> [15 October 2015].

produced and written almost entirely by patients, *Chronicles From The Monastery* and the *Glasgow North Britain*, published from 1834-41<sup>640</sup>. *Chronicles* may also have been known as *Chronicles of the Cloister*<sup>641</sup>, although an article from 1898, 'Scottish Lunatic Asylum Journalism', dates *Cloister* at 1848<sup>642</sup>.

The earliest publication produced by mental health patients in the US is *The Retreat Gazette*. This short-lived title, which began publication in 1837, was created by a mental health patient at Connecticut's Hartford Retreat, and served to document life at the hospital. Historian Carla Joinson has blogged about her research into the Retreat Gazette<sup>643</sup>. A more comprehensive history of the inception of this magazine can be found in Mary de Young's *Encyclopedia of Asylum Therapeutics 1750-1950s*. In this text, she suggests:

‘Superintendents of asylums in the United States not only were loath to fall behind their British and European colleagues who were championing moral treatment, but were keen on establishing their own bona fides as experts on insanity and its progressive management and treatment. Having house-organs that effectively propagandized their asylums not only went towards meeting these goals, but also in a less obvious, but still significant, way challenging prevailing notions that insanity was tantamount to a life sentence of hopelessness and despair’<sup>644</sup>.

This journal is also referenced briefly by Lawrence B. Goodheart in his book *Mad Yankees: The Hartford Retreat for the Insane and Nineteenth-Century Psychiatry*<sup>645</sup>, and in Luke Dittrich's *Patient H.M., A Story of Memory, Madness and Family Secrets*<sup>646</sup>.

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<sup>640</sup> Jonathan Andrews, 'The Patient Population', in *Let There Be Light Again : A History of Gartnavel Royal Hospital From its Beginnings to the Present Day*, ed. by Jonathan Andrews and Iain Smith, pp. 103-125 (p. 109).

<sup>641</sup> Anon, 'Institution Magazines.' *Under the Dome*, 5.19 (1896), 129-131 (p. 130).

<sup>642</sup> Anon, 'Scottish Lunatic Asylum Journalism', *Scottish Notes and Queries*, 11.11(1898), 169 (p. 169).

<sup>643</sup> Carla Joinson, *Indians, Insanity, and American History Blog* (2010) <[http://cantonasylumforinsaneindians.com/history\\_blog/](http://cantonasylumforinsaneindians.com/history_blog/)> [accessed 24 March 2017].

<sup>644</sup> Mary de Young, *Encyclopedia of Asylum Therapeutics, 1750-1950s* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2015) p. 118.

<sup>645</sup> Lawrence B. Goodheart, *Mad Yankees: The Hartford Retreat for the Insane and Nineteenth-Century Psychiatry* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003).

<sup>646</sup> Luke Dittrich, *Patient H.M., A Story of Memory, Madness and Family Secrets* (New York: Random House, 2017).

Following *The Retreat Gazette* was the Asylum Journal, created by patients at Vermont Asylum - also known as the Waterbury Asylum - located in Brattleboro. The *Asylum Journal* was first published on November 22 1842, and remained in publication until 1846; Vincent Golden has produced a blog post on this title<sup>647</sup>.

Returning to the UK, the *New Moon, or Crichton Royal Institution Literary Register*, the subject of Chapter One, was a magazine created by inmates at the Crichton Royal Hospital in Dumfries. Volume 1, Number 1 was published on Tuesday, December 3 1844, and ran until 1937. Maureen Park states that this magazine which was printed ‘initially in Dumfries and later in-house at Crichton, [*New Moon*] was the first magazine regularly written and produced by asylum patients in Britain and became a long-term publication’<sup>648</sup>.

The following year, in September 1845, the Royal Edinburgh Lunatic Asylum (later Hospital)’s patient-led journal *The Morningside Mirror*<sup>649</sup> began publication, which, according to Physician-Superintendent Dr William Mackinnon in his report of 1845, was ‘an adjunct to the new printing press of the Asylum’<sup>650</sup>. It was published monthly and ran until 1912. ‘Almost all [the magazine’s] articles have been written by our inmates, and they come and go’<sup>651</sup>, states the address of the Jubilee Number of *The Morningside Mirror*, which was quoted in Bethlem’s 5.17 *Under the Dome*. This extract continued:

“‘Our muse arose out of the ink-pot, just as most of the great literature had its bases on empty stomachs [...] For fifty years it has chronicled our doings, it has been an outlet for our literary energies, and it had given a keener interest to our ever-changing population [...] When started it was a step in advance, and one among many proofs, that a new era had arisen for the afflicted. It has contained many brilliant articles, many pathetic

<sup>647</sup> Vincent Golden, *Past is Present* (2015) <<https://pastispresent.org/2015/good-sources/the-asylum-journal-presents-presidential-candidates/>> [accessed 13 June 2016].

<sup>648</sup> Maureen Park and Robert Hamilton, ‘Moral treatment of the insane: Provisions for lifelong learning, cultural engagement, and creativity in nineteenth-century asylums’, *Journal of Adult and Continuing Education*, 16.2 (2010), 100-113 (p. 105).

<sup>649</sup> Numbers of this title held at Lothian Health Services Archive.

<sup>650</sup> Emma Middleton, *Society for the Social History of Medicine* (2015), <<https://sshm.org/from-manacles-to-management-moral-treatment-and-the-morningside-mirror-1845-1855/>> [access 15 May 2018].

<sup>651</sup> Anon, ‘Institution Magazines’, *Under the Dome*, 5.17 (1896), 2-9 (p. 4).

thoughts, and many whimsical conceits. It has stimulated into healthy activity many bright spirits, that for the time were clouded over, and it has evoked the latent fires of prose and poetry in minds where they never kindled before. Literature was not its only function; the news of the place, the games, outdoor and indoor, the dances, the concerts, the pic-nics, the Library Club meetings, the local gossip - in short, the human life, warm and pulsating, here were set down in order”<sup>652</sup>.

Emma Middleton’s *From Manacles to Management: Moral Treatment and The Morningside Mirror, 1845-1855*<sup>653</sup>, is a particularly useful history of this publication, which is held at Lothian Health Services Archive in the University of Edinburgh. Middleton states that the house organ was established as ‘part of the REA moral treatment regime, [and] [a]s the title suggests, the *Mirror* allowed patients to reflect upon their life and thoughts whilst’<sup>654</sup> there. As with many other patient publications, *The Morningside Mirror* ‘provides a lens through which to examine the patient experience of moral treatment’<sup>655</sup>, and much of the journal was dedicated to reflect this aspect of patient life, reporting patients’ activities such as fishing, cricket, curling, and concerts. Although the positive picture *The Morningside Mirror* paints of the Royal Edinburgh Hospital could imply, Middleton suggests, that the journal was ‘little more than a propagandistic mouthpiece for the asylum management[,] closer reading of the magazine [makes it] clear that a more critical perspective of moral treatment co-existed within the *Mirror*’<sup>656</sup>. This magazine also ‘occasionally offered gruesomely wry reflection on the economic utilitarianism informing contemporary charitable provision’<sup>657</sup>, suggests Jonathan Andrews in his work on cultures of death at the Royal Edinburgh Asylum. *The Morningside Mirror* is also discussed at length by Vicky Long in *Destigmatising mental illness? Professional politics and public education in*

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<sup>652</sup> Ibid, p.3.

<sup>653</sup> Emma Middleton, *Society for the Social History of Medicine* (2015), <<https://sshm.org/from-manacles-to-management-moral-treatment-and-the-morningside-mirror-1845-1855/>> [access 15 May 2018].

<sup>654</sup> Ibid.

<sup>655</sup> Ibid.

<sup>656</sup> Ibid.

<sup>657</sup> Jonathan Andrews, ‘Death and the dead-house in Victorian asylums: necroscopy versus mourning at the Royal Edinburgh Asylum, c. 1832–1901’, *History of Psychiatry*, 23.1 (2012), 6–21 (p. 7).

*Britain, 1870-1970*. Long suggests that the Mirror ‘offered some asylum inhabitants a forum in which to forge a different identity for themselves than that of mental patient’<sup>658</sup> and that contributors frequently promoted the idea that ‘those within the asylum were superior to the sane outside’<sup>659</sup>, although articles were ‘usually written in a humorous tone and frequently contained a degree of self-mockery’<sup>660</sup>. These conclusions closely resemble the conclusions reached by my analysis of *New Moon*, *Under the Dome*, and *The Hydra*.

Following *Chronicles From The Monastery* and the *Glasgow North Britain*, Gartnavel Royal Hospital began to publish *The Gartnavel Minstrel* in 1845. A patient, John R. Adams (born 1807), is said by Andrews and Smith to have ‘veritably flourished at Glasgow Royal [as he] took on the editorial role of the first patients’ magazine *Chronicles From The Monastery*, learning all the arts of the printing press [...] He published *The Gartnavel Minstrel* (1845) after his discharge, having actually chosen to stay on at Gartnavel, after being pronounced well in 1841’<sup>661</sup>. Laura Stevens has written a useful blog on the character of several of Gartnavel Hospital’s publications, and particularly *The Gartnavel Minstrel*<sup>662</sup>.

A few years after *New Moon* began publication, the Utica State Lunatic Asylum in New York began to publish *The Opal*, a work by patients which ran from 1851 to 1860/1.

As discussed in the introduction, Benjamin Reiss has produced research into this title in his articles ‘Letters from Asylumia: The “Opal” and the Cultural Work of the Lunatic Asylum, 1851-1860’ and ‘The Writing Cure’. His *Theatres of Madness: Insane Asylums and Nineteenth-*

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<sup>658</sup> Vicky Long, *Destigmatising mental illness? Professional politics and public education in Britain 1870-1970* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), p. 30.

<sup>659</sup> Ibid.

<sup>660</sup> Ibid.

<sup>661</sup> Jonathan Andrews, ‘The Patient Population’, in *Let There Be Light Again : A History of Gartnavel Royal Hospital From its Beginnings to the Present Day*, ed. by Jonathan Andrews and Iain Smith, pp. 103-125 (p. 111).

<sup>662</sup> Laura Stevens, *University of Glasgow Library Blog* (201) <<https://universityofglasgowlibrary.wordpress.com/2016/07/13/hot-off-the-presses-patient-publications-at-gartnavel-royal-hospital/>> [accessed 14 June 2018].

