modation of their own avail themselves of to the fullest extent.

In fact, the manner in which this capitation grant is at present applied, requires a complete revision, for there can be no valid reason why the grant should not be allowed for lunatics who are not in county or borough asylums, as well as for those who are, and the present system is a direct encouragement to parish officers to send persons to asylums whose condition does not render removal at all necessary. This fact was strongly impressed on my mind by an analysis of the cases admitted into Rainhill last year. I do not, however, propose to occupy any more time by enlarging on this subject at present, especially as I believe it has already been brought under the notice of the Government in consequence of my report thereon, but I will at once propose my second resolution, which is:—

"That this meeting cordially concurs in the resolution of the Committee of the Charity Organisation Society:—'That the arrangement which has been made for Idiots, Imbeciles, and Harmless Lunatics in the Metropolitan Asylums District, is applicable, in its main principles, to the rest of England, viz., that Idiots, Imbeciles, and Harmless Lunatics should be removed from Workhouses and County Lunatic Asylums into separate Asylums, and that young persons of the first two classes should be suitably educated and trained.'"

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*Morison Lectures on Insanity for* 1877.* By JOHN SIBBALD, M.D., F.R.C.P.E., Deputy Commissioner in Lunacy for Scotland.

### LECTURE II.—INSANITY IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

The fall of the Roman empire was followed by a lengthened period of political confusion and social anarchy, during which the ideas that had been developed by the action of Greek and Roman culture were lost sight of, and seemed for a time to have been lost altogether. The epoch which thus followed the disintegration of the Roman power, and which lasted till the social and political elements began again to exhibit symptoms of stable organisation and vigorous life, has become known as the Middle Ages. As limited by Hallam, it comprises about a thousand years, dating from the invasion of

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France by Clovis at the end of the fifth century, to the invasion of Naples by Charles VIII. at the end of the fifteenth. We may regard these dates as broadly marking off the period of history which derives its characteristics from what is known as mediævalism. But the features which marked the epoch did not show themselves in all countries at one time. In some they gave place to the features of the modern epoch earlier than in others. Nor did anywhere the whole mediæval character die out at once. Some of its characteristics faded earlier, some later; and some remain with us to the present day. We must therefore, in tracing their history, refrain from binding ourselves by too precise a demarcation of the limits of the period.

As a preliminary to any enquiry into the condition of the insane or the conception which was formed of the nature of insanity, we must, as was pointed out in last lecture, glance for a moment at the general condition of society at the time, in regard to its intellectual and political life. During the first half of the epoch there seems indeed to have been scarcely any development worthy of such an appellation. The whole of Europe was almost without exception sunk in the darkest ignorance and the most wretched barbarism. But even at a later period, when the clouds began to lift, and signs of returning light were undoubtedly to be discerned, the culture, such as it was, affected merely a fraction of a special class.

"Whatever mention we find of learning and the learned during these dark ages," says Hallam, "must be understood only to relate to such as were within the pale of clergy, which was, however, pretty extensive, and comprehended many who did not exercise the offices of religious ministry. But even the clergy were for a long period not very materially superior, as a body, to the uninstructed laity. An inconceivable cloud of ignorance overspread the whole face of the church, hardly broken by a few glimmering lights who owe almost the whole of their distinction to the surrounding darkness. In the sixth century, the best writers in Latin were scarcely read; and perhaps from the middle of this century to the eleventh, there was in a general view of literature little difference to be discerned." The darkness, it is true, was not spread equally over the whole of Europe; nor was the darkness at its thickest in every region at one time. "France reached her lowest point at the beginning of the eighth century; but England was at that time more respect-

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able, and did not fall into complete degradation till the middle of the ninth. . . . . But of the prevailing ignorance, it is easy to produce abundant testimony. Contracts were made verbally for want of notaries capable of drawing up charters. . . . . In almost every council the ignorance of the clergy forms a subject of reproach. It is asserted by one held in 992 that scarcely a single person was to be found in Rome itself who knew the first elements of letters. Not one priest in a thousand in Spain, about the age of Charlemagne, could address a common letter of salutation to another. In England, Alfred declares that he could not recollect a single priest south of the Thames (the most civilised part of England) at the time of his accession, who understood the ordinary prayers, or could translate Latin into his mother tongue."

