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Part I

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Chapter 1

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Chapter 2

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61 On the early use of bibliotherapy in the nineteenth-century asylum, see Blair, 'Library as Laboratory'; Weimerskirch, 'Benjamin Rush'; Len Levin and Ruthann Gildea, 'Bibliotherapy: Tracing the Roots of a Moral Therapy Movement in the United States from the Early Nineteenth Century to the Present', *Journal of the Medical Library Association: JMLA*, 101 (2013), 89–91.
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69 Single-issue copies of the *Opal*, including some of the original wrappers with advertisements, have been preserved in the library of the New York Academy of Medicine. The *Conglomerate*, of which only volumes 3 and 5 have been found (the former in New York State Library, Albany and both in the Middletown Thrall Library), features advertisements in its columns.

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77 See Chapter 4.

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Chapter 3

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56 A brief overview of Adam's involvement in the asylum is provided by Andrews, 'Patient Population', p. 111.
57 'Iram', 'Recollections from Malta', *Morningside Mirror*, June 1856, pp. 67–69, 68. Adam used the same pseudonym to sign his collections of verse: Adam, 'Iram', *All Sorts; Containing Compositions in Verse, Including the Heroic, Sentimental & Comic* (Edinburgh: Printed by the author at the Press of the Royal Lunatic Asylum, 1856), in Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, AB.1.207.015(1); 'Iram', *The Anatomical Figures, in Verse* ([Edinburgh]: [Royal Edinburgh Asylum], [1856]), in Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, AB.1.207.015(3); 'Iram', *The Poetical Log-Book; or, Journal of a Voyage from Malta to Liverpool* (Morningside: Printed by the author at the Royal Asylum Press, Edinburgh, 1855), in *HathiTrust*, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008967498 [accessed 6 January 2022]; Adam, 'Iram', *All Sorts; Containing Compositions in Verse, Including the Heroic, Sentimental & Comic* (Edinburgh: Royal Edinburgh Asylum, 1859), in Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, I.37.k. For the avoidance of confusion, subsequent references to his works in this book will use his real name.
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enquiry, the librarians found no justification for that and updated their records.
59 See Smith and Swann, 'Medical Officers and Therapeutics', pp. 55–56.
60 Ibid., p. 58.
61 J. R. Adam, *The Gartnavel Minstrel, Consisting of Original Pieces in Rhyme, Both Comic & Sentimental, with Notes and a Brief Biographical Sketch of the Author* (Glasgow: Composed, Printed, and Published, by J. R. Adam, 62, York Street, 1845), p. 12; Glasgow, NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde Archives, Records of Gartnavel Royal Hospital (GRH), Admission Documents, HB13/7/17, 'John Reid Adam, No. 1226'. Only the front matter of the *Gartnavel Minstrel* is paginated, so I have been unable to provide page numbers for the poems in the collection.
62 Adam, *Gartnavel Minstrel*, p. 12. The complaint of hunger is expressed in Adam, *Anatomical Figures*, p. 6. The experience of digging served as a basis for John Reid Adam, 'Song Composed at the Bottom of a Well, which Was Dug on the Grounds at Gartnavel' in the *Gartnavel Minstrel*.
63 GRH, Index to Male Patients, 1814–1857, HB13/6/81; Adam, *Gartnavel Minstrel*, p. 12.
64 Adam, *Gartnavel Minstrel*, p. 16.
65 GRH, Index to Male Patients, 1814–1857, HB13/6/81.
66 Ibid.
67 Adam, *Gartnavel Minstrel*, p. 12.
68 Adam, *Gartnavel Minstrel*, 'Introductory Address, as it appeared in the first No. of the "Chronicles of the Monastery", a weekly periodical published for circulation in the Institution'. The poetry in the volume is not paginated, so I will refer to poem titles instead of pages.
69 Adam, *Gartnavel Minstrel*, 'Introductory Address'.
70 Ibid.
71 Ibid. A reference to the cold water cure also appears in Adam, *Gartnavel Minstrel*, 'Song Composed at the Bottom of a Well'.
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34 Smart, *Scenes*, p. 23.
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37 Number 12 (24 May 1855) is an exception, as it contains an additional supplement leaf.
38 It ran until 1925, with an interruption between 1915 and 1920.
39 Smith and Swann, 'Medical Officers and Therapeutics', p. 54.
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43 Ibid.
44 'Memorial', *Gartnavel Gazette*, 1 June 1853, p. 2.
45 'The Editor', [untitled], *Gartnavel Gazette*, 1 June 1853, pp. 1–2, 2.
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47 Ibid.
48 Mackintosh, 'Report . . . for 1853', pp. 34–35.
49 Ibid.
50 Ibid.
51 Alexander Mackintosh, 'Report by the Physician Superintendent, to the Directors, for 1854' in *Forty-First Annual Report of the Directors of the Glasgow Royal Asylum for Lunatics* (Glasgow: Printed by James Hedderwick & son, 1855), pp. 23–45, 43.
52 'Work Done in the Upholstery Department in 1854' in *Forty-First Annual Report of the Directors of the Glasgow Royal Asylum for Lunatics* (Glasgow: Printed by James Hedderwick & son, 1855), p. 62.
53 'Rather Flattering', *Gartnavel Gazette*, 1 June 1853, p. 2.
54 'The Gartnavel Gazette', *Gartnavel Gazette*, 1 June 1853, p. 3.
55 See the imprint at the back of the first issues and Mackintosh, 'Report . . . for 1853', p. 35.
56 GRH, House surgeon's notes for physician: male, HB13/5/50, fol. 133r.
57 Ibid., fol. 132v. Buchanan's background is mentioned in National Archives, / 644, Folio 552, Page 3, Schedule 8: Scottish General Register Office: 1851 Census Returns, in *FreeCEN*, www.freecen.org.uk/search_records/5a150626f4040b9d6e108f49 [accessed 29 November 2019].
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61 Ibid., fol. 133r.
62 Ibid., fol. 141v.
63 Ibid., fols. 141v–42r.
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66 'Rather Flattering', *Gartnavel Gazette*, 1 June 1853, p. 2.