*Century American Culture*<sup>663</sup> also makes reference to *The Opal*, the *Asylum Journal*, the *Retreat Gazette*, and *The Morningside Mirror*. This particular publication has been examined in greater depth by the scholar Maryrose Eannace in her dissertation 'Lunatic Literature: New York State's The Opal, 1850-1860'<sup>664</sup> and is referenced by Janet Miron in her text *Prisons, Asylums, and the Public: Institutional Visiting in the Nineteenth Century*<sup>665</sup>. Grahame Mooney and Jonathan Reinartz make mention of *The Opal* in their text *Permeable Walls: Historical Perspectives on Hospital and Asylum Visiting*<sup>666</sup>. *The Opal* is also referenced by Emily Clark in her article 'Mad Literature: Insane Asylums in Nineteenth-Century America'<sup>667</sup>, while Lauren J. Tenney's The Opal Project resulted in the publication of an article entitled 'Who fancies to have a Revolution here? The Opal Revisited (1851-1860)'<sup>668</sup>. On her webpage for The Opal Project, she states:

'The Opal, which was "dedicated to usefulness," is a ten volume Journal [...] The more than 3,000 pages of material in The Opal includes political commentary, humor, advice, and theory on insanity in the form of articles, poetry, prose, cartoons, plays, and literature. The Opal was written by the patients who lived on one of the private wards in the Asylum, where there was little reported violence, unlike the basement, for example, where Phebe B. Davis in her 1855 expose of the Utica State Lunatic Asylum reports crib patients were kept. The crib, known as the Utica Crib was invented at the Asylum. It was a wood slat adult-sized crib with a top that came down, locking a person inside of the crate to be swung'<sup>669</sup>.

Succeeding *The Gartnavel Minstrel* was *The Gartnavel Gazette*, published from 1853 to 1855, which was 'revived again for a more prolonged circulation (interrupted only during the

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<sup>663</sup> Benjamin Reiss, *Theatres of Madness: Insane Asylums & Nineteenth Century American Culture* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008).

<sup>664</sup> Maryrose Eannace, 'Lunatic Literature: New York State's The Opal, 1850-1860' (PhD dissertation, University at Albany, State University of New York, 2001).

<sup>665</sup> Janet Miron, *Prisons, Asylums, and the Public: Institutional Visiting in the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2011).

<sup>666</sup> Graham Mooney and Jonathan Reinartz, *Permeable Walls: Historical Perspectives on Hospital and Asylum Visiting*, (New York, Rodopi: 2009), p. 256.

<sup>667</sup> Emily Clark, 'Mad Literature: Insane Asylums in Nineteenth-Century America', *Arizona Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, 4.1 (2015), 42-65.

<sup>668</sup> Lauren J. Tenney, 'Who fancies to have a Revolution here? The Opal Revisited (1851-1860)', *Radical Psychology*, 5.1 (2006), 1-1.

<sup>669</sup> Lauren J. Tenney, *The Opal Project* (2011) <<http://www.theopalproject.org/>> [accessed 12 May 2017].

First World War) from 1903' until around February 1925<sup>670</sup>. This title was 'subject to considerable censorship [although] much of this was done by patients themselves'<sup>671</sup>. This periodical was something that hospital directors felt 'was a useful addition to the activities on offer to their patients, although they were gloriously unaware of similar initiatives taken at other Scottish and English asylums by this time'<sup>672</sup>.

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<sup>670</sup> *The Gartnavel Gazette* for 1853–1855 and 1903–1925 can be found in the records of Gartnavel Royal Hospital at NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde Archives.

<sup>671</sup> Jonathan Andrews, 'The Patient Population', in *Let There Be Light Again : A History of Gartnavel Royal Hospital From its Beginnings to the Present Day*, ed. by Jonathan Andrews and Iain Smith, pp. 103-125 (p. 109).

<sup>672</sup> *Ibid.*

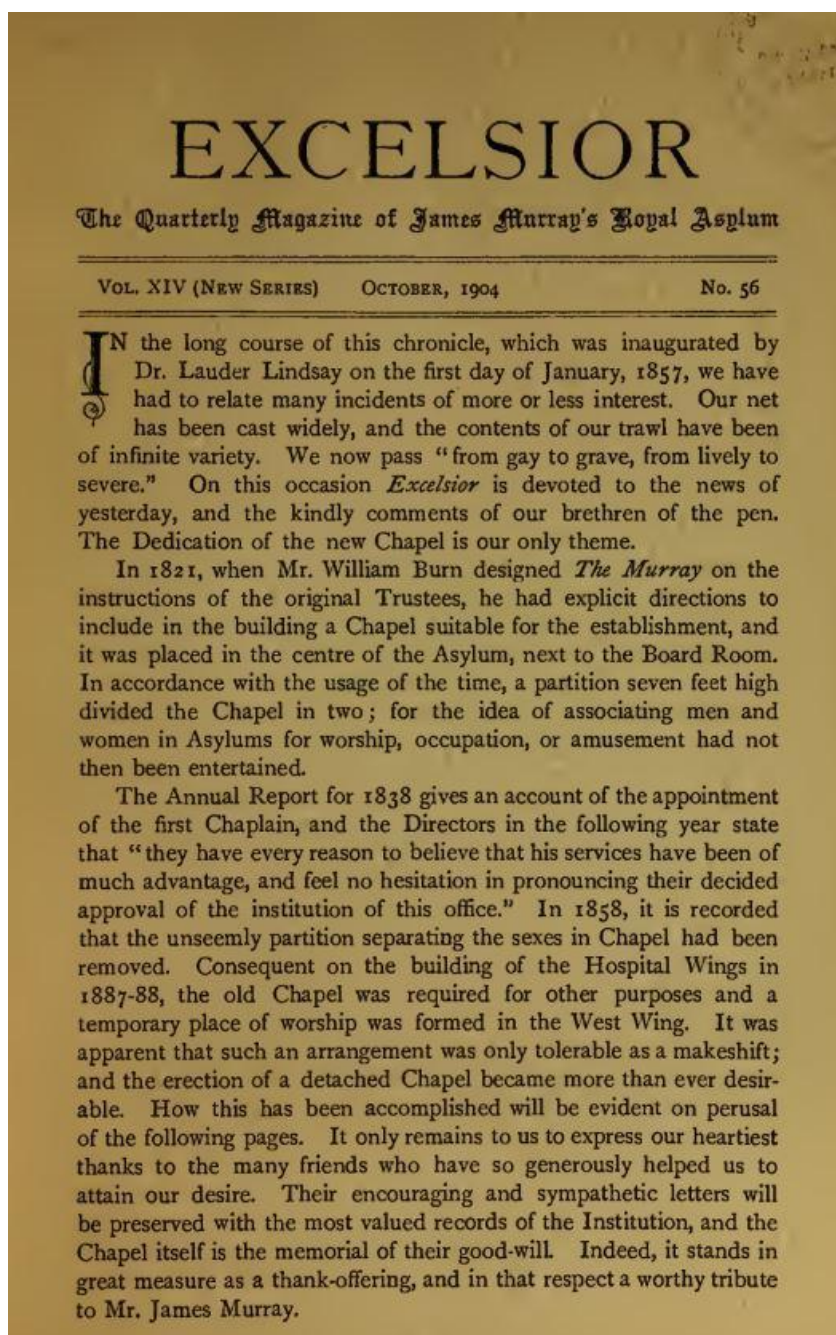


Figure 20: The front cover of *Excelsior*, Vol. 14 No. 56. Picture: digitised archive.

In January 1857, Perth's Murray Royal Asylum began to publish *Excelsior*, which was 'written, edited and published by patients'<sup>673</sup>. It is likely that *Excelsior* had multiple runs, as suggested by a short history of 'Institutional Magazines' published by *Under the Dome* in

<sup>673</sup> Mary de Young, *Encyclopedia of Asylum Therapeutics, 1750-1950s* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2015), p. 120.



1896<sup>674</sup>. This article states that the number of ‘*Excelsior: being the Quarterly Magazine of James Murray’s Royal Asylum*’ in their possession was from the New Series, which suggests, ‘that there has been one or more previous series’<sup>675</sup> to the issue of October 1892. ‘Scottish Lunatic Asylum Journalism’ states that the title’s original run continued until 1878, and it ‘was discontinued until 1891, when it was resuscitated by Mr. Frank Hay, M.B., C..M (Aberd.), under the direction of Dr Urquhart’<sup>676</sup> and still appeared at the time of publishing (April 1898). ‘It is claimed’, R Thomson and J C Keppie state in *A Reputation for Excellence: Dundee and Perth*, ‘that the first publication to be produced in Perth using steam power was the initial number of *Excelsior*, Murrays’ Royal Asylum Gazette’<sup>677</sup>. ‘It is extremely well got up, and in this respect bears off the palm among asylum magazines known to us,’ states “*The Hospital*” *Nursing Mirror* supplement of June 8 1895: ‘Some of the articles are very interesting [and] papers are throughout written in a bright and sparkling manner’<sup>678</sup>. The *British Medical Journal (BMJ)* of November 20 1915, refers to *Excelsior*, which had recently issued its hundredth number, as its ‘contemporary’. This centenary was not seen as a celebration, as *Excelsior* protested

‘that it is tired of centenaries because “they are commonly far too expensive for the celebrants, and usually leave nothing behind but a bad headache,” but it comforts itself with the reflection that it is a centenarian only in respect of numbers that have appears; in years it can only reckon twenty-five’<sup>679</sup>.

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<sup>674</sup> Anon, ‘Editorial’, *Under the Dome*, 5.17 (1896), 2-9 (p. 2).

<sup>675</sup> Anon, ‘Periodical Work Conducted By Lunatics’, *Chambers’s Edinburgh Journal*, New Series 1.55, (1845), 43-44 (p.43).

<sup>676</sup> Anon, ‘Scottish Lunatic Asylum Journalism’, *Scottish Notes and Queries*, 11.11(1898), 169 (p. 169).

<sup>677</sup> R Thomson and J C Keppie, *A Reputation for Excellence: Dundee and Perth* (Scotland: Scottish Printing Archival Trust, 1996), 13.

<sup>678</sup> Anon, ‘James Murray’s Royal Asylum, Perth’, “*The Hospital*” *Nursing Mirror*, 8 June 1895, p. xx.

<sup>679</sup> Anon, ‘The First Year’s Work of the Medical Research Committee’, *British Medical Journal*, 2.2864 (1915), 754-755 (p. 755).

This achievement was seen by the *BMJ* to be ‘a goodly record, on which we offer our congratulations, coupled with the hope that it may continue to flourish’<sup>680</sup>. The role of *Excelsior* within the community of the Perth Royal Asylum is identified by the *BMJ* to be to add ‘to the gaiety of the little nation to which they are addressed’, ‘the true function of such a periodical [which was] excellent fulfilled by *Excelsior*’, although ‘the local flavour of its jokes necessarily makes them to some extent caviare to the general’<sup>681</sup>.

According to the above-mentioned article on ‘Institutional Magazines’ in *Under the Dome*, the York Asylum at Bootham began publishing *York Star* in 1857, which was thought by an author in *Under the Dome* to have only survived for a year or two. However, ‘Scottish Lunatic Asylum Journalism’ states that this ‘little octavo quarterly’, issued by Dr Needham, ‘was published for sixteen years [and] was written entirely by insane patients’<sup>682</sup>, whereas de Young suggests that this magazine was published between 1861 and 1877<sup>683</sup>.