The political condition during this period may be fitly described as one of incessant perturbation. The struggles of races for possession of the countries that had been loosed from the Roman yoke continued for centuries to make the state of war persistent and almost universal. And when these had resulted in the establishment of the states into which Europe became ultimately divided, the conflicts within themselves of factions and of princes striving for sovereign authority still prevented the development of stable political organisation.

In such a state of society little thought could be bestowed on anything which did not directly relate to the fierce struggle for very life in which every state and every individual was engaged. Questions relating to philanthropic or even social duty were scarcely mooted; and we have no satisfactory record of the views that may have been held regarding them. There were still preserved in the administration of justice, where it was possible to carry it out in any regular form, the traditions of the old Roman law; and its provisions for dealing with *dementes*, *furiosi*, and *mente capti* would probably influence the treatment of many cases. A great portion of the inhabitants of France and Spain, as well as Italy, were governed by the provisions of a body of law called the Theodosian code, which had been compiled soon after the establishment of Christianity. Early in the twelfth century attention was directed to the systematic study of jurisprudence; and the comprehensive system of Justinian was adopted as the basis of teaching in the schools which arose in Bologna, Naples, Padua, and other places. And

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though the canon law was for a time imposed upon a great portion of mediæval Europe by the overwhelming influence of the church, the influence of the Justinian code was widely felt; and it is still to be traced in our modern legal systems, forming as it does the actual basis of French, German, and Scottish jurisprudence.

But during the barbarous epoch of which we have just been speaking, the influence of Roman law upon the mind of the community in determining its treatment of the insane (either in regard to the mode in which their care and treatment were provided for, or in regard to holding them responsible for their acts,) can only, as in earlier times, have had any extensive application in the case of persons of great social importance.

The most important change which took place during the Middle Ages in the constitution of society was the gradual abolition of slavery in southern and western Europe. "The eleventh and twelfth centuries," says Hallam, "saw the number of slaves in Italy begin to decrease; early in the fifteenth, a writer quoted by Muratori speaks of them as no longer existing. The greater part of the peasants in some countries of Germany had acquired their liberty before the end of the thirteenth century. In other parts, as well as in all the northern and eastern regions of Europe, they remained in a sort of villenage till the present age. Some very few instances of predial servitude have been discovered in England so late as the time of Elizabeth, and perhaps they might be traced still lower." In France this condition was not entirely abolished till the time of the first revolution.

This desirable social change was to a great extent due to the influence of the Christian church; and that influence was also exerted in other notable though widely divergent directions. The church rendered invaluable service by inculcating the duty of caring for and protecting those sufferers from insanity whose condition was recognised as a result of disease. The story of the village asylum of Gheel which originated in the legend of St. Dymphna, shows that as early as the seventh century the custom had arisen of sending mad persons for cure to the shrines of saints. In the twelfth century we find madmen being taken to St. Bartholomew's, in London, and wonderful cures are recorded in the monkish narratives as having taken place there. To some hospitals, long before they ceased to be altogether ecclesiastical estab-

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lishments, there were attached chambers, or cells, into which lunatics were received. But unless the provision which was thus made in these earlier times was much better than the condition in which these places were found in the eighteenth century would seem to indicate, the benefit of the charity was conferred more on the public which was relieved from the presence of the patients than upon the patients themselves. And judging by the kind of structures which we know to have been devoted to this purpose, it is probable that such was really the view with which they were erected.

But I think we should fail to do justice to the benefit conferred by the monastic establishments if we omitted to recognise their utility as sanctuaries in which persons of morbidly sensitive nature, or those suffering from religious excitement or depression, could find a refuge from the jarring influences of active life. It scarcely admits of doubt that many of those who devoted themselves to the practices of extreme asceticism were, like the emperor Charles V. at Yuste, subjects of mental disease, and that they often found in such asylums a protection and a sympathy which might have been sought in vain elsewhere. In connection with the benefits conferred upon the insane through the instrumentality of the mediæval church, we must also recognise the truly noble work carried out by Vincent de Paul, who in addition to his other labours for the relief of suffering humanity, strove successfully, though within a limited field, to ameliorate the condition of the insane.