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68 'Commercial Report', *Gartnavel Gazette*, 1 June 1853, pp. 2–3.
69 'Wanted for No. 4 Gallery', *Gartnavel Gazette*, 6 July 1853, p. 4.
70 'A Notice', *Gartnavel Gazette*, 6 July 1853, p. 4.
71 'The Gartnavel Gazette', *Gartnavel Gazette*, 10 August 1853, p. 3.
72 'The Gartnavel Gazette', *Gartnavel Gazette*, 1 June 1853, p. 3.
73 [Anon], 'Notice to Correspondents', *Gartnavel Gazette*, 10 August 1853, p. 3.
74 Ibid.
75 See 'Soiree in Honour of the Editor of the Gartnavel Gazette', *Gartnavel Gazette*, 5 October 1853, p. 2; Mackintosh, 'Report . . . for 1853', p. 35.
76 'The Gartnavel Gazette', *Gartnavel Gazette*, 5 October 1853, p. 3.
77 'Viator', 'To the Editor of the Gartnavel Gazette', *Gartnavel Gazette*, 5 October 1853, p. 3.
78 University of Dundee Archive Services, Murray Royal Asylum (MRA), Casebook vol. 4, THB 29/8/6/2/4, pp. 116–17; GRH, House surgeon's notes for physician: male, HB13/5/52, fol. 87v. Black's case notes from the Glasgow Royal Asylum connect him with the *Fifeshire Journal*, while his records from the Murray Royal Asylum mention the *Perth Courier* office as his place of work.
79 See GRH, House surgeon's notes for physician: male, HB13/5/52, fol. 88r and the last pages of the *Gartnavel Gazette* issues for 7 September 1853, 5 October 1853, and 2 November 1853.
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81 Ibid., fol. 87v.
82 Ibid., fol. 88r.
83 Ibid. The discharge date mentioned is 6 February (see patient no. 3502 in GRH, The Index to Male Patients, HB13/6/81).
84 GRH, Admission documents (male), HB13/7/31.
85 Ibid., fol. 205v.
86 See the 'Medical Statistical Tables' for 1853–1856 in GRH, Bound annual reports, 1850–1860, HB13/2/218; Mackintosh, 'Report . . . for 1853', p. 35.
87 GRH, House surgeon's notes for physician: male, HB13/5/52, fol. 87v.
88 Ibid., fol. 205v.
89 GRH, House surgeon's notes for physician: male, HB13/5/53, fol. 202v.
90 Ibid., fol. 203r.
91 GRH, Index to Male Patients, HB13/6/81 (patient no. 3618).
92 Dundee, University of Dundee Archive Services, Royal Dundee Liff Hospital (RDLH), Register of Lunatics, 1821–1877, THB 7/8/3/5, fol. 28 (patient no. 1655).
93 RDLH, Case books: TH7/8/9/22, fols. 120v–21r. The letters are unfoliated but attached to the case notes.
94 GRH, House surgeon's notes for physician: male, HB13/5/53, fol. 202v.
95 'To All Readers', *Gartnavel Gazette*, 17 May 1855, p. 3.
96 GRH, House surgeon's notes for physician: male, HB13/5/53, fol. 202v.

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97 See 'To Our Correspondents' column of the *Gartnavel Gazette* for 22 March 1855, p. 3; 29 March 1855, p. 3; 26 April 1855, p. 3, and 21 June 1855, p. 3.
98 Kirstie Blair, '"Let the Nightingales Alone": Correspondence Columns, the Scottish Press, and the Making of the Working-Class Poet', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 47 (2014), 188–207 (pp. 190–92).
99 'Billy Nuts', 'Correspondence', *Gartnavel Gazette*, 14 June 1855, pp. 1–2, 1.
100 Ibid., p. 2.
101 On tensions between different classes of patients, see McMillan, 'Writer Heal Thyself', p. 76.
102 'A Little Bit of Secret History', *Gartnavel Gazette*, 12 April 1855, pp. 2–3, 3.
103 'Our "Rejected Addresses," &c.', *Gartnavel Gazette*, 28 June 1855, pp. 2–3, 2.
104 Ibid.
105 Ibid.
106 See Blair, 'Let the Nightingales Alone', p. 193.
107 Poems include Pushkin's 'To the Slanderers of Russia', Chaucer's 'The Might of Cupid', Coleridge's 'Broken Friendship', William Thom's 'The Mitherless Bairn', and 'Give to the Poor' – an anonymous poem from the *Dundee, Perth, and Cupar Advertiser*, 8 May 1855, p. 3. See issues for 31 May, 7 June, 14 June, and 28 June 1855.
108 However, there were potentially two contributors whose writing was regularly admitted, 'Poor Walter' and 'Junius Secundus'. See the rubrics 'Wholesome Remarks by Poor Walter' (in 14 June 1855, p. 3; 21 June 1855, p. 3; 28 June 1855, p. 3) and 'Fragments from Junius Secundus' (in 14 June 1855, p. 3; 28 June 1855, p. 3). A reference to 'our lesser Junius' appears in 'Our "Rejected Addresses," &c.', *Gartnavel Gazette*, 28 June 1855, p. 2.
109 GRH, House surgeon's notes for physician: male, HB13/5/53, fol. 203r. The medical note describing the transfer is dated 8 July, so it is possible that Black managed to print one last number before being moved.
110 'Our "Rejected Addresses," &c.', *Gartnavel Gazette*, 28 June 1855, p. 2.

Chapter 5

1 Reiss, *Theaters of Madness*, p. 15.
2 Hughes, 'Labeling and Treating', p. 443.
3 Eannace, 'Lunatic Literature', p. 139.
4 Ibid., p. 256.
5 The fullest run of the publication, containing eleven numbers, is held at the Alabama Department of Archives and History and has been digitised. Three additional consecutive issues (1 January–1 June 1873) are held at the United States National Library of Medicine.