*The Meteor* was published by the Alabama Insane Hospital, later renamed as the Bryce Hospital after superintendent Dr Peter Bryce, in Tuscaloosa from 1872 until 1881. Cari Romm penned an article on this publication, which was staffed by residents of Alabama’s first psychiatric hospital<sup>684</sup>. Named after those celestial occurrences which often come as a surprise, *The Meteor* appeared at irregular intervals to ‘glow with a kindly and generous sentiment to all mankind’<sup>685</sup>. Originally intended to explain the hospital’s workings to the patients, it later served the function of informing friends of the hospital - as well as newspaper editors and state

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<sup>680</sup> Ibid.

<sup>681</sup> Ibid.

<sup>682</sup> Anon, ‘Scottish Lunatic Asylum Journalism’, *Scottish Notes and Queries*, 11.11(1898), 169 (p. 169).

<sup>683</sup> Mary de Young, *Encyclopedia of Asylum Therapeutics, 1750-1950s* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2015) p. 118.

<sup>684</sup> Cari Romm, *The Atlantic* (2015) <<https://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2015/11/a-newspaper-and-a-new-kind-of-mental-health-treatment/415710/>> [accessed 16 March 2018].

<sup>685</sup> Anon, *Alabama Department of Archives and History* (2010) <<https://archives.alabama.gov/meteor/meteor.html>> [accessed 16 March 2017].

legislators - of the condition and purposes of the hospital. It was edited by a member of the patient population, who, when challenged with the accusation that the true editor was the superintendent, stated that although 'as in the United States we have a troop of the craziest sane folks the world ever knew, so also we can boast some of the sanest crazy ones'<sup>686</sup>. Mary de Young suggests that this magazine offered a 'bit of subversion', as the patients involved in its production 'realized its potential to inform state officials about the ongoing needs of the asylum and to prompt them into action' with its 'lucidly political tone'<sup>687</sup>.

Bethlem Royal Hospital's first patient publication, *The Star of Bethlehem* (or *The Bethlem Star*), a weekly, began circulation in 1875 before having two runs in 1879 and another in 1880. This was followed by the first edition of *Under the Dome* in 1889, a magazine which was so successful that a rival paper, *Above the Dome*, was established by the editor of the former *The Bethlehem Star*. As discussed in Chapter Two, *Under the Dome*'s original run had two patient editors, and the paper ceased publication after both recovered and left the asylum, and no alternative editor could be found. However, the hospital's Resident Physician-Superintendent Dr Percy Smith, who had originally suggested the title 'Under the Dome', was determined that the house organ should be revived and thus, the New Series of Bethlem's house organ under the title of *Under the Dome* was first published March 31 1892. It continued until 1930, when the magazine was restyled as *Orchard Leaves* as the hospital site moved to Kent. This new title ran until at least 1937.

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<sup>686</sup> Kelly Kazek, *Alabama Living* (2018) <[https://www.al.com/living/2015/11/alabama\\_insane\\_asylum\\_patient-.html](https://www.al.com/living/2015/11/alabama_insane_asylum_patient-.html)> [accessed 3 January 2019].

<sup>687</sup> Mary de Young, *Encyclopedia of Asylum Therapeutics, 1750-1950s* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2015) p. 119.

*The Conglomerate*, of the Middletown Asylum of Orange County, New York State, ‘was the hospital’s world renowned newspaper compiled and published solely by the patients since 1890’<sup>688</sup>. The hospital contained

‘about 1,200 patients, amongst whom are ministers, lawyers, and journalists. Of these, “newspaper row” is largely composed, and the result of their literary activity is seen in the [magazine]. It is in shape and size like *Pearson’s Weekly*, and consists of eight to twelve pages of small type’<sup>689</sup>.

It received subscriptions of a dollar a year from inmates, as well as from the community in Middletown, and featured many advertisements for items such as bicycles.

The *Sunnyside* (or *Sunny-side*) *Chronicle* of the Montrose Royal Asylum began in 1888, and ended in 1893.

The *Fort England Mirror: A Magazine to Amuse and Instruct* was published from 1891 to around 1897 in Grahamstown, South Africa, and was produced at the local mental hospital<sup>690</sup>. This periodical, which included photographs to demonstrate the activities at the hospital, aimed to offer ‘amusement and instruction to the patients and the outside world at large but it also propagated and marketed an image of the asylum as being dedicated to providing an appropriate setting for patients to regain their serenity’<sup>691</sup>. Superintendent Thomas Duncan Greenlees, who edited the periodical, used this title as a way of promoting the asylum to prospective private patients: ‘One way in which he constructed a public image of the asylum as committed to the curative regime of moral therapy was through the publication of the asylum’s very own

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<sup>688</sup> Bob Mayer, *The Asylum Base Ball Club: Middletown’s Crack Semi-Pro Team 1888-94* (2018) <<http://cliffordblau.000webhostapp.com/asylum.htm>> [30 May 2018].

<sup>689</sup> Anon, ‘Institutional Magazines (II.)’, *Under the Dome*, 5.18 (1896), 74-75 (p. 74).

<sup>690</sup> Brian D. Cheadle, ‘Southern Africa’, in *Periodicals of Queen Victoria’s Empire: An Exploration*, ed. by Jerry Don Vann, Rosemary T. VanArsdel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press Incorporated, 1996), pp. 243-300 (p.277).

<sup>691</sup> Rory du Plessis, ‘Photographs from the Grahamstown Lunatic Asylum, South Africa, 1890–1907’, *Social Dynamics*, 40.1 (2014), 12-42 (p. 17).

periodical'<sup>692</sup>. Often submitted for consideration to medical journals, *The British Journal of Psychiatry* for April 1893 states: 'It is with much pleasure that we receive from time to time evidence of the spirit with which the Grahamstown Asylum is being administered [...] In the number for October a bird's-eye view of the institution is given'<sup>693</sup>.

The *Lancaster Argus* was a self-described 'journal of scientific inquiry', published each month by the inmates of the Provincial Lunatic Asylum at St John, New Brunswick, Canada. The publication described itself as 'elegant, moral, and refined family journal, devoted to polite literature, wit and humor, prose and poetic gems written exclusively for the paper'. The date when publication began or ceased is unknown, however, a copy of this publication dated December 1891 is held by the University of Toronto in the Microform collection, and *The Bancroft Times* of September 16 1897, states: 'In Canada there is published the queerest paper, perhaps in the world. It is the Lancaster Argus, which is printed each month in the asylum for the insane at St. John, New Brunswick. Every article in the paper is written by a lunatic, the editor is a lunatic, the type is set by lunatics, and the pressman is a lunatic'<sup>694</sup>.

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<sup>692</sup> Ibid.

<sup>693</sup> Anon, 'The Fort England Mirror: A Magazine to Amuse and Instruct. Published quarterly. July and October 1892. Published at Fort England, Grahamstown. (1893)', *The British Journal of Psychiatry* 39.165 (1893), 264-265 (p.264).

<sup>694</sup> Orland and Sylvia French, *North of 7...and Proud of It!: A Parade of Memories from North Hastings* (Bancroft: Bancroft Public Library, 2003)

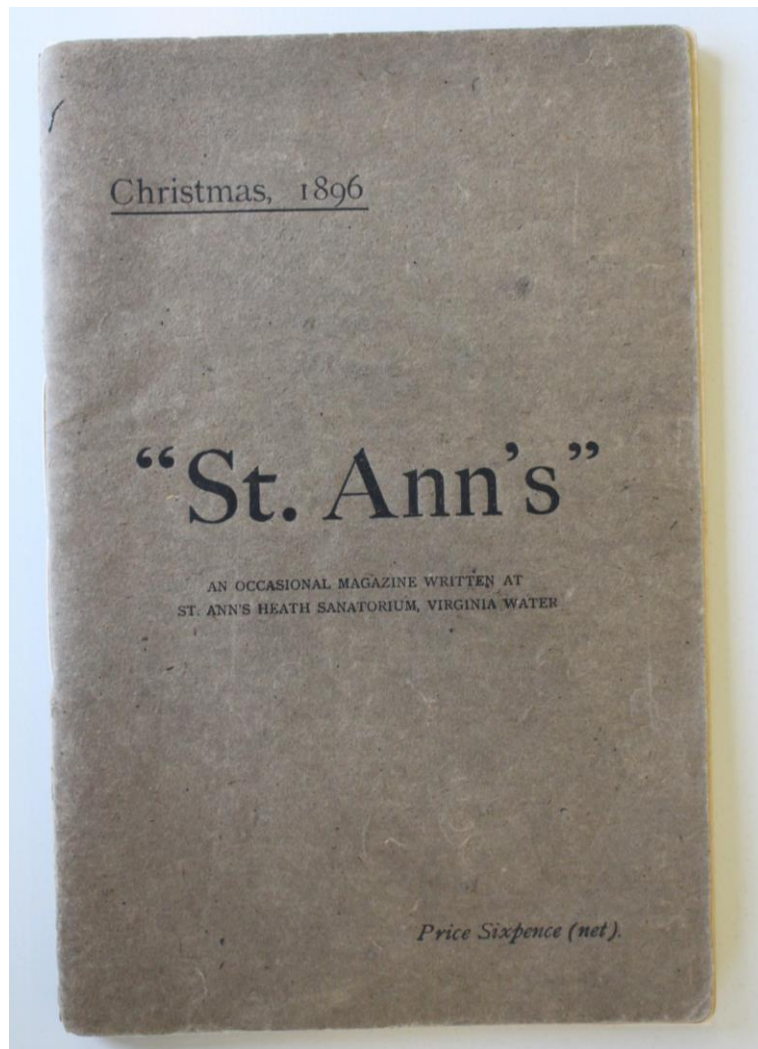


Figure 21: The front cover of *St. Ann's*, Christmas, 1896. Picture: my own.

*St. Ann's Magazine*, created by the patients at the Holloway Sanatorium in Virginia Water in Surrey, was published from 1894. Anne C. Shepherd makes mention of Holloway's *St. Ann's Magazine* in her chapter for the book *Medicine, Charity and Mutual Aid: The Consumption of Health and Welfare in Britain, c. 1550-1950*<sup>695</sup>; the Holloway publication is also mentioned in Anna Shepherd's *Institutionalizing the Insane in Nineteenth-Century England*<sup>696</sup>.

<sup>695</sup> Peter Shapely, Anne C. Shepherd, 'Mental health care and charity for the middling sort: Holloway Sanatorium 185-1900', in *Medicine, Charity and Mutual Aid: The Consumption of Health and Welfare in Britain, c. 1550-1950*, ed. by Anne Borsa and Peter Shapely, (Oxon: Routledge, 20017), pp.163-182, p. 180.

<sup>696</sup> Anna Shepherd, *Institutionalizing the Insane in Nineteenth-Century England*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2016), p. 131.

The British Library holds copies of *Contact*, the Holloway Sanatorium in Egham's hospital magazine from 1968 - possibly a successor to *St. Ann's Magazine*.

*The Murthly Magazine* of Perth District Asylum first began publication in 1895, and was still being issued regularly by 1897.