But in the midst of the unstable social conditions of the mediæval period there was little consideration or even tolerance extended to persons who exhibited anything exceptional in their language or demeanour. The tendency of the human mind to regard with anxiety and terror all deviations from what was believed to be the natural order of events was then an overpowering force. To excite apprehension it was not necessary that the deviation should be so marked as would be shown in the behaviour of the insane. Even the acquisition of a little more knowledge than what is usual seems at some periods to have been sufficient to excite serious fears. The ingenious Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II., who introduced the use of clocks, was suspected of necromancy and regarded with apprehension. Roger Bacon, the greatest natural philosopher of the Middle Ages, was imprisoned for ten years for practising magic. Vergilius, Bishop of Salzburg, having asserted the existence of the

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Antipodes, the Archbishop of Metz declared him to be a heretic, and caused him to be burnt. And even Thomas Aquinas, "the seraphic doctor," did not escape the accusation of dealing in the black art. In the same spirit, there was a disposition to fear and persecute those who were afflicted with a form of disease which produced unusual kinds of behaviour. There can be no doubt that a large number of disorderly persons who would at the present day be treated as insane were unhesitatingly regarded at that period as merely criminal, and were punished accordingly. But besides this, an immense number of harmless persons were believed to be under demoniacal influence—witches or wizards—and were sacrificed in thousands to the ignorance and fears of those who should have protected them. That the cruelties which were thus perpetrated attained such remarkable dimensions was due to there being incidents of the struggle carried on during the last stages of mediævalism, when the classes which had previously held society in thrall became conscious that their power and influence were slipping from their grasp. It had been at a previous epoch when the fact was recognised by pagan and imperial Rome that neither was its power invincible, nor even its continuance assured, that the extravagance of reckless cruelty assumed the chronic form which disgraced the later pages of its history.

And it was in like manner, "at the beginning of the end" of the mediæval period, when its social and religious systems were threatening to give way, that every deviation from established rule was looked on with special alarm. Exceptional conduct was attributed to the worst conceivable causes, and every effort was used unsparingly to stamp it out. The sternness, or we may say the brutality, with which this determination to stamp out all such deviations was carried out, was a consequence of the fact that the efforts of civil government at the time were devoted almost exclusively to the preservation of the existence of the state. The political organisation had nowhere fully attained to a condition of consolidated stability, and society was, in many instances, still trembling near the verge of anarchy. It was almost inevitable, therefore, that persons, whether sane or insane, who committed breaches of public order, should, in most cases, be dealt with by the public executioner. But it also resulted from this necessity, real or supposed, of at once stamping out everything that was exceptional, that many insane enthusiasts and others not guilty of

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actual violence were also subjected to capital punishment. So late as the time of Queen Elizabeth we find an illustration of this. Three enthusiasts, named Arthington, Coppinger, and Hacket were accused of conspiracy against the Queen. Hacket was hanged, drawn, and quartered; Coppinger died raving mad; and Arthington, recovering from his fanaticism and insanity, was pardoned. The circumstances are thus recorded:—"On Friday, the 15th of July, Coppinger having sent for Arthington out of his bed, declared to him that he had had a revelation which assured him that he was *prophet of mercy* and Arthington *prophet of judgment*; that Hacket was *king of Europe*, and that they were to go before *him* and separate the sheep from the goats. Arthington the more readily credited this, because he found a mighty burning in himself, which he interpreted to be a commencement of the angelic nature." . . . "Coppinger magnified Hacket as the holiest man that had ever lived, except Christ. A little after he was apprehended he ran absolutely distracted, and never recovered his senses, but obstinately refusing all nourishment, died of hunger the day after Hacket was executed."*

We have evidence that the insane did not universally come to such tragic ends. Some must have been cared for in an intelligent manner. And we know that a considerable number who possessed a certain amount of shrewdness and drollery were received into the great houses and protected, partly from feelings of kindness, and partly because their eccentricities provided a source of amusement.