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6 Thomas Kirkbride, *On the Construction, Organisation, and General Arrangements of Hospitals for the Insane* (Philadelphia: [s.n.], 1854); Nancy J. Tomes, *A Generous Confidence. Thomas Story Kirkbride and the Art of Asylum-Keeping, 1840–1883* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
7 Bill L. Weaver, 'Survival at the Alabama Insane Hospital, 1861–1892', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 51 (1996), 5–28 (p. 11); Hughes, 'Labeling and Treating', p. 450.
8 W. A. F. Browne, 'The Eighteenth Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Alabama Insane Hospital' in *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Officers of the Alabama Insane Hospital at Tuscaloosa, For the Year 1878* (Montgomery: Barrett & Brown, 1878), pp. 8–49, 45–46.
9 Weaver, 'Survival at the Alabama Insane Hospital', p. 15.
10 Ibid., p. 24.
11 Browne, 'The Eighteenth Annual Report', p. 47.
12 Hughes, 'Labeling and Treating', p. 443.
13 Peter Bryce, 'Seventh Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Alabama Insane Hospital' in *Annual Report of the Officers of the Alabama Insane Hospital at Tuscaloosa, For the Year 1867* (Tuscaloosa: John F. Warren, 1867), pp. 7–40, 7.
14 Ibid., p. 40.
15 Peter Bryce, 'Eleventh Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Alabama Insane Hospital' in *Annual Report of the Officers of the Alabama Insane Hospital at Tuscaloosa, For the Year 1871* (Montgomery: W. W. Screws, State Printer, 1871), pp. 7–18, 16.
16 Ibid., pp. 17–18.
17 The most detailed biographical account has been compiled by Pablo Goree, 'Joseph Alexander Goree', Ancestry.com, www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/49466387/person/28036742911/facts [accessed on 11 October 2021].
18 Alabama Department of Archives and History (ADAH), Alabama Probate Court (Perry County) Estate Case Files, RLG00413, Fol. 23, Report of commissioners appointed to appraise and divide the estate of James L. Goree of Perry County, Alabama.
19 *U.S., College Student Lists, 1763–1924*, Ancestry.com; *U.S., School Catalogues, 1765–1935*, Ancestry.com [accessed 12 August 2024].
20 *Indiana, U.S., Select Marriages Index, 1748–1993*, Ancestry.com [accessed 12 August 2024].
21 *Indiana, Death Certificates, 1899–2011*, Ancestry.com [accessed 12 August 2024].
22 *1870 United States Federal Census*, Ancestry.com [accessed 28 September 2024]; *1880 United States Federal Census*, Ancestry.com [accessed 28 September 2024].
23 'Distressing Occurrence', *Alabama Beacon*, 22 January 1858, p. 2.
24 ADAH, Bryce Insane Hospital Records, Financial Records and Reports, SG5447/4, 1872, 29 April.

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25 'Andrew B. Moore, 1857–1861' in Samuel L. Webb and Margaret E. Armbrester (eds.), *Alabama Governors: A Political History of the State* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2014).
26 ADAH, Alabama Probate Court (Perry County) Estate Case Files, RLG00413, Fol. 23.
27 ADAH, Alabama Probate Court (Perry County) Estate Case Files, RLG00413, Fol. 23, Writ directing the sheriff of Perry County to summon a jury for an "inquest of lunacy" for Joseph A. Goree at the probate court; ADAH, Alabama Probate Court (Perry County) Estate Case Files, RLG00413, Fol. 23, Guardianship bond for A. B. Moore, who was appointed guardian of his brother-in-law, Joseph A. Goree, 1868, March 14.
28 James Thomas Searcy, Petition to the Probate Judge of Tuscaloosa County, 'Goree, Joseph, A.', Estate papers, 1800s–1930s, FamilySearch, www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C957-H985-8 [accessed 9 March 2026].
29 Ibid.
30 See 'Old Friends', the *Meteor*, [July 1872, p. 2]; 'May Day Festival', the *Meteor* [July 1872, p. 3].
31 Tuscaloosa, AL, University of Alabama, J. A. Goree Scrapbook of Newspaper Clippings, MSS-3909.
32 'Alabama Insane Hospital', *Tuskaloosa Gazette*, 16 May 1878, p. 2.
33 Simon Gikandi, *Slavery and the Culture of Taste* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), p. 7.
34 Ibid., p. 5.
35 'Our Paper', the *Meteor*, April 1876, p. [3].
36 Only the two surviving issues from the second volume suggest that it briefly adopted a four-column layout in the second year, before reverting to three columns. In addition, its latest surviving number was expanded to cover eight pages.
37 'Our Paper', the *Meteor*, [4 July] 1872, p. [2].
38 ADAH, Bryce Insane Hospital Records, Financial Records and Reports – Vouchers SG5449, Duplicate Vouchers for the Steward's report for 3rd q[uarte]r of Fiscal year ending September 30, 1872, no. 100; ADAH, Bryce Insane Hospital Records, Financial Records and Reports, SG5447/4, 1872, 26 April.
39 'The Meteor. Alabama Insane Hospital', the *Meteor*, [4 July] 1872, p. [3].
40 'The Meteor', the *Meteor*, [4 July] 1872, p. [2].
41 Robert J. Scholnick, '*Scribner's Monthly* and the "Pictorial Representation of Life and Truth" in Post-Civil War America', *American Periodicals*, 1 (1991), 46–69 (p. 49); Susan Belasco, 'The Cultural Work of National Magazines' in Scott E. Casper et al. (eds.), *A History of the Book in America. Volume 3: The Industrial Book, 1840–1880* (Chapel Hill: Published in association with the American Antiquarian Society by the University of North Carolina Press), pp. 258–270, 268.
42 'Dr Michel and Paul Hayne' in Tuscaloosa, AL, University of Alabama, J. A. Goree Scrapbook of Newspaper Clippings, MSS-3909.
43 Ibid.