The Chaplain's Column of *Under the Dome* for September 1895 references the Monthly Leaflet of Colney Hatch<sup>697</sup>. More information regarding publication dates has yet to be found

The initial publication date for Church Stretton's house organ could be 1872 - it is referred to in 'Scottish Lunatic Asylum Journalism' as the 'first private asylum journal in [England] but only appeared twice'<sup>698</sup>, although a name is not given. The Shropshire asylum's magazine is likely to have been called *Loose Leaves*; it is referenced in *Under the Dome* in September 1896, as an 'Occasional' publication, although without any dates<sup>699</sup>. Likewise, this piece mentioned *The Friend* of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, which ran for two years at an unknown period before September 1896.

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<sup>697</sup> Edward Geoffrey O'Donoghue, 'Chaplain's Column', *Under the Dome*, 4.15 (1895), 113-115 (p. 115).

<sup>698</sup> Anon, 'Scottish Lunatic Asylum Journalism', *Scottish Notes and Queries*, 11.11(1898), 169 (p. 169).

<sup>699</sup> Anon, 'Institution Magazines.' *Under the Dome*, 5.19 (1896), 129-131 (p. 129).

# The Passing Hour.

THE MAGAZINE AND CHRONICLE OF  
THE STIRLING DISTRICT ASYLUM, LARBERT.

"SCRIBIMUS INDOCTI DOCTIQUE."—*Horace*.

"GATHER YE ROSEBUDS WHILE YE MAY,  
OLD TIME IS STILL A-FLYING."—*Herrick*.

VOL. XIV.

JANUARY-FEBRUARY-MARCH, 1914.

NO. I.

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Articles marked thus \* are contributed by patients.



DONALD AND HIS GUINEA-PIGS.

Figure 22: The front cover of *The Passing Hour*, Vol. 14 No. 1. Picture: my own.

Bellsdyke Hospital, formally Stirling District Asylum, began publishing *The Passing Hour* from 1901 to at least 1903<sup>700</sup>.

Glasgow District Asylum published the *Gartloch Magazine* from around 1903.

<sup>700</sup> These can be found at the University of Stirling's 'Stirling District Asylum' Archives and Special Collections under SD/3 *The Passing Hour*.



Craiglockhart War Hospital in Edinburgh published the publication *The Hydra* from April 28 1917 to September 29 1917<sup>701</sup>. In addition to the secondary sources referenced in Chapter Three, *The Hydra* is referenced in Andrew Scull's *Madness in Civilisation*<sup>702</sup>, and is mentioned in Pat Barker's Regeneration trilogy of novels<sup>703</sup>.

Following *New Moon*, Crichton Royal Hospital also published several other publications created by the patients in the new century, including *The Crichton Scoop*<sup>704</sup>, which had a short run in 1945, *The Crichtonian*, which was published from 1951-1963, and *Crichton News*, published from 1963-1993<sup>705</sup>.

In January 1923, The Retreat at York began to publish *Harbour Lights*, which ran until January 1942: until 1932 the magazine appeared every two months, and then from 1933 it appeared four times a year. The founding editor of *Harbour Lights* - the title of which had been suggested by Dr Bedford Piece, the medical superintendent - had been a Miss S. H. Milner, who was a Quaker. Originally coming to The Retreat as a patient, Miss Milner came to live at the site for many years as a private patient, editing the magazine until her death in late 1934. Containing news and articles, *Harbour Lights* records social activities and staff news, and subscription cost 3/6 a year.

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<sup>701</sup> *The Hydra* is a title in a wider tradition of First World War publications. Many of these are not specifically shell shock specific institutions, but are instead general convalescent hospitals, such as Second Scottish General Hospital (which published *The Craighleith Hospital Chronicle*), and the Royal Pavilion hospital in Brighton (which published *The Pavilion Blues*). Other titles included *The Ration: The Magazine of Reading War Hospitals*, and *The Canadian Hospital News: Official Organ of the Granville Special Hospital, Ramsgate*. Patients of the Red Cross Hospital in Bicester contributed articles, poems, fiction and letters to *Whizz Bang*. Although it is not known if original copies of the title still exist, historian David Watts has a photocopy of one edition of the magazine from October 1917. *The Ration* magazine was produced by patients and staff at the Reading War Hospital from January 1916 to January 1919.

<sup>702</sup> Andrew Scull, *Madness in Civilisation: A Cultural History of Insanity* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2015).

<sup>703</sup> Pat Barker, *Regeneration* (London: Penguin UK, 2008).

<sup>704</sup> Liz Course, *Care Not Confinement: Cataloguing and Preserving the Archives of the Crichton Royal Hospital* (2012) <<https://crichtonroyalproject.wordpress.com/2012/11/12/wartime-at-cri/>> [accessed 6 June 2016].

<sup>705</sup> *Ibid.*

Broadmoor Lunatic Asylum for Criminals also had a patient publication, *The Broadmoor Chronicle*, a magazine which was published from about 1944. This title is mentioned briefly in *Broadmoor Revealed* by Mark Stevens. In this history of the hospital, Stevens provides some historical context for the introduction of the magazine. Stanley Hopwood became the Medical Superintendent for the asylum in 1938; he was the man who ‘brought treatments such as electro-convulsive therapy and an array of chemicals into Broadmoor, as well as the first talking therapies to be systematically deployed in Crowthorne’<sup>706</sup>. Stevens says:

‘it was the beginning of a profound change in mental health care across the western world, and one that has caused much argument since. Hopwood deserves a mention because he was also a superintendent in the progressive tradition of William Orange. In fact, after Brayn’s reign and that of his successor, John Baker, the hospital reverted to the ranks of asylum rather than prison doctors. During his tenure Hopwood insisted for the first time that all his nursing staff should have a nursing qualification, a revolutionary change entirely in keeping with his desire to run a modern mental health hospital rather than a nineteenth-century asylum. For the patients, he provided a formal system of parole, as well as sports and entertainments funds, recycling profits from the new canteen to do so. Orange would have been delighted with such thrift, couples with the extra opportunities for making industry from leisure. It was also Hopwood who established the ‘Broadhumoorists’, the patients’ very own light entertainment troop, which kept going for decades afterwards. He allowed the patients to set up their own magazine, *The Broadmoor Chronicle*’<sup>707</sup>.

Patient publications became increasingly more common towards the middle of the twentieth century, including *The Wishing Well*, Graylingwell Hospital’s magazine, which was published from 1946 to at least 1960 in Chichester. *The Wishing Well* was a magazine printed and distributed by the Occupational Therapy department of Graylingwell Hospital between 1946 until at least 1960. Entirely comprised of prose, poetry, and written reports on every facet of Hospital life, alongside paintings, woodcut prints, and cartoons, this publication was a creative showcase for the patients of Graylingwell. A community of patient publications emerges within the pages of these works. In copies of *The Wishing Well*, there is a section entitled ‘Our

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<sup>706</sup> Mark Stevens, *Broadmoor Revealed: Victorian Crime and the Lunatic Asylum* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Social History, 2013), p. 161.

<sup>707</sup> *Ibid*, p. 162.

Contemporaries', which is dedicated to outlining and reviewing in great detail the content of similar publications. Examples of these read:

'The Broadmoor Chronicle for March gives, as usual, a review of the activities of the Hospital. Pages of church notes reflect the religious life of the community and contain some remarks on the meaning and observance of Lent. From the ladies' side comes a picture of bird life and doings. Spring flowers are greeted with words of welcome taken from Homer's Hymn to Demeter. One story recounts the experiences of a probationer nurse on entering a hospital, another relates the efforts of a small boy to deal with a "short circuit" which has interfered with the lights of his model car. Football and Table Tennis occupy a good deal of space. A concert given by the Westborough Ladies Choir appears to have been much enjoyed. The "Walrus" for March is full of quiet interest and pleasant variety'<sup>708</sup>.

There is also significant attention paid to similar publications created by patients living at hospitals over the Atlantic, indicating a discourse between the various institutions:

'A copy has reached us of the Leader, the magazine of the Provincial Mental Hospital, Valley View, British Columbia. It is interesting to get, through its pages, a glimpse of life in a similar institution to our own on the other side of the Atlantic. We find an account of a gathering arranged to celebrate the 50 wedding anniversary of a Valley View patient, who arrived with his wife, sons and daughters, and was hospitably entertained. The affair is regarded as proof of the great work the Canadian Mental Health Association is doing. The magazine contains verses and articles together with reports from various wards. An article on Canadian gems shows the wealth of the country in this respect, a fact which will come as a surprise to many of us. The Recreation Programme gives the view of the various hospital activities. Bus trips, bowling, music, swimming, a dance club, dances and socials, music therapy. Short notices of books come into the library section. The American Psychiatric Association had apparently given official approval to these activities. The magazine closes with verses from Chaucer: "Flee from the crowd and dwell with truthfulness/suffice thee with thy goods, though they be small/To hoard brings hate, to climb brings giddiness/The crowd has envy, and success blinds all"<sup>709</sup>.

During the 1950s, several Australian patient magazines appeared. This included *Open Door*, produced by the patients at Beechworth, *The Window*, the magazine created by patients at Monk Park Mental Hospital, *Guiding Light*, a magazine created by patients at the Sandhurst

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<sup>708</sup> Anon, untitled, *The Wishing Well*, 7.2 (1953), 5 (p. 5).

<sup>709</sup> Ibid.

Boy's Centre in Bendigo, Sunbury's magazine *Awareness*, and *Insight*, created by patients at Traralgon Psychiatric Hospital<sup>710</sup>.

In the UK, *The Cane Hill Chronicle*, published by the patients of Cane Hill in Croydon, was published from the 1950s. Warlingham Park Hospital (previously named the Croydon Mental Hospital), published the *Warlingham Parker*<sup>711</sup> from the 1950s, although it is unclear if patients contributed to this publication<sup>712</sup>.

Returning to York's The Retreat, *Old Tuke's Almanac* was produced several times in 1952, before breaking in publication and returning as the *Phoenix* in 1954. Phoenix, a typescript magazine which was smaller in ambition than the original *Harbour Lights* title of The Retreat, was produced once a year and featured articles and news from the hospital's social clubs.

The publication of *Contact*<sup>713</sup> (later *Middlewood and Wharnccliffe Times*, c. 1974-1978), the journal of Middlewood Hospital in Sheffield, began in 1951, although archived copies date from 1965 to 1974; a later publication from this hospital, *Jigsaw*, has only been referenced in online forums. From the 1960s, *Incentive*, the magazine created by the patients of the Ingrebourne Centre of Hornchurch, London, was published. The *Cheshire Smile*, created by the patients of Le Care care home in Liss, Hampshire, was published from 1961. The Dingleton Hospital magazine, *Outlook*<sup>714</sup>, was published from 1963-1986 at the Melrose hospital. *Springfield Words*, created by the patients of Springfield Hospital, formally the Surrey County Pauper Asylum, in Tooting, began publication in Spring 1978. The *Gogarburn Magazine* (1977-

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<sup>710</sup> Ann Westmore, *Museums Victoria Collection* (2012) <<https://collections.museumvictoria.com.au/articles/11540>> [accessed 5 September 2014].