But we cannot doubt that a large number were also to be found among the herds of outcast vagabonds who existed in a worse than savage condition, wandering about the outskirts of the more civilised localities. These bands were truly sources of injury and danger to the community, and were, as might be expected, subjected to severe treatment when brought within the power of the law. Just before the adoption of a more humane system in the time of Elizabeth, "we find the magistrates of Somersetshire capturing a gang of a hundred at a stroke, hanging fifty at once on the gallows, and complaining bitterly to the Council of the necessity for waiting till the Assizes before they could enjoy the spectacle of the fifty others hanging beside them."†

It seems impossible, also, to escape the conviction that a

* Biograph. Britain, ed. 2nd, vol. i.

† Green's History of the English People, 1874, p. 385.

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very considerable number of lunatics were included in the multitude which, in accordance with the intolerance of the day, were hanged or burnt as heretics. Very slight occasion was sufficient to afford ground for an accusation of heresy; and it is appalling to be reminded of the immensity of the number of those who fell victims of the charge. The motive which impelled society to adopt or to sanction the cruelties which were inflicted on heretics was no doubt, as in the other cases we have been considering, the fear with which they were regarded as sources of danger to the State. It seemed impossible for those charged with governing authority to understand that a man might refuse to give his support to the authorised doctrines of the church, without at the same time wishing to overturn the secular administration. It was not, for example, the mere theological aspect of his opinions which raised the storm of anger against Wiclif, but rather that he was looked on as a raiser of sedition, and "a source of strife, who, by his serpent-like instigation, set the serf against his lord." And the view which Henry IV. took of the Lollards was, as persons whose object was "to destroy himself, his brothers, and several of the spiritual and temporal lords." The mere recognition of any social element as abnormal implied a belief in its dangerous character. To permit the continuance of anything like an unusual intellectual development was to admit the thin edge of a wedge which might rend asunder the imperfectly united members of the political body. Hence the burning of 31,000 persons by the Spanish Inquisition, as recorded by Llorente; and hence the death "for Anabaptist errors" of 30,000 persons in Holland and Friesland, mentioned in the official report of the Venetian ambassador at the Court of Charles V. And can any one acquainted with the tendency of persons suffering from early stages of insanity to be infected by surrounding enthusiasm or fanaticism, and to fasten with eagerness upon exceptional religious beliefs, doubt that many of those who then perished as heretics were really the victims of mental disease?

So late as 1761, in Portugal, we have evidence that the most obviously insane manifestations were treated as heresy, in the burning by the Inquisition of Gabriel Malagrida, an old man of seventy. No other charge was laid against him but the utterance of incoherent nonsense, the true significance of which it seems difficult to have ignored. "Will posterity believe," asks Isaac Disraeli, in his notice of the

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case,* "that in the eighteenth century an aged missionary was led to the stake for having said amongst other extravagancies, that 'The holy Virgin having commanded him to write the life of Anti-Christ, told him that he, Malagrida, was a second John (but more clear than John the Evangelist); that there were to be three Anti-Christs, and that the last should be born at Milan, of a monk and a nun, in the year 1920; and that he would marry Proserpina, one of the infernal furies.'" Poor old man. He was one of the last of the poor lunatics who were admitted by the gate of fire into that asylum whose inmates remain for ever—which returns no patients, either cured or uncured, to cause anxieties, or to share them, in this busy world.

But if we pursue our examination of the annals of those dark and troublous Middle Ages, we find ourselves driven more and more to the conviction that every one who exhibited any peculiarity, either physical or mental, and who could not be counted a criminal, a vagabond, or a heretic, ran imminent risk of being burnt as a wizard or a witch. The belief in witchcraft was not only inculcated by the church, but even the horrible ideas of the incubus and the succubus were sanctioned. "It has come to our ears," so runs a Bull of Pope Innocent VIII., published 1488, "that numbers of both sexes do not avoid to have intercourse with the infernal fiends, and that by their sorceries they afflict both man and beast. They blight the marriage bed; destroy the births of women, and the increase of cattle; they blast the corn on the ground, the grapes in the vineyard, the fruits of the trees, and the grass and herbs of the field." And in order that criminals so atrocious might be destroyed, the Pope appointed inquisitors in every country armed with apostolic power to convict and punish. Stimulated by the church, the search for persons who ought to be punished for such crimes was only too successful. To be noticed as more than ordinarily ugly was sufficient to excite suspicion in the case of an old woman. And once suspicion was aroused, it was difficult to escape conviction. "The trial of this offence," said Bodin, "must not be conducted like those for other crimes. Whoever adheres to the ordinary course of justice perverts the spirit of the law both divine and human. He who is accused of sorcery should never be acquitted, unless the malice of the prosecutor be clearer than the sun; for it

* Disraeli, Cur. of Lit., 63.