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44 Ibid.
45 'G.', 'Our Amusement Hall', the *Meteor*, [4 July] 1872, p. [4].
46 Clark, 'Mad Literature', p. 53. See also Eannace, 'Lunatic Literature', pp. 210–11.
47 Hughes, 'Labeling and Treating', p. 445.
48 'The Meteor', the *Meteor*, [4 July] 1872, p. [2].
49 'The Meteor', the *Meteor*, 30 March 1874, p. [3].
50 See [untitled manicule note], the *Meteor*, [4 July] 1872, p. [2]; 'G.', 'Our Amusement Hall', the *Meteor*, [4 July] 1872, p. [4]; 'Brevities', the *Meteor*, 30 March 1874, p. [3].
51 In addition, for some time, the *Meteor* was exchanged for two other publications: *The Friend* of the Pennsylvania State Hospital in Harrisburg and the *Morningside Mirror* of the Royal Edinburgh Asylum. *Meteor*, 2 April 1873, p. 2.
52 'Lunatic Literature in America', *Excelsior*, January 1874, pp. 1–3, 2. The *Meteor* slightly misquotes the statement, reading: 'Though the Meteor purports to be edited by a patient, it is evident that the Physician Superintendent is the responsible and real editor.' See [Goree], 'Excelsior and the Meteor', p. [2].
53 'Excelsior and the Meteor', p. [2].
54 Ibid.
55 For example, the Alabama Press Association visited the institution in the summer of 1874. See 'Alabama Press Association', *The Meteor*, July 1874, p. [1].
56 'Our Neighbors', the *Meteor*, [4 July] 1872, p. [3].
57 Clark, 'Mad Literature', p. 46.
58 'Lunatic Literature', the *Meteor*, 30 March 1874, p. [2]. I have not encountered the quotation in earlier issues.
59 Clark, 'Mad Literature', p. 64.
60 'Spiritualism', the *Meteor*, [4 July] 1872, p. [1].
61 Ibid.
62 Ibid.
63 'Responsibility of the Insane', the *Meteor*, April 1876, p. [1].
64 'Insane Responsibility', the *Meteor*, April 1876, p. [2].
65 Ibid.
66 'To Correspondents', the *Meteor*, [4 July] 1872, p. [2].
67 'Lost Treasures', the *Meteor*, [1 October] 1872, p. [2].
68 'Olivia', 'Correspondence', the *Meteor*, July 1874, pp. [2–3].
69 'Hospital Sewing Society', the *Meteor*, 30 March 1874, pp. [1–2]; 'Walks About the Hospital', the *Meteor*, 24 December 1881, p. 2.
70 'Tuskaloosa', the *Meteor*, 25 December 1873, p. [1].
71 Ibid.
72 'The Bright Side', the *Meteor*, October 1874, p. [2].
73 'To the Patients of the Hospital', the *Meteor*, July 1876, pp. [2–3], [2].
74 [untitled], *The Meteor*, July 1876, p. [1].
75 Bryce, 'The Sixteenth Annual Report', p. 36.

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76 'Our Paper', the *Meteor*, 25 December 1877, p. [1]
77 'The Meteor', the *Meteor*, 24 December 1881, p. [1].
78 [untitled], the *Meteor*, 25 December 1877, p. [1].
79 'Answers to Interrogatories', the *Meteor*, 25 December 1879, p. [3].
80 Ibid.
81 Ibid.
82 'The Meteor', the *Meteor*, 24 December 1881, p. 1.
83 There are announcements in other Alabama newspapers about the publication of issues in the 1880s. See 'Editorial Etchings', *Union Springs Herald*, 5 December 1883, p. 2; 'The Meteor', *Alabama Beacon*, 4 December 1883, p. 4.
84 [untitled], the *Meteor*, 24 December 1881, p. 4.
85 The expansion of the asylum is discussed in 'The New Building', the *Meteor*, 24 December 1881, p. 1. See [untitled], the *Meteor*, 30 March 1874, p. 2; 'Hospital Statistics', the *Meteor*, 24 December 1881, p. 4.
86 'Gloxena', 'A New Flower', the *Meteor*, [4 July] 1872, p. [2]; 'Nervous Temperament', the *Meteor*, 2 April 1873, p. [2]; 'Veritas', 'LL. D.', the *Meteor*, October 1874, pp. [1–2]; 'Olivia', 'Correspondence', the *Meteor*, July 1874, pp. [2–3].
87 'To the Patients of the Hospital', the *Meteor*, July 1876, p. [2].
88 'Personals: Contributed', the *Meteor*, July 1876, p. [3]; 'Thoughts of Thee', the *Meteor*, July 1876, p. [3].
89 'Answers to Correspondents', the *Meteor*, 24 December 1881, p. 5.
90 'The Object of Our Paper', the *Meteor*, 24 December 1881, p. 6.
91 'Lunatic Literature', the *Meteor*, 30 March 1874, p. [2]. I have not encountered the quotation in earlier issues.
92 'Poetry', the *Meteor*, July 1876, p. [1].
93 'Thoughts of Thee', the *Meteor*, July 1876, p. [3].
94 [untitled], the *Meteor*, 25 December 1879, p. [3].
95 The separate publication of female patients' works is listed among the alleged reasons for Goree's confinement in the asylum. See 'Answers to Interrogatories', p. [3].
96 *An Insight into an Insane Asylum*, ([Louisville, KY?]: Pub. for the author, 1882), in *HathiTrust*, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008587811 [accessed 27 February 2020], p. 68.
97 'Alabama Insane Hospital', *Tuskaloosa Gazette*, p. 2.

Chapter 6

1 Turner, 'Patients' Creative Work', p. 101; McMillan, 'Writer Heal Thyself', p. 69; Eannace, 'Lunatic Literature', p. 314; Clark, 'Mad Literature', p. 49.
2 For instance, while there were 284 patients at the Royal Edinburgh Asylum in 1844, in 1884 there were 838. See [William Mackinnon], 'Table I. – Exhibiting the General Results of the Year' in *Report by the Managers of the*

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Royal Edinburgh Lunatic Asylum for the Year 1844 ([Edinburgh]: [s.n.], 1845), p. 22; [T. S. Clouston], 'Table I. Showing the Admissions, Re-Admissions, Discharges, and Deaths During the Year Ending 31st December 1884' in *Annual Report of the Royal Edinburgh Asylum for the Insane. 1884* (Morningside: Printed at the Royal Edinburgh Asylum, [1885]), p. 30.

3 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), p. 35.

4 Ibid., I have found no indication of the predominant way of consuming periodicals in the asylum, but it is not improbable that they were occasionally read out loud, as was commonly done at the time (e.g. for the benefit of illiterate patients or at special celebrations and dinners). See Philip Collins, *Reading Aloud: A Victorian Métier* (Lincoln: Tennyson Research Centre, Tennyson Society, 1972); Ivan Kreilkamp, *Voice and the Victorian Storyteller* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Carolyn Eastman, 'Reading Aloud: Editorial Societies and Orality in Magazines of the Early American Republic', *Early American Literature*, 54 (2019), 163–88; Weiss, 'The Literary Clubs'.