<sup>711</sup> Christoforos Constantinides, 'De-materialization of Psychiatric Hospitals' (unpublished architectural diploma thesis, Sustainable Design Unit, 2012).

<sup>712</sup> Yasmin Alagaratnam, *Sutton & Croydon Guardian* (2013) <<https://www.yourlocalguardian.co.uk/youngreporter/10790236.the-long-lost-mental-hospital/>> [accessed 3 February 2015].

<sup>713</sup> Numbers of this title available at Sheffield Libraries, Archives and Information.

<sup>714</sup> Numbers of this title held at Lothian Health Services Archive.

1978 ) and the *Gogarburn News* (1988-1990)<sup>715</sup> was printed at Gogarburn, an Edinburgh hospital. Between 1991 and 1995, patients at Royal Edinburgh Hospital contributed poetry and other types of writing to a publication entitled *Wadjamadouraydays*<sup>716</sup>.

Several of the titles named here appear to only exist as records in other magazines or periodicals: some of the magazines or periodicals I have explored refer to other such titles they have been exchanged for, or have been made aware of, and review as co-labourers in the field. For example, as discussed in Chapter Two, one or more patients from Bethlem's *Under the Dome* constructed a history of 'Institutional Magazines', which was serialised in 1896<sup>717</sup>. There are also some examples of contemporary mainstream publications commenting on the production of patient journals. *Scottish Notes and Queries* published a piece, the aforementioned entitled 'Scottish Lunatic Asylum Journalism', in May, 1898. This refers to 'Madhouse Magazines', an article printed in the April number of *Cassell's Magazine*. This article by J. M. Bullock, which is titled in full 'Magazines in the Madhouse, Journalism in Lunatic Asylums', discusses works which are, he claims, 'a curious interest, half pathetic, half grotesque'<sup>718</sup>. *The Guardian* of 13 April 1898, which reports on the publication of Bullock's article, states that these 'strange, uncanny periodicals, which divert and please the lunatic, [...] are likely to sadden the sane readers of Cassell'<sup>719</sup>. Continuing this investigation into patient publications, *Scottish Notes and Queries*' 'Scottish Lunatic Asylum Journalism' notes *New Moon*, *The Morningside Mirror*, *The Chronicles of the Cloister*, *Excelsior*, *The Sunnyside Chronicle*, and *The Murthly Magazine*, and the unaccredited author states that it is strange that 'although Aberdeen has been a notoriously

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<sup>715</sup> Numbers of these titles held at Lothian Health Services Archive.

<sup>716</sup> Numbers of this title held at Lothian Health Services Archive.

<sup>717</sup> See Anon, 'Institution Magazines', *Under the Dome*, 5.17 (1896), 2-9., Anon, 'Institutional Magazines (II.)', *Under the Dome*, 5.18 (1896), 74-75 (p. 74)., and Anon, 'Institution Magazines.' *Under the Dome*, 5.19 (1896), 129-131.

<sup>718</sup> Quoted from Anon, 'Scottish Lunatic Asylum Journalism', *Scottish Notes and Queries*, 11.11(1898), 169 (p. 169).

<sup>719</sup> Ibid.

newspaper-ridden town, its asylum has never published a magazine'<sup>720</sup>. They also note that 'England has lagged far behind'<sup>721</sup>, publishing the *York Star* in 1861.

*The Billings Weekly Gazette*, a newspaper published in Montana, featured an article entitled 'Crazy Journalism' on 17 November 1899. This article concluded with the words 'London Mail'<sup>722</sup>, implying it was published elsewhere first. The exact same article was published on 7 December 1899, in *St. Andrews Buoy*, a newspaper for Washington, Florida, and then was reprinted with only an original opening line and no London Mail credit 'Some Freak Journals' in *The Mining Review* of Sandon, British Columbia, of October 28 1899, and then again in New Zealand's *The Ashburton Guardian* on September 15 1921, under the title 'Freak Journals'. The original version of the story was subtitled 'Newspapers published by lunatics for lunatics', and the author of the article was surprised to note that publications 'issued in Madhouses and Asylums are almost entirely free from gloom and melancholia', a characteristic which the author had to request 'the word of the doctor of one the leading asylums that this [was] not owing to such contributions being tabooed'<sup>723</sup>. The magazines under discussion in this article were 'written, printed and published by the inmates themselves', although in 'some cases the proof sheets [were] just glanced at by the head doctor before the magazine goes to press'<sup>724</sup>. Although stating that America produced the first two such publications, the author acknowledges that Scotland should be credited with starting a long-running patient magazine, and that Crichton Royal Hospital's *New Moon* signified 'the birth of lunatic journalism'<sup>725</sup>. *New Moon*, *The Morningside Mirror*, *Excelsior*, *The Fort England Mirror*, *The Murthly Magazine*, *Under the Dome* and *The Conglomerate* are said to 'touch the journalistic ideal, as, being written by the

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<sup>720</sup> Ibid.

<sup>721</sup> Ibid.

<sup>722</sup> Anon, 'Crazy Journalism', *The Billings Weekly Gazette*, 17 November 1899, p. 2.

<sup>723</sup> Ibid.

<sup>724</sup> Ibid

<sup>725</sup> Ibid.

readers for their amusement, they can not fail to hit the popular taste'<sup>726</sup>. The author notes that around four-ninths of these titles are travel pieces and 'heavy prose articles of a strictly theoretical nature', while the remainder was comprised of humour, local notes, poetry 'chiefly in a light vein'<sup>727</sup>, fiction, and articles on local entertainments. Such publications, the author suggests, gave readers insight into the 'little colonies whose inhabitants are cut off from all intercourse with the everyday world by their own idiosyncrasies', individuals who supposedly lived in 'a world of his or her own creation' and were only interested in 'the asylum doctor and the asylum magazine'<sup>728</sup>.

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<sup>726</sup> Ibid.

<sup>727</sup> Ibid.

<sup>728</sup> Ibid

Appendix B - Full versions of articles from *New Moon*, *Under the Dome*, and *The Hydra*

*New Moon*

1.1

PROSPECTUS.

In the conduct of a Journal for such as in Institution, it should always be borne in mind, that all things should be done in order, or with suitable appropriateness, as far as possible, to the condition of its inmates; which is, in general, all must confess lamentable in the extreme!

Yet we will place no damper on the play of fancy, or the flow of soul.

Ordinary every-day Politics will have no place in or Periodical. Still as it is the sum and substance of the duty of man to fear the Almighty Father of Spirits, and love our neighbour as ourselves, a correct knowledge of God's dealings with the universal human family in all ages is always to be searched after, in view of the attainment of an enlightened conscience, to know why to fear and love God, and why we are bound to love our neighbours as ourselves.

Belief essays or historical notices illustrative of the present state and prospects of society will therefore form a leading feature of the Journal. We learn to abandon our own follies, or iniquities by abhorrence of their exhibition in others – we are stimulated to rise higher in virtue by the contemplation of it exhibited in others – even in other ages and different countries form our own.

The chief object of this Journal shall, on the Editor's part, be a humble endeavour to lead the inmates of this Institution, whether Boarders or Ministers, to think aright on the chief subjects that should occupy their attention under present circumstances, so that they may leave it wiser and better men and women than they entered it. "The proper study of mankind is man." The proper time always the present. The proper place, everywhere we happen to be. We are in the Crichton institution!



“The Christian,” says Addison, “is the most selfish of mankind.” A great and glorious truth rightly understood. It is the highest and healthiest exercise of body and mind to be going about continually doing good – to help us make all around us healthful and happy, “brave men and merry maids,” the enduring bravery of good consciences and constitutions the everlasting of elasticity and virtue.

We propose also to offer occasional observations on the management and success of other Houses of the same kind, both at home and abroad.

We may thus lend our humble endeavour to make this more perfect, and thus be enabled to suggest and promote such amusements as experience hath proven to be conducive to health of body and of mind.

The grand though simple remedy – we find almost said secret – such Institutions is preventions, prevention of bad habits of body and mind, and conformity to simple and good ones. We all know, *par example*, that

“Early to bed, early to rise,  
Makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise!”

Yet there are many ills that flesh is prone too, that can alone be corrected each for himself. We may point to these, and warn against their indulgence; but we cannot perform miracles! And yet we do sometimes convince a man against his will! The difficulty is to prevent him being of the same opinion still.

Our Periodical will possess this characteristic, it will be the production of inmates of Asylums exclusively. The articles may be original or selected; but they will be the work of the secluded here or elsewhere, and will be drawn up in seclusion.

EDITOR.

DEAREST DOCTOR,

You know I have plagued you tarnation,  
 For something by way of a bran new sensation:  
 Ods cheroots and cigars! Then, for lack of aught better,  
 I'm blest if I don't try my hand at a letter.  
 I had hoped Miss Mac-----, if I must tell the truth,  
 (But that, you will say, was a dream of *green* youth,)  
 Would have tipped me long since some nice gunpower tea,  
 One feels so old-maidish on cursed black Bohea.  
 But friend Jenkinson says, and knows her, the codger,  
 That she's quite wide awake – a confirmed, artful dodger;  
 So I fancy I e'en must put up with the spleen  
 Until you do her *brown*, since I can't do her *green*.  
 I am sorry to learn you have got rheumatism,  
 Which is, I am told, a corporeal schism  
 Not very unlike what is called Puseyism.  
 If you take my advice, my kind friend, you won't follow  
 The cold water cure of that Pluvius Apollo,  
 Who at Graefenberg cures old and young of the dumps,  
 By the magical aid of a couple of pumps.  
 Old Pindar, 'tis true, as you very well know,  
 In the choicest of Greek has proclaimed long ago,

“*Ariston men hudor;*” – but then, what of that!

The man was a pagan – so *verbum sap. sat.*

Your *kids*, you will learn with pleasure, I know,

Are all as you left them, and in *statu quo*.

(This same is a classical phrase, else, ecod!

I would break Priscian’s head, and write *statu QUOD*;)

Some mad as March hares, but a few like the Dane,

With a slight touch north-east – yet otherwise sane.

The Prince, as he should, behaves himself finely,

While his breeches he gropes with an air – quite divinely;

Iv’e not the least doubt he’ll prove a good sinner,

If the worms (maranatha!) had finished their dinner:

Unless, indeed, Crosse, with his devilish battery,

Has done him right slick with his new-fashioned *acari*,

From which may the Lord, in his mercy, deliver us!

Else, certes, like the ten plagues of Egypt they’ll shiver us.

Mr Sacre, that sage, transcendental philosopher,

(I wonder if he ever read Alexander Ross over?)

As his use and wont is, has been blowing the balmy,

And looks, as a smoker should, really quite palmy.