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is so difficult to bring full proof of this secret crime that out of a million of witches not one would be convicted, if the usual course were followed." Now it is important that we should remember the character of the man who thus seems deliberately to throw all semblance of fair dealing to the winds. It is important that we should recognise that he was no ignorant inquisitor who might be expected to exaggerate the intolerant and partial view of his era. He was a learned scholar—placed by Mr. Buckle above Comines as a historian, and on a level with Machiavelli. Hallam says he "possessed a highly philosophical mind, united with the most ample stores of history and jurisprudence. No former writer on political philosophy had been either so comprehensive in his scheme, or so copious in his knowledge; none perhaps more original, more independent, and fearless in his enquiries; two men alone, indeed, could be compared with him—Aristotle and Machiavel." It is also well that we should note here that he was the direct controversial antagonist of John Wier, the physician of Cleves, who was the first to raise his voice with effect in making protest against the atrocious murders committed in this infatuated crusade against witchcraft. Wier brings forward clear evidence to show that many of the victims of that crusade were undoubtedly suffering from mental disease. It is hardly necessary, indeed, to have detailed proof that many insane persons were believed to be witches, and were consequently driven to the dreadful stake. We have, however, in the discharge of fourteen persons by the Parliament of Paris, in the year 1589, an interesting indication of what many cases must have been, in which the inquiry did not terminate so satisfactorily. The incident is also interesting as being one of the first instances in which medical evidence of insanity was permitted to prevent the infliction of punishment. "Fourteen persons condemned to death for witchcraft appealed against the judgment to the Parliament of Paris, which for political reasons had been exiled to Tours. The Parliament named four commissioners —Pierre Pigray, the king's surgeon, and Messieurs Leroi, Renard, and Falaiseau, the king's physicians—to visit and examine these witches, and see whether they had the mark of the devil upon them." Pigray, who relates the circumstance in his work on Surgery (Book vii., chap. 10), says "the visit was made in presence of two counsellors of the court. The witches were all stripped naked, and the physicians examined their bodies very diligently, pricking them in

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all the marks they could find, to see whether they were insensible to pain, which was always considered a certain proof of guilt. They were, however, very sensible of the pricking, and some of them called out very lustily when the pins were driven into them." If any of them had been suffering under local anæsthesia, so frequent in some diseases of the nervous system, how inevitable would have been their condemnation. Fortunately they had fallen into merciful hands. "We found them," continues Pierre Pigray, "to be very poor, stupid people, and some of them insane. Many of them were quite indifferent about life; and one or two of them desired death as a relief from their sufferings. Our opinion was that they stood more in need of medicine than punishment; and so we reported to the Parliament. Their case was thereupon taken into further consideration; and the Parliament, after mature counsel amongst all the members, ordered the poor creatures to be sent to their homes, without inflicting any punishment upon them." For a time the numbers who were executed for witchcraft were so great as almost to exceed belief. For many years Cologne burnt its three hundred witches annually; the district of Bamberg its four hundred; Nuremberg, Geneva, Paris, Toulouse, Lyons, and other cities their two hundred. In Great Britain this form of persecution did not commence so early as in some other countries; but it continued longer than most of them, and seems to have been carried out with vigour. Every record that has been preserved mentions that the witches were hanged and burnt, or burnt without the previous hanging—"alive and quick." During the whole of James's reign, amid the civil wars of his successor, the sway of the Long Parliament, the usurpation of Cromwell, and the reign of Charles II., there was no abatement of the persecution. If at any time it raged with less virulence it was when Cromwell and the Independents were masters. During the first eighty years of the seventeenth century the number executed has been estimated at five hundred annually—making the frightful total of forty thousand.