5 Curlic, 'Home Sweet Home', pp. 71–72; Turner, 'Patients' Creative Work', pp. 125–26; Eannace, 'Lunatic Literature', pp. 83–88.

6 Chaney, 'No "Sane" Person', p. 47.

7 See Eannace, 'Lunatic Literature', p. 314; Turner, 'Patients' Creative Work', pp. 119–20.

8 On the difficulties of patients' reintegration, see Beveridge and Watson, 'Psychiatrist', pp. 216–18; McMillan, 'Writer Heal Thyself', p. 81.

9 Galt, 'On the Reading', p. 585.

10 See McMillan, 'Writer Heal Thyself', pp. 69–70.

11 'Twenty-Ninth Annual Medical Report of James Murray's Royal Asylum for Lunatics, Perth' in *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the Directors of James Murray's Royal Asylum for Lunatics, near Perth* (Perth: Printed by order of the Directors, by C. G. Sidey, Post-Office, 1856), pp. 7–19, 13.

12 Rockwell, 'Seventh Annual Report', p. 11.

13 Buchanan was one of sixteen gentlemen who launched the printed version of the *Gartnavel Gazette*. Adam has been depicted as 'a gentleman of stirring and energetic habits' who was a notable high-paying resident in the East House of the Royal Edinburgh Asylum. See Smart, *Scenes*, p. 22.

14 Holligan, 'Educative Psychological Treatment', p. 11.

15 'A Morning at Morningside', p. 411. Only one of the ten contributors to the *Mirror* I have identified during my research resided in the East House for fee-paying patients, contrary to Holligan's claim (Holligan, 'Educative Psychological Treatment', p. 11).

16 Eannace, 'Lunatic Literature', p. 115.

17 Judson Andrews, 'Asylum Periodicals', p. 47; NYCAI, 'Asylum Journalism'. He adds that, according to Dr John Curwen, the Superintendent of the

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Harrisburg institution, 'nearly all connected with it, left the institution some time since [1874], a fact which accounts for its suspension' (p. 47). I have been unable to locate any copies of it.

18 'Correspondence', the *Meteor*, July 1874, p. [2].
19 'Original Poetry', *Gartnavel Gazette*, 6 July 1853, p. 2.
20 'The Meteor', the *Meteor*, 25 December 1879, p. [2].
21 REH, Case Books, Vol. 3, 1843–1847 West House, LHB 7/51/3, p. 400.
22 Hughes, 'Labeling and Treating Black Mental Illness', p. 445.
23 Turner, 'Patients' Creative Work', p. 124.
24 For a discussion of *Excelsior*, see Chapter 7. 'Medicus', 'What Is Insanity', the *Meteor*, July 1872, p. [4].
25 'Our Paper', the *Meteor*, [4 July] 1872, p. [2].
26 'Toga Credit Armis', the *Meteor*, 2 April 1873, pp. [1–2], 1.
27 [untitled], the *Meteor*, 25 December 1879, p. [3]. In that particular asylum, nurses were regularly sent out 'to assist on the farm, in the laundry, or in the general work about the premises'. See Peter Bryce, 'The Sixteenth Annual Report of the Superintendent, of the Alabama Insane Hospital [dated Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1st October, 1876]' in *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Alabama Insane Hospital at Tuscaloosa, October 1876* (Montgomery: W. W. Screws, State Printer, 1876), LHSA, GD17/4/33/1, pp. 11–45, 27.
28 Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*, p. 254.
29 Shawn M. Phillips, '"Just Can't Work Them Hard Enough": A Historical Bioarcheological Study of the Inmate Experience at the Oneida County Asylum' in Thomas Knowles and Serena Trowbridge (eds.), *Insanity and the Lunatic Asylum in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 78–79.
30 Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution*, p. 19.
31 Turner, 'Patients' Creative Work', pp. 151–61; Curlic, 'Home Sweet Home', pp. 70–74. Other researchers have observed similar representations of the asylum as a home in the titles they have studied. See Eannace, 'Lunatic Literature', pp. 229–35; McMillan, 'Writer Heal Thyself', p. 70.
32 Chaney, 'No "Sane" Person', p. 50.
33 John Reid Adam's voluntary boarding is one such example. See also Beveridge and Watson's discussion of Christian Watt.
34 William Scott, *Report by William Scott, WS, Treasurer of the Lunatic Asylum at Morningside, to the Managers of That Institution: Detailing Its Rise, Progress and Present Condition, with Regard Both to Its Funds and Inmates* (Edinburgh: Andrew Shortrede, [1837]), p. 64.
35 Ibid., p. 65.
36 'Our Portrait Gallery. No. III. The Lady Superintendent', *Gartnavel Gazette*, 7 September 1853, p. 1.
37 'Pinel', the *Opal*, 2.1 (1852), 15–22 (p. 21); Clark, 'Mad Literature', p. 49.
38 Chaney, 'No "Sane" Person', p. 44.
39 'Discipline of Insane Hospitals', the *Meteor*, October 1874, p. [1].
40 'Innocent Row', the *Meteor*, [4 July] 1872, p. [3].