He swears the debated are most damnable stuff –

Not worth a cigar, or a pinch of Scotch stuff;

And faith, I believe, that for once, *entre nous*,

He’s not very far wrong – I’m blowed if I do,

At billiards to-day I gave him a maul;

And wasn't he savage! – ho, no! not at all:  
 He fumed and he fretted – “The cues were a scandal,  
 And really unfit for a gemman to handle;”  
 Then concluded by saying, he would give me thrice six  
 Out of twenty-four points, and beat me to sticks  
 Mr Jenkinson still on his sofa is lying –  
 For shag and slim waists like a furnace is sighing;  
 And declares he'll turn Turk, if you don't straight provide  
 A couple of houris to wait by his side.  
 His beans yesterday were done to to a T,  
 And his rowly-cum-powly as hot as could be;  
 Asd if she'll but come it quite strong in the Mocha-r,  
 He'll kiss Miss Mac----, and never provoke her.  
 He bids me inform you, that dear little Jerry  
 Is wagging his tail, and mizzling his sherry:  
 For pipe-clay unrivalled, he quite bears the bell  
 From dogs young and old – the grand nonpareil.  
 You'll be happy to learn, though my head's far from *aisy*,  
 It ain't for a crown yet half enough crazy:  
 But mind, by the powers, on my throne when I soar,  
 My sceptre and crown I'll lay at your door.  
 For the last day or two I've been trying the *snick* –  
 'Tis nectar for Jove, and would “fix” e'en Old Nick  
 I think it quite rum, that what poisons a rat  
 Should for man's *mens divinior* be so apt and so pat!

But I fancy by this time you've had quite enough,  
 And would rather tack snick than this cursed stupid stuff;  
 So dearest M.D. *dulce decus*, adieu!  
 And heal thyself quickly, physician – now do:  
 One and all will rejoice, if to-morrow you'll promise  
 To lift up the light of thy countenance on us;  
 And none more than he who has penned this long rigma---  
 Role, and subscribes himself your ever,

### SIGMA

#### 1.3

#### THE PICTURE ASYLUM!

This is the designation, for distinction's sake, given in 1833, in notes now before us, to an Asylum in Bruges. We design that its pictorial character shall for the prominent feature of the present sketch.

The Institution had been formerly a conventual building, taking in the poor in body and spirit, and had been in the hands of the then proprietor 25 years; and yet he projected great improvements in the mansion.

“His own apartments are,” say our notes, “large, elegant – of course Flemish; but from the number of engravings, pictures, &c, giving evidence of a cultivated mind. His manner is soft, mild; and it is obvious he regards the establishment with affection.”

“He depends chiefly on kindness and employment” to heal “the mind diseased.” The bleaching-greens are extensive, and attended by patients; besides this employment, he has on the

premises brewery, bake-house, &c.; and a farm 40 acres, cultivated by 14 patients, increased during harvest, to 20.”

The number of patients, male and female, *then* were 250, of whom many were pensioners, others sent and supported by the commune.

“The gardens, for the better class, are sufficiently extensive and prettily laid out, having canals, which seem to be the only walls, and rich in flowers, fruit trees, and in grotesque figures, place in alcoves, on bridges, &c, for he conceives this is an advantage to make the patient smile.”

“In all the cells were symbols, and especially pictorial symbols, of the Catholic religion.”

Tokens of the fine arts in the land of the Flemings is nothing surprising; yet “the number of pictures, of all sorts and sizes, scattered through all parts of the house, was extraordinary, and had a good effect. They occupied conspicuous places in the public rooms. They lay in portfolios on the tables of the convalescents. You discovered them in corners and nooks, the most unlooked for and unexpected. Even some of the apartments of the patients were humble art galleries. The lobbies and passages needed no paper or tapestry – they were clothed with engravings or oil paintings, which astonished by their number. In a rapid walk through such a place, it was impossible to form a judgement as to their beauty or excellence, or whether the selection had been judicious, or made with a reference to the place and its inhabitants; but the plan struck me as new, and the general effect as good and cheerful; and if properly managed, as calculated to suggest innumerable trains of thought, which must otherwise have lain dormant and unproductive.

As from *personal* experience, the transcriber of these notes has this single remark to make, that when in his own most prostrate state (and fewer have been more physically diseased and debilitated to recover and tell the tale), that, when supposed dying, his imagination was continually kept awake, and the nervous system in excitation, by the most extraordinary visions and waking sights; and he distinctly remembers reading a whole tale out of the changes on a spot

about the size of a pea, of the probable George Barnwell fate of a young man, then hastening , as he had *bona fide* living evidence, to destruction.

### 1.10

#### ANOTHER CONFESSION – ARE THE INSANE ALWAYS IN ERROR?

I was not aware until I was a convalescent patient in a Asylum for the reception of those afflicted with mental disorder, that persons are liable to be detained there, not only until their intellect is freed from the particular mania with which they may have been afflicted, but that their residence is usually prolonged until, in the judgement of the Superintending Physician, they have attained such a healthy vigorous frame of mind as will enable them at once to resume all the duties of society. This subject has affected and afflicted me very deeply, because I am conscious of a nervous irritability which is kept in constant action by the rules and habits of the House, many of which are absolutely necessary for a large portion of the invalids. Although I feel conscious that I often exercise self-command in a degree seldom required in a home circle of duties, the trials to me are so numerous and so heavy, that I am aware of frequently acting in a manner to give colour to the impression that I would not conduct myself entirely to the satisfaction of my friends, were I emancipated. This I am quite certain is not the case. I have no doubt that were I again restored to liberty, and the blessings that accompany it, I would live a more regular, strict, and humble life than I have ever done before – the last, because I am so perfectly aware of the spirit enforced by the Scriptures, as pleasing in the sight of God and man. I believe it is in part weakness of bodily frame, or what is called nervousness, that prevents my making the progress that might be expected, after months passed free from delusion. Whatever the causes are, I seem so constantly thrown back in my attempts to attain a placid composed frame of mind and conduct, that I sometimes think my case is hopeless, and that I have only to

die in sorrow and suffering, as a punishment for the many errors of my life. I oftener, however, think and hope, that as God in judgement remembers mercy, he may have place me here for some special use to myself or others, which I am not yet permitted to see. I have sometimes thought that if I could, by words or writing, impress others with the inexpressible sufferings of those who feel the captivity as I do, it would not be living in vain to attract sympathy and alleviation, even in the cases of a few. Perhaps the class of persons to which I belong suffer as much, or more, than any other of this I can only judge from my own feelings and those of one or two individuals; but on many points our feelings and observations were so exactly similar, I believe they must be shared by many of those of the same tone of education, and habits of society. To females, in particular, of that class belong many feelings with which I am charged as morbid; even habits of thought, arising from strict religious views, are liable to the same censure. On lately reading, for the first time, some parts of the life and writings of Leigh Richmond, I perceived what I might allow were morbid feelings, because I think I have seen the same piety displayed without a shrinking feeling, which, however, I believe partake of with him, or which at all events it is little my part to censure. Had a person of such a turn of mind been separated necessarily from his family, and placed in an abode such as this, I cannot guess what the effects might have been. I have frequently thought that some of those men among my connections, whom I loved and admired most, would have been the most miserable in such a situation, from their naturally sensitive feelings being increased by education. From the cool manner in which the few visitors I have seen speak of our confinement, as a necessary and very endurable restraint, I see that those who have not tried it have a very slight impression being *placed* under such treatment, which often has an excellent effect; - the more subjection seemed to me so useful, that while under the milder forms of it, I observed that a large portion of the world would be the better of a month or two of the necessary discipline. It is the long detention I so greatly disapprove of, where there is no reason that would satisfy every common observer. Before I ever



anticipated the possibility of being a member of such a household, m attention was painfully attracted to the case of Solomon da Caus, an original discoverer of the almost incredible powers of steam. His mind, as far as I recollect was constantly labouring under the great truths which had been opened to his understanding, so that he might sometimes have appeared to be excited into an unsound state of intellect; but it was, I believe, that the members of Government and other persons might not be harassed by his importunities, that he was finally committed as a lunatic. We may see in this instance, and many others, of persons of genius in particular, how often the hand of man is ready to work against the hand of God. In not a few instances, indifference, scorn, a miserable life, or violent death, has been the portion of those to whom the Almighty has vouchsafed, superior parts or wisdom. The discoveries of Galileo, in nothing that I recollect, were contrary in any degree to the words of Scripture, excepting when David says in the Psalms, "He hath made the round world so fast, that it cannot be moved." Yet those who watched over the religion of his day, considered his impious announcement of pretended astronomical discoveries as only to be atoned for by his death. These examples alone might teach mankind humility and gentleness in dealing with their fellow-men. My own belief in the Scriptures, as written by the inspired servants of God, is so absolutely confirmed by internal, still more than by external evidence, that I feel no jealousy lest some particular portions should be proved t partake of human error, or the less perfect height of science which subsisted at the time they were written. Some expressions of St. Paul's even imply that we are to look for that. In many parts of Scripture, we are encouraged to seek for God in his wonderful works; therefore patience and leniency ought always to be shown to the sincere searcher after truth, whether in the elements of the creation, or the wonderful powers and mechanism with which they are invested. It is usually with "a great price" that mental illumination of any kind is obtained, and often accompanied by bodily suffering, therefore requiring in most cases tender care, rather than estrangement and perhaps indifferent treatment. Where the mind is affected by religious

delusion, the effect to the patients themselves is probably much the same as if felt under real inspiration. In some cases I cannot doubt it is so; in other cases, the extreme misery and depression that are felt, while seeming to be under the wrath of Heaven, is a suffering of such an overpowering nature, that I am convinced the utmost tenderness would often be bestowed, were the lookers-on aware how greatly they could alleviate the inexpressible sorrows of their afflicted friend or relation. In some cases, medical advice must be of much use; but I can say from experience, that where the reason powers seem left, friends should strive against discouragement, and hope against hope; but, above all, never let them remain, if it seems desirable for a time to remove the sufferer, satisfied to leave those dependent on their care, without the benefit of their previous knowledge of the character and habits of the patient can give. No words can convey the pain of being misunderstood, and treated without relation to our present feelings or previous place in society.

Under the Dome1.1

HUMOROUS PARODY OF A WELL-KNOWN Poem.

The New Arm Chair.

By the illiterate Under-housemaid, LIZZY; not the learned Cook ELIZA.

I 'ate it! I 'ate it! that new arm chair -

I don't care who chides me for 'ating it - there!

They bought it last week Nurse sad "'twas a prize" -

But 'twas ever so cheap, tho' it *was* such a size.

I sets in it, light; but its joints give a start -

(Ah, they got it at that cheap furniture mart!)

I was spelling out Mother's last letter with care

When *crash* went that dratted old new arm chair!

I expect, no some prentice, who'll anything dare,

Slyly hacked at the seat of that new arm chair;

And the words that come quick to the carpenter's tongue

When he see it, why *he* wouldn't teach to the young;

But he goes sharp to work all the damage to hide.

(For he durstn't determine to put it aside;)

And he spoke what, I fear wasn't *much* like a prayer

As he run his eye over that new arm chair.