These numbers are probably to be regarded as only a rough estimate of the facts. But if we suppose that a large proportion of the annual five hundred were, as we have reason to believe, persons of unsound mind, it becomes interesting, if not important, to reflect for a moment on the bearing of such a fact on the proportion of insanity in the country. According to the proportions which are furnished

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by the statistics of insanity at the present day, a population such as that of England in the seventeenth century would have furnished about two thousand persons annually who would, according to our present views, have been placed in asylums. The terrible deduction which an acceptance of such a statement would force upon us is that under the rule of the Stuart kings, a proportion of nearly one out of every four persons who would with our present views have been sent to an asylum was actually sent to the stake and burnt as a witch. It was so far a terrible solution of problems regarded at the present day as of the utmost importance—how to deal with patients so as to prevent recurrence of their malady, and how to prevent them from propagating an insane predisposition to a succeeding generation.

Towards the end of the mediæval period, and when social organisation began to exhibit symptoms of strength and stability, there still existed a sensitive intolerance of exceptional conduct. But we find existing along with this a dawning consciousness in the public mind, that the community has a duty to perform towards its abnormal members, beyond merely keeping them out of sight or stamping them out of existence. In England, it was in the reign of Elizabeth that the first legislative recognition of this duty is recorded. It was then that the Act was passed which laid the foundation of the English poor-law, and which established the system that was in force till a comparatively recent period. Under this law a distinction was for the first time drawn between mere idle vagrants and those impotent and destitute persons who are proper objects of charity; each town and parish being for the future held responsible for the relief of its indigent and disabled inhabitants.

In 1547, at the close of the preceding reign, was established the first lunatic asylum in England unconnected with ecclesiastical administration. This took place when the monasteries were suppressed, by the transfer to the authorities of the City of London of a monastic establishment which for a century and a half had afforded accommodation to *mente capti*. This institution, which was then situated in St. Botolph's without Bishopsgate, was originally a priory for the order of St. Mary of Bethlem; but at the time of the transfer it had already acquired the name of Bedlam—a word which had even then been incorporated into the English language. The change from ecclesiastical to lay management does not seem to have been any advantage to the un-

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fortunate inmates, whatever disadvantage may have resulted from it; for we find it reported fifty years after the change that the condition of the hospital was too loathsome for any one to enter. The place was really a horrible prison and not a hospital in any sense of the word. Up to the year 1770 the patients were exhibited to the public like wild beasts in cages, on payment of a penny; and they are said to have afforded much sport to the visitors, who flocked to see them, in numbers estimated at not less than 48,000 annually. A wretched privilege was granted to some whose condition had undergone such modification that they were no longer considered dangerous to the public. They were "licentiated to go a begging." On their left arm was placed an armilla—an iron ring for the arm about four inches long, which they could not get off. "They wore about their necks," says Aubrey, as quoted by Disraeli, "a great horn of an ox in a string or bawdry, which when they came to a house they did wind; and they put the drink given to them into this horn whereto they put a stopple. Since the wars," he continues, and I fear it indicates a melancholy fact, "I do not remember to have seen any one of them." It is probable, indeed, that most of them perished unheeded during the conflict. In the "Tom a Bedlam" song, which dates as early as the first part of the seventeenth century, the comforts of his asylum life are alluded to by the "licentiated beggar"—

> "In the lovely lofts of Bedlam,
> In stubble soft and dainty,
> Brave bracelets strong,
> Sweet whips ding dong,
> And a wholesome hunger plenty."

The first unmistakable evidence of changing views in the public mind is the stoppage of the practice of licensing these Bedlam beggars in the year 1675. At the same period a large building, a new Bethlem, was erected in Moorfields, to accommodate the insane. The necessity for making provision in this manner for lunatics steadily increased as the country came more and more under systematic government and as the wholesale butchery of such unfortunate persons as wizards or witches died out. This hideous barbarity had almost ceased at the end of the seventeenth century, though a case of witch burning occurred in Germany in 1749, one in Scotland in 1722, and one in England in 1716. In the Scotch case, which happened



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at Dornoch, the poor victim was undoubtedly insane, and laughed and clapped her hands at the sight of "the bonnie fire" that was destined to consume her. In 1736 the English law against witchcraft was repealed; and it is a notable fact that eight years afterwards we have the first legislative attempt to provide protection to lunatics; and it does not destroy the significance of the fact that it amounted to little more than a measure for chaining and locking up dangerous lunatics in secure places.