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41 Ibid.
42 Ibid.
43 See Cara Dobbing and Alannah Tomkins, 'Sexual Abuse by Superintending Staff in the Nineteenth-Century Lunatic Asylum: Medical Practice, Complaint and Risk', *History of Psychiatry*, 32 (2020), 69–84.
44 Adam, *Gartnavel Minstrel*, p. 12. See also the inscription on the front free endpaper.
45 'Notabilities', the *Meteor*, July 1876, p. [3].
46 Chaney, 'No "Sane" Person', p. 47.
47 'Our Chapel', the *Meteor*, [4 July] 1872, p. [1]; 'Hospital Sewing Society', the *Meteor*, 30 March 1873, pp. [1–2], [1].
48 'Nellie Falls', the *Meteor*, [1 October] 1872, p. [1].
49 Bryce had no children, so this was not his daughter. 'Ellen Peter Bryce, 1841–1929', *Tuscaloosa Area Virtual Museum*, https://tavm.omeka.net/items/show/150 [accessed 24 November 2020].
50 [untitled], the *Meteor*, July 1876, p. [1].
51 'Matrimonial', the *Meteor*, July 1874, p. [3].
52 'Colonial Prizes for Asylum Attendants', *Excelsior*, January 1865, p. 2. No further information about the relationship between the staff member and the patient is provided, but its public announcement suggests that it abided by contemporary professional standards of ethics.
53 Curlic, 'Home Sweet Home', p. 69.
54 Andrew Scull, *Madness in Civilization: A Cultural History of Insanity, from the Bible to Freud, from the Madhouse to Modern Medicine* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2015), p. 260. See also G. E. Berrios and Hugh Freeman, 'Introduction', in G. E. Berrios and Hugh Freeman (eds.), *150 Years of British Psychiatry, 1841–1991* (London: Gaskell, 1991), p. xii; Vicky Long, *Destigmatising Mental Illness?: Professional Politics and Public Education in Britain, 1870–1970* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), p. 28.
55 Laws, 'Crackpots and Basket-Cases', p. 68.
56 'In Memoriam', *Excelsior*, January 1870, p. 8.
57 See Turner, 'Patients' Creative Work', p. 133.
58 Eannace, 'Lunatic Literature', p. 88.
59 'Editor's Table', the *Opal*, 2.1 (1851), pp. 25–28, 27.
60 Eannace, 'Lunatic Literature', p. 87. See also pp. 81, 348.
61 McMillan, 'Writer Heal Thyself', p. 82.
62 Chaney, 'No "Sane" Person', 48; Turner, 'Patients' Creative Work', pp. 111–13; Curlic, 'Home Sweet Home', p. 71.
63 Dumfries and Galloway Libraries, Archive and Information Service, Records of Crichton Royal Hospital (CRH), Casebook Vol. 9. DGH1/5/21/1/9, Case no. 562, p. [308].
64 His readmission is dated 2 August 1859, in CRH, Register of Lunatics – Southern Counties Asylum, 15 August 1839–26 June 1874, DGH1/5/2/5.
65 W. [William] Hyslop, 'Explanatory', *Loose Leaves*, p. 1.
66 Mackinnon, 'The Physician's Report for 1845', p. 14.

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67 See 'Alexis', 'Reminiscences Continued', *Morningside Mirror*, 15 April 1853, pp. 53–55; 'Alexis', 'Reminiscences Concluded', *Morningside Mirror*, 17 June 1853, pp. 70–72. Smart was discharged on 9 April 1853.
68 William Lauder Lindsay, 'Report of the Medical Superintendent for the Year 1856–7' in *Thirtieth Annual Report of the Directors of the James Murray's Royal Asylum for Lunatics, near Perth* (Perth: Printed by order of the directors by James Morison, 1857), pp. 9–37, 31.
69 'Our Christmas Revel, by a Former Resident', *Excelsior*, January 1860, pp. 3–4.
70 Chaney, 'No "Sane" Person', pp. 44–45.
71 'Jacob Somnium', 'Correspondence', *Gartnavel Gazette*, 10 May 1855, pp. 1–2, 2.
72 Eannace, 'Lunatic Literature', p. 88.
73 [untitled], *Asylum Gazette*, 20 February 1846, p. 5.
74 McMillan, 'Writer Heal Thyself', p. 82.
75 'Asylum Journal', *Asylum Journal*, 28 November 1842, [p. 2].
76 'Sunny Memories', *Excelsior*, July 1858, p. 3.
77 Ibid.
78 'Meteoric Dust', the *Meteor*, April 1876, p. [3].
79 On philanthropy in the nineteenth century, see Sarah Flew, 'Unveiling the Anonymous Philanthropist: Charity in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 20 (2015), 20–33; Susan Ash, *Funding Philanthropy: Dr. Barnardo, Metaphor, Narrative and Spectacle* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016); Andrea Geddes Poole, *Philanthropy and the Construction of Victorian Women's Citizenship: Lady Frederick Cavendish and Miss Emma Cons* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016); Hugh Cunningham, *The Reputation of Philanthropy since 1750: Britain and Beyond* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020).
80 McMillan, 'Writer Heal Thyself', p. 84.
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82 'The Pilgrim of Sorrow', 1 August 1841, p. 5; 'To Matilda', 8 August 1841, p. 4; 'Monody', 22 August 1841, p. 13; 'I Sought Once More My Native Vale', 5 September 1841, p. 10; 'To Maria. I Cannot Strike One Joyful Note', 3 October 1841, p. 13; 'Oh, How I Wish My Grave May Be', 24 October 1841, p. 13; 'When Weary Nature Courts Repose', 21 November 1841, p. 6.
83 'Our Library', *Morningside Mirror*, 19 July 1853, p. 80.
84 John Carfrae, *The Pilgrim of Sorrow: Being a Collection of Odes, Lyrics, Songs, Sacred and Jewish Melodies, and Other Poetical Pieces* (Edinburgh: Gall & Inglis, 1848), p. v.
85 Smart, *Scenes*, p. 34.
86 'The Pilgrim of Sorrow: Being a Collection of Odes, . . . By John Carfrae. Edinburgh: Gall & Inglis. P.p. 194', *Morningside Mirror*, 16 October 1848, p. 7.

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87 Beveridge and Watson, 'Psychiatrist', p. 218.
88 Eannace, 'Lunatic Literature', p. 318.