I used I'm sure scarce at all those few days;

And I'm not very 'eavy - (I know what I weighs)  
 (The late page boy, I'm told, at my plump figure smiled,  
 But then who is *he*? he was only a child!)  
 Oh how Jeames did laugh tho', when all in a crack  
 The chair went to shatters, and me on my back! -  
 Well I found out just how much of weight 'twould'nt bear,  
 When that mishap occurred to the new arm chair!  
  
 There it is past all mending! I see it plain now!  
 With my nerves all a feeling - I hardly know how;  
 Who should walk in but Nurse, then, and when me she spied  
 Purs out scolding words, quite a hot lava tide!  
 Says I "stock your clack, Nurse; the chair was so weak."  
 Says she "what you hussy? to *me* dare to speak?"  
 Urgh! I 'ate it - I must, I got such a tear  
 Of my best Sunday frock with that plagued old chair!

KENTISH SCRIBBLER

## 1.2

### A TRUE INCIDENT

### THE GOOD OLD TIMES

Two boys - fair samples of their race -  
 Went to a Quakers' meeting place.  
 The time pass'd slowly, no one spoke,

(As oft the case with Quaker folk).  
One lad sat very quiet and good,  
The other seemed in reckless mood,  
And kept on fidgeting about;  
At length he held an orange out,  
And - before any could interfere -  
Exclaimed in voice, both loud and clear,  
“Who speaks first shall have this I say!”  
All eyes were quickly turned that way,  
Brothers and sisters look’d aghast.  
“Go out!” an old man cried at last.  
“As you spoke first,” the bad boy said,  
“‘Tis yours!” and threw it at his head.  
Then - not caring to see the end -  
He ran off, followed by his friend.

F.A.H., 1890.

*The Hydra*1.1

WAITING.

Is it but two days since we parted?

The time has seemed long to me,

As I sat here alone, broken-hearted,

Awaiting my destiny.

Each night in my dreams, I have seen her,

Have seen her and wept in vain,

And my longing grows deeper and keener

Till my loves comes back again.

Alone in the great drear city,

'Mid the throngs that never end,

An object of scorn or of pity,

And nowhere a friend.

But I care not a jot for the gaping crowds,

I care not for fog or rain,

Or lightning flashes, or thunder clouds,

So my love comes back again.

My heart is heavy and weary,

With the weight of a weary soul:

And mid-day sun grows dreary,  
     And hateful the midnight scroll.  
 The hours are laden with sadness,  
     Sadness deep tinged with pain,  
 And my soul will know no gladness  
     Till my love comes back again.

A voice in my ear still mingles,  
     A voice reposeful and clears:  
 A hot kiss on my lips still tingles,  
     On my cheek a trembling tear.  
 My lips shall burgeon no sweet song,  
     My heart shall echo no refrain,  
 But my song shall be long, and glad, and  
     strong,  
     When my loves comes back again.

J. W. O'C. W.

April 28, 1917

## 1.2

LINES ON WATTS'

PICTURE OF "HOPE"

She sits upon a world, a world of tears,

Placed by the Lord of Sorrows in mid space.

Shadows enshroud her face

And fleeting fears.

Blindfold she sits, yet never seems to tire

Of gazing blindfold through Eternity.

Fingering, so wearily,

Her one-stringed lyre.

The night of earthly-sorrow, gloom, and pain,

Closes around, yet fails to dim the star

That, shining there afar,

Lights hope again.

CAROLUS.

May 12, 1917

#### 1.4

#### THOUGHTS ON THE

#### HUMAN BODY.

It is impossible for the human mind to imagine anything more beautiful than the human body. It represents the limit of our imagination. Those who do not regard the human body as the highest expression of beauty have perverted minds, and the measure of perversion may be



estimated according to the degrees of indifference; until positive evil becomes evident in those to whom “the human form divine” is an offence.

Cherubs, satyrs, mermaids, spirits, and all disembodied and de-sexualised conceptions represent man’s impatience with this highest means of expression. They are the work of minds incapable of the highest sense of beauty, and are perverse attempts to grasp by phantasy that complex satisfaction which the human body represents.

To the properly appreciative mind the movements of the human body are more beautiful than the movement of water, clouds, fishes, birds, and beasts. Further, the movement of an aristocrat ought to be at least times as admirable as those of a navvy, because of the aristocrat’s better opportunities for education. That they often are not, is due partly to the fact that modern civilisation holds in comparatively low esteem all the human form below the neck, and consequently subjects it to ignorance and perverse forms of repression. It is also partly due, of course, to the fact that aristocrats are not necessarily of that rank according to any worthy system of values: that is, neither in nature’s nor true civilisation’s esteem. But the better our education the more it should enable us to make our bodies obviously “temples of the Holy Ghost.” Wise thoughts should produce graceful actions; happy thoughts, rapid movement; and so on, until our bodies are the beautifully expressive works of divine art they were intended to be.

If there is any measure of truth in these two reflections, such diverse subjects as the war and modern forms of dancing should provide fine opportunities for future satirists. Meantime, let those in favour sing the following hymn which has not yet appeared in any ancient or modern book :-

THE INCARNATE WORD.

If man can speak his mind,

What of his soul?

Whose voice is never heard

Save as he find

Spirit and flesh speak whole

The incarnate word.

What language hast thou learned,

Body of mine?

Speaks thy voice sweet as one

Who hath discerned

'Twixt tone and tone how fine

The modulations run?

Or art thou as a clod,

With tongue as coarse

As thy half-uttered thought?

So that e'en God

Must guess from sounds so hoarse

Their true purport.

List how these bodies shout!

This brazen tongue

Pain to Love's soul doth bring,

Until she flout

Those she would dwell among

Could they but sing.

O form so long despised!

So long enslaved!

To ignorance enchained,

By shame disguised!

To thee I have behaved

With cruelty ingrained.

But Love shall set thee free,

Thy voice to hear:

Thy native eloquence

Unloosed shall be,

And thou shall weep no more with

stammering fear

For thy defence.

COCKNEY

June 9, 1917

## THE PATCHWORK QUILT.

I am an anonymous contributor, but I have been asked to crush one of the heads of the Hydro with some stories. This, to begin with, suggests hospital, and I will begin with a story of a surgical operation. A dear old couple had lived their life through almost without medical assistance or advice. But in the end the old lady fell ill, and her husband called in his doctor. He diagnosed appendicitis, and explained to the husband in an adjoining room that there would have to be an operation. The husband naturally said to the medical man, "You'll need to tell Barbara about this," and taking his duty upon him he went to the old lady's bedside, and in her husband's presence he broke the news to her. "Does that mean," said she, "that I'll ha'e to be opened?" "Oh well," said the doctor, "you may put it that way, but it will be a very simple operation, we do it every day." "Weel," said she, "if I'm to be opened, I want the meenister to be there." "Oh," said the doctor, "it's a very simple operation. I don't know why you want the minister. If you have any fear, I can get an additional surgeon." "Oh, it's no that," she said "but I was just thinkin' that if I was opened, I would like to be opened with a prayer".

Now, it will be quite obvious that this old lady had a great belief in the efficacy of prayer. Let me give you another story showing a different point of view, not, perhaps, as to the efficacy of prayer, but to the necessity of the actual presence and fervency. A dairyman, with the charge of a large number of cows, was unfortunate enough to have his wife struck down with illness, necessitating operation, and a comparatively long period of convalescence. However, the wife had come through the ordeal, the daughters had given valuable assistance, and when the mother was convalescent the minister called, saw the dairyman outside, expressed a desire to see his wife, and was met by a hearty welcome. "Come away in, Mr ----, she'll be awfu' pleased to see you." So, in the minister went saw the lady sitting up in her bed, was immediately surrounded by the dairyman and his daughters, expressed great pleasure at her having so far recovered so

well. Then he addressed the lady in bed as follows: “My dear Mrs ----, you have come through a great danger, we think you are safe through on the other side now. These matter are all in the hands of Almighty God. With your permission, I will now offer up a prayer.” The husband till now had been, with arms akimbo over the foot of the bed, the cut in with this interruption, addressing the minister, “Weel, Maister -----, ye’ll have nae need o’ me for a bit whilie. I’ll awa’ ont to see about the beasts.”

Now, that I have led you to the operating table, and to the bedside of the living, I wish to take you to the bedside of the dying. A dear old neighbour of ours – I am speaking of my boyhood – lay a-dying. He was between eight and ninety years of age, and his wife was only a year or so younger than he was. He was suffering from no disease, but was just dying because his life’s work was accomplished. At last the end came, and his wife, now his widow, sent for my mother as a neighbour that she might have someone to take to who could comfort her in her distress. But the old lady needed little comforting. She was a shrewd Scotswoman, and she had looked forward to the event that had happened. Before I give you the words in which she addressed my mother I must tell you that she lived in Shawlands, which lies between Crossmyloof and Pollokshaws, often colloquially referred to as “The Shaws”, At Crossmyloof there was the old famous Crossmyloof Bakery, and in the shop windows the best of the production of the bakery was displayed. Now to return to the bedside, and the account of it given by the mourning widow. “O, Mrs ----, John’s awa’, but it’s an awfu’ comfort tae me tae think that he was calm and collected tae the vera end. Juist this vera forenoon I was sittin’ at his bedside, and we were talking about a’ the funeral arrangements. I juist happened to remark that the last time I had been past the Crossmyloof Bakery window I had seen some awfu’ nice sponge biscuits which I said would be nice biscuits for a funeral. And would you believe it, Mrs ----, but it juist shows how calm and collected he was tae the vera end, he said to me, “Weel, Barbara,

we've aye been gey weel served wi' Sproull in the Shaws (another baker) that when we have a thing o' this kind I dinna see why we should gang by him.

Now I have told you the story of the hospital, the bedside of the living, and the bedside of the dying, in another communication I will give you the stories of the street.

June 9, 1917

## 1.5

### ONE OF MY LITTLE TROUBLES.

It was at my first interview with the doctor that he suggested a hobby. The idea quite appealed to me. I had had several hobbies in my schoolboy days, I told him, and would think the matter over.

That evening I went to bed very tired, as the result of playing a very strenuous game of bowls, so instead of reading as usual, as I smoked my last pipe I lay thinking, and my thoughts turned to hobbies. When doctor first mentioned the matter earlier in the day, the choice of a hobby seemed quite simple, but calmer reflection revealed all manner of difficulties.

Now, let me see, I thought my first hobby was – white mice. Quite out of the question here, some ass would go and let them out, and I shuddered at the thought of even one mouse at large amongst so many nurses. My next hobby was collecting butterflies: this would take me out in the fresh air, a very good thing no doubt, but I was rather doubtful as to what the A.P.M. would do if he saw an officer in uniform, probably without a hat and perspiring as every pore, with half a draper's shop cunningly fixed to the end of a retired fishing-rod, frantically endeavouring to secure a beautiful painted lady.