In 1751 St. Luke's Hospital was founded in London by voluntary subscription, and several institutions of a similar character were erected in other parts of the kingdom. There seems also to have sprung up about this time a very considerable number of private establishments for the safe custody of lunatics. But these, as well as the public institutions, seem to have been dens of misery and cruelty, where "chains, whips, darkness, and solitude" characterised the treatment.

An interesting record of what was the popular view of the condition we now call harmless insanity, is contained in Addison's description of Moll White, whose appearance, he says, reminded him of the lines of Ottway—

> "A wrinkled Hag, with Age grown double,
> Picking dry sticks, and mumbling to herself;
> Her eyes with scalding Rheum were galled and red,
> Cold Palsy shook her Head; her Hands seemed withered,
> And on her crooked Shoulders she had wrap'd
> The tattered Remnants of an old striped Hanging,
> Which served to keep her Carcase from the Cold."

"He begged his friend Sir Roger," he says, "to go with him into the old woman's Hovel, which stood in a solitary Corner under the side of the Wood. Upon our first entering," says Mr. Spectator, "Sir Roger winked to me and pointed at something that stood behind the Door, which, upon looking that Way, I found to be an old Broomstaff. At the same time he whispered me in the Ear to take notice of a Tabby Cat that sat in the Chimney-Corner, which, as the old Knight told me, lay under as bad a Report as *Moll White* her self; for besides that *Moll* is said often to accompany her in the same Shape, the Cat is reported to have *spoken* twice or thrice in her Life, and to have played several Pranks above the Capacity of an ordinary Cat.

"I was secretly concerned to see Human Nature in so much Wretchedness and Disgrace; but, at the same time,

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could not forbear smiling to hear Sir Roger, who is a little puzzled about the old Woman, advising her as a Justice of Peace to avoid all communication with the Devil, and never to hurt any of her Neighbours' Cattle. We concluded our Visit with a Bounty which was very acceptable." The whole paper is interesting and important as revealing, not only the condition of such persons as this miserable old woman, but also as showing that the philanthropic feeling was acquiring force in the public mind; though its practical expression was still inactive. "I have been the more particular in this Account," says Addison, in concluding, "because I hear there is scarce a Village in England that has not a *Moll White* in it. When an old Woman begins to doat and grow chargeable to a Parish, she is generally turned into a Witch, and fills the whole Country with extravagant Fancies, imaginary Distempers, and terrifying Dreams. In the mean time the poor Wretch that is the innocent Occasion of so many Evils begins to be frighted at her self, and sometimes confesses secret Commerce and Familiarities that her Imagination forms in a delirious old Age."

The learned ideas of this period ran nearly in the same groove as those which we found to exist among the philosophers of Greece and Rome. John Locke, who was a contemporary of Addison, said, "Opposition to reason deserves the name" of madness, "and is really madness; and there is scarce a man so free from it, but that, if he should always, on all occasions, argue or do as in some cases he constantly does, would not be thought fitter for Bedlam than civil conversation." In this, and in the other better known passage in his "Essay Concerning the Human Understanding," where he unsuccessfully attempts to define madness, his reference to Bedlam is worthy of careful note. For it clearly indicates that whatever the philosophical theory might be, fitness for Bedlam, loathsome as it was, was in that day accepted as the popular criterion of what deserved to be called insanity.

I shall now conclude this lecture with a quotation from Boileau, the French satirist of the same epoch, who certainly adopts a sufficiently broad view of insanity:—

> "Tous les hommes sont fous, et malgré tous leurs soins
> Ne diffèrent entre eux que du plus ou du moins."
>
> "All men are mad, and spite of all their pother,
> Scant difference show: one is but madder than another."

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