Chapter 7

1 Long, *Destigmatising Mental Illness?*, p. 31. See also Campbell, 'Healing Arts', pp. 132–33.
2 Reiss, *Theaters of Madness*, p. 44.
3 'Iram', 'Amusement in Lunatic Asylums', *Morningside Mirror*, 15 February 1850, pp. 165–67, 165.
4 Ibid., p. 167.
5 'Hospital Literary Societies', the *Meteor*, April 1876, pp. [2–3], [3].
6 'A Few Words in Season', *Morningside Mirror*, 15 January 1846, pp. 33–37, 34.
7 See also Campbell, 'Boundaries of Madness', p. 39.
8 'Our Weekly Gossip', *Athenaeum*, 25 October 1845, p. 1035; 'Our Weekly Gossip', *Athenaeum*, 11 October 1845, pp. 993–94, 993; 'Serial Works', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, November 1845, pp. 747–48, 748; 'A Morning at Morningside', p. 411. In addition, the *Mirror* was mentioned in the local press. See 'Literature in Lunatic Asylums', *Elgin Courier*, 21 November 1845, p. 2. Similar aspirations to literary quality are discussed in Turner's study of the *New Moon* and *Under the Dome* (Turner, 'Patients' Creative Work', pp. 86–87, 136).
9 'A Few Words in Season', *Morningside Mirror*, 15 January 1846, p. 34.
10 'Address', 15 September 1845, pp. 1–5. The identities of the editors remain unknown.
11 George Coleman, the Younger, *My Night-Gown and Slippers, or Tales in Verse* (London: Printed for T. Cadell, Jun. and W. Davies, Strand, 1797), p. 30.
12 Ibid.
13 'Important Decision', *Asylum Journal*, July 1845, p. [2].
14 Ibid.
15 'The Gartnavel Gazette', *Gartnavel Gazette*, 6 July 1853, p. 3.
16 'Personals: Contributed', the *Meteor*, July 1876, p. [3].
17 Stef Eastoe, 'Geographies of Idiocy and Imbecility' in Stef Eastoe (ed.), *Idiocy, Imbecility and Insanity in Victorian Society: Caterham Asylum, 1867–1911* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020), pp. 159–90, 2.
18 'Ralph Remmington', 'A Crazy Man's Common Sense', the *Opal*, 4.9 (1854), 269–70 (p. 269).
19 Eannace, 'Lunatic Literature', p. 292.
20 The article likely reacted to the near riot in New York and Bath, Maine in July 1854. See Jeffrey Green, '104: John Sayers Orr, street preacher 1854–1855', www.jeffreygreen.co.uk/104-john-sayers-orr-preaching-against-popery-1854-1855 [accessed 28 May 2020].

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21 Reiss, *Theaters of Madness*, p. 44.
22 'Ralph Remmington', p. 270. Reiss and Eannace have also noticed this process of rhetorical isolation from the hostile outside world. See Eannace, 'Lunatic Literature', pp. 318–19; Reiss, *Theaters of Madness*, p. 44.
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24 Turner, 'Patients' Creative Work', p. 250.
25 'The Magazines', the *Scotsman*, 13 January 1862, p. 2.
26 'Ourselves as Others See Us', *Excelsior*, January 1868, pp. 7–8, 8.
27 Lindsay, 'Report of the Medical Superintendent for the Year 1858–9', p. 32.
28 [William Lauder Lindsay], 'The Murray Royal Institution: A History of its Origin and Progress', *Excelsior*, January 1877, pp. 1–21, 3.
29 Lindsay, 'Twenty-Eighth Annual Medical Report', p. 15.
30 [William Lauder Lindsay], *Guide to the Museum of the Murray Royal Institution, Perth* (Edinburgh: Printed by Muir and Paterson, 1860), p. 5.
31 Ibid., p. 6.
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35 Lindsay, 'Twenty-Eighth Annual Medical Report', p. 19.
36 Chambers, *James Murray's Royal Asylum*, p. 13.
37 'What Lunatic Asylums Really Are', *Chambers's Journal*, 25 October 1856, pp. 262–63, 262.
38 Ibid., p. 263.
39 Ibid.
40 A new series appeared in 1892 and ran as a quarterly until 1918. Copies are kept in the Perth Library and the University of Dundee Archives. The only thing in common between the original and the new series was the institution, so in this chapter I will focus on the earlier version of *Excelsior*.
41 [untitled], *Excelsior*, January 1857, p. 4.
42 'Editorial Notice', *Excelsior*, January 1861, p. 12.
43 Lindsay, 'Report of the Medical Superintendent for the Year 1858–9', p. 40.
44 Turner, 'Patients' Creative Work', p. 105.
45 'Editorial Notice', *Excelsior*, p. 12.
46 William Lauder Lindsay, *General History of the Murray Royal Institution for the Insane, Perth: From Its Establishment in 1827 to the End of the First Half-Century of Its Existence in 1877* (Perth: [s.n.], 1878), in *Archive.org*, https://archive.org [accessed 10 January 2021].
47 [Lindsay], 'Farewell', p. 22.
48 Its end also roughly corresponded with the end of his career and life: poor health forced him to resign from his position in November 1879, and he died another year later. See 'Obituary', *British Medical Journal*, 4 December 1880, p. 904.

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49 [Lindsay], 'Farewell', pp. 22–23.
50 'A Word to Our Readers', *Excelsior*, January 1857, p. 1.
51 'Ourselves as Others See Us', *Excelsior*, January 1868, p. 7.
52 Ibid.
53 'Insanity in Fiction and in Fact', *Excelsior*, January 1868, pp. 1–3, 1.
54 Ibid.
55 Ibid., p. 2.
56 Ibid., p. 3.
57 See 'Insanity in Fiction', *Excelsior*, January 1871, p. 7; 'Insanity in Fiction', *Excelsior*, January 1872, p. 3; 'Insanity in Fiction', *Excelsior*, January 1875, p. 4.
58 'Songs of Labour and Domestic Life', *Excelsior*, January 1861, pp. 10–11.
59 Ibid., p. 11.
60 'Les Fous', *Excelsior*, January 1861, p. 7.
61 'Philosophy of Insanity', *Excelsior*, January 1861, pp. 5–7, 5. For a discussion of Frame's book, see Jonathan Andrews, and Chris Philo, 'James Frame's *The Philosophy of Insanity* (1860)', *History of Psychiatry*, 28 (2017), 129–41.
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63 Rockwell, 'Seventh Annual Report', p. 11.
64 T. L., 'Nature Delineated', *Excelsior*, January 1861, pp. 1–3, 3.
65 Dundee, University of Dundee Archive Services, Murray Royal Asylum (MRA), Case Books, vol. 4, THB29/8/6/1/4, p. 177.
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71 W. G. C., 'Donations', *Excelsior*, January 1873, p. 8.
72 W. G. C., 'Prologue', *Excelsior*, April 1862, p. 5.
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77 MRA, Case Books, vol. 2, THB29/8/6/1/2, p. 198.
78 MRA, Case Books, vol. 4, THB29/8/6/1/4, p. 337.
79 'Tribute to whom Tribute', *Excelsior*, January 1873, pp. 5–6; [Lindsay], 'Farewell', p. 25.
80 MRA, Case books, vol. 7, THB29/8/6/1/7, p. 341.
81 Ibid., p. 342.