Then there were snakes – that was a great idea. I had had more fun out of my snakes than any other of my schoolboy hobbies : you see, so far I have failed to discover the cage from which

a snake cannot find a way out sooner or later, and that is where the fun comes in. I, or perhaps I should say somebody else, invariably found my pets in a bed. The only thing that troubled me was – would the doctors agree to snakes? I had a vague suspicion that his idea of a hobby was something strenuous – like gardening or carpentry. Gardening, too much like hard work for me, I thought, as I settled myself with the intention of going to sleep

I had hardly closed my eyes before I was dreaming that I was gardening – first I was catching huge grey slugs at night with my electric torch: then I saw myself on a hot day, bathed in perspiration, making frantic efforts to chase a fugitive earwig down the prickly branches of a gooseberry bush: then, thank heavens, I woke up. Sleep was out of the question, so I returned to my meditations, and before I went down for my swim I had my case complete. I had arguments against every hobby I could think of.

“How are you feeling today?” asked my cheery medico when I saw him next morning.

“A little shaky.” I replied.

“Sleep well?”

“No, I could not sleep, that beastly hobby idea worried me.”

“Well what are you thinking of doing?” said he, with an encouraging smile.

“Nothing!” I replied, with all the determination I could muster.

“Oh, but you must do something,” said doctor thoughtfully. “You want something to occupy your mind. Why not do, eh-a little carpentry or fretwork?”

I exhibited my left hand which still bears the marks of my one and only struggle with a chisel, and explained that the staff had quite enough to do without having to repair my mangled remains. “I should not mind,” I said, “keeping a few snakes.”

“Snakes!” he exclaimed.

“Catching frogs for their food is rather exhausting,” I confessed, “but as I have known them go for six months and more without food, I think I could manage it.”

“I did not mean anything like that,” said the doctor hastily. “How about gardening?”

“I knew that would come sooner or later, and literally hurled my reply at him almost before he had finished speaking.

“My dear doctor, I do not know the difference between a radish and a rhubarb plant: I should hoe up all the crop and leave all the weeds, or something like that.”

I could see by his face that I had scored – the vision of Lord Devonport was before his eyes. I chuckled: for the first time in my life I was one up on the doctor. But my triumph was short lived.

He took up the attack again – “well, photography then.” He said smiling.

I gasped: photography was the one thing I *had not* thought of last night, and you may not believe me, nevertheless it is a fact, despite my three years’ experience in the army, I could not think of an excuse – reason. I mean of course – why I should not take up photography.

LUNL

June 23, 1917

## 1.6

### A SHATTERED HOPE.

True, I have had much comfort gazing on thee,

Much, too, perhaps, in thinking I might have thee

Nearly myself, a fellow soul to live with.

But weighing well a man’s frail and perilous tenure

Of all good in the restless, wavy world

Ne’re dare I set my soul on anything

Which but a touch of Time can shake to pieces.



Alone, in the Eternal is my hope!  
 Took I thee? That intensest joy of Love  
 Would soon grow fainter and at last dissolve,  
 But, if I yielded thee, there is something done  
 Which from the crumbling earth my soul divorces.  
 And gives it room to be a greater spirit.  
 There is a greater pang, methinks, in Nature  
 When she takes back the life of a dead world.  
 Than when a new one severs from her depth  
 Its bright revolving birth. So I'll not hoard thee.  
 But let thee part, reluctant, though in hope  
 That greater happiness will thence arise.

SYNJIN.

July 7, 1917

## 1.7

### THE COUNTER ATTACK

#### - A STORY FULL OF MORALS.

I was walking along La Rue de Princes (see map 1/10000 Edinburgh emma 5 central) vainly  
 trying to dodge motor buses which invariably seemed to back fire at the sight of my blue band  
 (which I may add, does not slip down my arm at the mystic sound “F. & F’s”, when I saw two  
 faces which seemed familiar to me. I at once tried to “concentrate”. Yes, I must be improving,  
 for the one made me think of 8.30 ack emma 0 the time when sleep really does come to one –

and a voice which generally says, “Well, and how did you sleep *last* night?” while the other brought my memory back to the secluded walk behind the tennis courts – time usually ( pip emma – and then I knew them. Why it was Sister – and Nurse ---. Whether or not they are attached to Secret Service, or not yet seconded for the A.P.M.’s staff is nor mine to say, but they were disguised in “civies”. Probably awaiting their commissions, I thought, as I camouflaged behind the Picture House pillar (oh, yes, that’s where I was, studying the various collars and ties which flashed before my view, and realising at the last that an A.P.M.’s job is an overrated pastime!) It was a dud spot, and I realised they were bearing down on me. Let me add, of course this was done purely from a sisterly and nurse --- (whatever the adjective is) point of view, as there was no doubt I was looking seedy! “Afternoon, Nurse,” I said, trying to look chirrupy, and eyeing Mr ----- of the ----- Regiment who was “getting off” in a taxi in more senses than one. “Why, poor boy, you’re looking tired --- get yourself some tea”.

I ask you, what else could I do under the circs? So, looking in an adjacent mirror to see if my tie were straight, I murmured, (correct word to use here), “Won’t you join me?” “We’ve clicked,” I said without stuttering at the “c”, leading the way into the estaminet. We went downstairs; it is dark there, and all is bustle, so much so, in fact, that I get rid of *Commerce de Béthune* note one afternoon, though I fancy the waitress’s eyesight was about C3! Still, you should try it. But *revenons à nos meutons*, as the French never say. After we had put away a few strawberries I asked what the next move was. “Oh, you see, I’ve some shopping to-do,” said Nurse ----, and I knew visions of lace, ribbons, etc., were before her mind’s eye. “I feel terribly nervy down town by myself,” I replied, looking depressed, and wondering if it would catch on. It did. “You stay with us and you will be alright,” said Sister ----, as if she were giving me a sleeping powder. So far the afternoon had been a decided success, as the papers say when we occupy a trench which some brass hat deems evacuated. Now came the crisis. “Oh, I simply *must* buy some dinky stockings.” This was Nurse’s voice. Well my heart never has been too

strong ... luckily my stick was at the time. No getting out of it now, I thought, as I crawled close up to the barrage, and gained my objective, *i.e.* stockings or hose department. I at once wanted to start digging in, but those stone floors are so hard, and in any case the counter was by this time rivetted with stockings. "That's rather pretty, but still it's not *quite* the shade, if only you had this kind with clocks it would be nicely ---- Yes, I'm sorry. *Good* afternoon." Nothing doing; one shop finished: and I felt sure the poor shop girl wouldn't have the counter cleared in time to knock off at 6 that evening! We tried another shop. Here was a lift. "*Bon*," I said as we soared up to the umpteenth floor. Careless lift boy! He banged the door – that did me in ... When I came to, Nurse was quite excited as she had struck the exact colour she was in search of, and in silk (let me whisper it), openwork, too!

"This size may be rather big for you, madam." And *I* certainly thought it would, as I glanced (no, *not* gazed) at the neat ---- (reminder censored). "Oh, well, we've gained our objective anyhow," I drawled, thinking of the many pairs of stockings so ruthlessly cast down in the onset. Suddenly remembering I had not a pass out for dinner, I boarded a train.

Last night I slept badly. Of, those awful war dreams!!! It was zero minus one hour, and the barrage would start any minute now. I gazed at my watch and seemed to remember the girl who it to me before going out. It was all so long ago. "They're off," said my platoon sergeant, as the gunners started loosing off. The 18 pounders seemed to be firing at the back of the trench, so loud was their bark. Dear old Princes Street seemed very far away, and I wondered if ever ... I looked up on the wire which was covered with silk stockings. We started digging in, but each entrenching tool dug up the same old thing – silk stockings ...

My doc has since told me to stay in bed for complete rest, and concentrate on anything except *les bas en soie*.

“WINDUP”

July 21. 1917

2.1

BALLADES OF FRANCE.

No. 2.

ANY PRIVATE TO ANY PRIVATE.

*(The speaker pointed out that owing to the number of young married men who were being killed, widows were becoming a great burden to the State – DAILY PAPER.*

*Our boys are wonderful. They are always able to laugh. – DAILY PAPER.)*

Aye, gie's ma rum. I'm needin't sair, by God!

We've juist been bringin' Wullie doun the line –

Wullie, that used tae be sae smairt an' snod.

Hell! what a mess! Saft-nosed ane. Damn the swine!

They micht kill clean. I kent his auld fouk fine.

Aye, he was mairrit. Man, she's spared a sicht.

Here, Dave, gie's ower that blanket. Aye's that's mine.

I kenna hoo I canna lauch the nicht.

We gaed tae Tamson's schule. A clever loon  
 Was Wullie. He mas makin' money tae.  
 A'body liked him round about the toun.  
 Fitba'? Losh, aye! He was a de'il tae play.  
 We joined the gither for a bob a day;  
 An' noo he's deid. Here, Davie, gi's a licht.  
 They'll pit it up in the papers. Weel they may!  
 I kenna, hoo I canna lauch the nicht.

I canna mak' it oot. It fair beats a',  
 That Wullie has tae dee for God kens what.  
 An' Wullie's wife'll get a bob or twa,  
 Aifter they interfere wi' what she's got.  
 They'll pester her, and crack a dragooned lot;  
 An' Heaven kens, they'll leave her awfu' ticht.  
 "A burden to the State." Her Wullie's shot.  
 I kenna, hoo I canna lauch the nicht.

*Envoi*

What's that? Anither workin' paitie, noo,  
 At six? Aye, sergeant, I'll be ther a' richt.  
 Weel, Wullie lad, they winna waken you.  
 I kenna, hoo I canna launch the nicht.

November 1917

2.3

## SONNET.

Who in the splendour of a simple thought  
(Whether for England or her enemies)  
Went in the night, and in the morning died,  
Each bleeding piece of human earth that lies  
Stark to the carrion wind, and groaning cries  
For burial – each Jesu crucified –  
Hath surely won the thing he dearly bought,  
For wrong is right when wrong is greatly wrought.

Yet is the Nazarene no thigh of Thor  
Playing on partial fields the puppet king,  
Bearing the battle down with bloody hand.  
Serene he stand above the gods of war –  
A naked man when shells go thundering –  
The great unchallenged Lord of No Man's Land.

F.V.B.

January 1918

2.8

STARED AT.

Now if I walk in Princes Street,  
Or smile at friends I choose to meet,  
Or, perhaps a joke with laughter greet,  
I'm, stared at.

I've got a blue band on my arm,  
But surely that's not any harm:  
A small white tab may be the charm –  
I'm stared at.

Suppose I dine out any night,  
Drink Adam's wine, and don't get tight,  
No wonder that my nerves ain't right,  
I'm stared at.

Craiglockhart mem'ries will be sad,  
Your name will never make us glad:  
The self-respect we ever had  
We've lost – all people think us mad.

If "Someone" knew who wrote this verse

My simple life would be much worse,  
And on any tomb would be this curse  
“To be stared at.”

“AN INMATE”

June 1918