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93 Ibid.
94 M. W. J., 'Motley's Reflections', p. 1.
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96 See M. W. J., *Catalogue of the Library*, pp. 22–24; 'Circulation List of Newspapers and Serials for 1870', *Excelsior*, January 1870, p. 8.
97 M. W. J., 'Motley's Reflections', p. 2.
98 Matthew 3.12.
99 Prince Hal's original words are: 'O monstrous! But one halfpennyworth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack!'. See William Shakespeare, *Henry IV, Part 1* in Barbara Mowat, Paul Werstine, Michael Poston, and Rebecca Niles (eds.), *Folger Shakespeare Library*, www.folger.edu/explore/shakespeares-works/henry-iv-part-1/read/ [accessed 9 March 2026], iv. 2.
100 M. W. J., 'Motley's Reflections', p. 2.
101 This interpretation of Prince Hal's actions as a form of madness is not unique, though it acquires a different significance in *Excelsior*. See 'A Babble of Green Fields', *The London Review of Politics, Society, Literature, Art, and Science*, 11 August 1866, pp. 150–51; 'Shakespeare: The First Folio Edition of 1623', *The Quarterly Review*, July 1871, pp. 1–46, 8.
102 Shakespeare, *Henry IV, Part 1*, i. 2.
103 For discussions of Prince Hal's character since the nineteenth century, see 'J. A.', 'Shakespeare – Criticism', *Sharpe's London Magazine of Entertainment and Instruction for General Reading*, June 1863, pp. 290–96; Jonathan Crewe, 'Reforming Prince Hal: The Sovereign Inheritor in *2 Henry IV*', *Renaissance Drama*, 21 (1990), 225–42; Fred B. Tromly, *Fathers and Sons in Shakespeare: The Debt Never Promised* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), pp. 95–100.
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107 See 'Lunatic Literature', *Leeds Times*, 5 April 1845, p. 6; 'Lunatic Life and Literature', *the Leisure Hour*, 18 September 1856, pp. 598–600; 'Lunatic Literature', *Tavistock Gazette*, 24 January 1862, p. 3.
108 Turner, 'Patients' Creative Work', p. 91.
109 'Excelsior', *New Moon*, 3 March 1857, p. 3.
110 Turner, 'Patients' Creative Work', p. 91.
111 See 'Lunatic Literature', *Excelsior*, January 1873, pp. 4–5; 'Lunatic Literature in America', *Excelsior*, January 1874, pp. 1–3; 'Lunatic Literature', *Excelsior*, January 1875, pp. 2–4.
112 'Our Contemporaries', *Excelsior*, January 1866.
113 'Lunatic Literature', *Excelsior*, January 1873, p. 5.
114 'Lunatic Literature in America', *Excelsior*, January 1874, p.3.
115 [Lindsay], 'Farewell', p. 24.

Conclusion

1 Kirstie Blair has referred to an account of these events in the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, which however does not mention the name of the poem's author and the institution he escaped. See Blair, *Working Verse*, pp. 26–27.
2 REH, Case Books, Vol. 2, 1840–1932, LHB7/51/2, pp. 923–24.
3 GRH, House surgeon's notes for physician: male, HB13/5/41, fol. 95r.
4 GRH, House surgeon's notes for physician: male, HB13/5/42, fol. 226v; HB13/5/41, fol. 170v.
5 GRH, House surgeon's notes for physician: male, HB13/5/42, fol. 226v.
6 REH, Case Books, Vol. 2, 1840–1932, LHB7/51/2, p. 923.
7 GRH, House surgeon's notes for physician: male, HB13/5/41, fol. 94v.
8 'Our Weekly Gossip', *Athenaeum*, 25 October 1845, p. 1035.
9 See Tremblay, 'Le Débat Anti-Aliéniste'.
10 Azumendi, 'Periódicos, revistas y fanzines'; Azumendi, *Psiquifanzines*; Ares, 'La persistencia de la razón en la locura'.
11 Azumendi, 'Periódicos, revistas y fanzines'; Rita Corsa and Pierpaolo Martucci, 'Cent'anni Prima della 180. La Breve Stagione di Cesare Lombroso Direttore del Manicomio di Pesaro', *Psychiatry Online* Italia, 17 April 2018. www.psychiatryonline.it/node/7293.
12 Turner, 'Patients' Creative Work', pp. 299–300. On the *Fort England Mirror*, see also du Plessis, 'Popularising and Promoting'.
13 Gramaglia, 'Introduction', pp. xviii–xix.
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15 Turner's study of *The Hydra* (Craiglockhart War Hospital, 1917–18) in 'Patients' Creative Work' and Campbell's exploration of Dingleton Hospital's *Outlook* (1963–1980s) in 'Boundaries of Madness'.
16 See GRH, Glasgow Royal Hospital magazines, HB13/2/235 and Gartnavel Royal Hospital's magazine, Us and Them, issue 1, HB13/2/238.
17 REH, Administration Files, 1967–1998, LHB7/8/3.

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18 Harry Stalker, 'A Note on the History of Excelsior', *Excelsior*, Summer 1981.
19 Albert Nicholson, 'Sitting in the Quiet Room', *Morningside Mirror*, Autumn 2014, in *Scribd*, www.scribd.com/document/244888987/Morningside-Mirror-10-2014 [accessed 1 December 2021], p. 6.
20 Lauren J. Tenney, 'Who Fancies to Have a Revolution Here? The Opal Revisited', *Radical Psychology*, 5 (2006), www.radpsynet.org/journal/vol5/Tenney.html [accessed 09 December 2021].
21 Ibid.
22 P. R., 'Sunset', *Morningside Mirror*, 15 September 1845, p. 8.

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