Depraved, Deprived, Dangerous and Deviant: Depicting the Insane Child in England’s County Asylums, 1845–1907

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Abstract
The representations and experiences of children inside pauper lunatic asylums embody a significant lacuna in the understanding of children and childhood during the nineteenth century. Considering the Victorian period as a time when the conceptual notion of a sheltered and romantic childhood emerged it is essential, both to studies of childhood and to the history of the asylum, to examine how children thought to be mentally abnormal were incorporated into a discourse of innocence. Families and medical professionals played important roles in the admissions process by providing testimonies that led to certifications of insanity. This article examines the concept of the insane child and how it related to ideas of childhood that emerged during the period. Furthermore, important issues are explored such as the fluid nature of describing mental illness during the period, the motives of both family and medical professionals in creating polarized narratives of the sick child, and the place of the child within the medical institution.

I
Following the 1845 Lunacy Acts it was compulsory for each county in England and Wales to provide institutional space for its pauper insane. Those in need of confinement were defined as any ‘lunatic, idiot or insane person, or a person of unsound mind’. The language used was that of nineteenth-century medicine and labels such as ‘lunatic’ and ‘insane’ became umbrella terms that encompassed a myriad of illnesses and disabilities. For children, the article’s focus, this covered a broad spectrum of conditions: from the vegetative and helpless to the destructive and dangerous. Asylums, subsequently, had to adapt to accommodate such a broad array of illnesses and disabilities that the insane presented.

Amidst such diversity the historiography has offered numerous interpretations of the roles that asylums fulfilled for their adult populations.

This article has been adapted from a paper presented at the seminar series of the Centre for the History of Childhood, University of Oxford. I would like to thank all of those who offered comments, questions and feedback. I would also like to express my gratitude to Jen Baker at the University of Bristol for reading earlier drafts of the work and for the helpful suggestions made by the two anonymous reviewers.
Andrew Scull argued that asylums were spaces where alienists attempted to professionalize and establish medical control over the insane by providing curative treatment. However, despite these intentions he contended that they became ‘warehouses of the unwanted’, used to regulate the behaviour of the unproductive in a developing capitalist economy. As more research has been carried out into asylums and their populations such a social control perspective has been increasingly challenged. Cathy Smith proposed that county asylums fulfilled a range of needs and were not simply institutional spaces of control and regulation. In her study of the Northampton General Lunatic Asylum she observed that the institution provided a place to confine the dangerous and remove the disturbed from society, but, importantly, the asylum was also used as a hospice for a range of physical conditions as well as a place for drunks to sober up; thus they offered broader social relief to those in need.

Moving beyond arguments of social control, Mark Finnane suggested that the process of asylum confinement was one of a complex dialogue between families, communities, and doctors and the institution and state, rather than an oppressive attempt to rid society of social deviants. This view has been developed by historians such as John Walton who argued that asylums offered a last resort for families that could not cope with ‘impossible’ rather than merely inconvenient individuals. Similarly, David Wright highlighted the importance of families who turned to the asylum not as a convenient choice but ‘rather as a pragmatic response of households to the stresses of industrialization’. These interventions in the historiography have all been restricted to the insanity of adults; the status of younger family members suffering from mental afflictions has rarely been considered. The decision to seek confinement for a child must have been a family decision based on both finance and affection. The insane child would have offered little to the future economy of the family and in terms of childcare they were a drain on resources, especially when they were the eldest child without older siblings to care for them. Thus, how they were depicted at admission to the asylum is important in developing our understanding of childhood, the asylum, and welfare responses to the poor in the second half of nineteenth-century England.

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3 Ibid., p. 119.
6 D. Wright, ‘Getting out of the asylum: understanding the confinement of the insane in the nineteenth century’, Social History of Medicine, 10/1 (1997), pp. 140–2, at p. 139.
This article goes someway to revealing how insane children were described and represented in asylums, but they have not been totally neglected in the historiography. Melling et al. argued that children admitted to the county asylum in Devon were usually male and approaching adolescence. Consequently, they concluded that asylums were tools for regulating the behaviour of this type of patient. In the analysis that follows it will be demonstrated that this was not always the case and asylums accommodated a spectrum of child mental-health issues that spanned the age range. More recently, Amy Rebok Rosenthal has attempted to extend the discussion by highlighting how child insanity was perceived as a social issue. She offers a detailed and thorough overview of attitudes towards insane children from alienists and philanthropists, but the agency of families and individuals in the certification process is overlooked. The admission process for child patients is used here as a lens to gauge family involvement and rectify such a lacuna in knowledge.

In his thorough examination of the Royal Earlswood Idiot Asylum, David Wright identified many child patient cases that displayed, on entry to the institution, the behavioural tendencies that feature later in the article. A point of divergence between this and Wright’s study is provided by the social status of the children admitted. Earlswood was a specialist and elite institution that admitted children from the ‘respectable’ working class. To ensure it maintained its class of patients, subscriber recommendations were required and admission was not available to those that had previously received help from the Poor Law. The five asylums featured here (Berrywood, Birmingham Borough, Colney Hatch, Prestwich, and Three Counties), and introduced in more detail in the next section, were not so selective and admitted patients most regularly from their own homes and less frequently from the Poor Law workhouse, but always at public expense. Bearing this in mind, the article breaks new ground in the literature of pauper asylums and childhood.

Children were confined inside asylums at a time when elements of society were beginning to think of childhood as a separate period of life and particularly a time of innocence. In this article children have

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been defined as aged under fourteen years old; those that had reached this threshold had usually concluded any education that they might have received and were inured into an adult world of work.\(^\text{12}\) Literary depictions of the nineteenth-century poor, particularly the novels of Dickens, brought issues of urban poverty and its impact on children to public attention.\(^\text{13}\) The period was consequently one of reform for this specific population. The various Factory Acts (1833–91) and Education Acts (1870–1902) were introduced to regulate the employment and intellectual development of children and were aided in the latter half of the century by the research and influence of various child study proponents, such as scientists, philosophers and psychologists, all of whom staked a claim in defining “the child”.\(^\text{14}\) The importance of children in a developing industrial economy has not been overlooked.\(^\text{15}\) In particular, Jane Humphries and Peter Kirby have both acknowledged a decline in child employment over the period, although the former, using a range of personal accounts from working-class autobiographies, argues that child labour was more common, and at an earlier age, than previously thought.\(^\text{16}\) Subsequently, the contribution of the able-bodied child to the household economy was still of importance as the nineteenth century progressed.

It is evident that legislative and social attitudes to children and the insane were shifting. However, it was somewhat paradoxical that children were confined in asylums alongside adults, often without focused and individual treatment, at the very time when they were being seen as ‘children’ for the first time.\(^\text{17}\) The conceptualization of insane pauper children as depraved, deprived, dangerous and deviant that accompanied many admissions is particularly complex. These youngsters were acknowledged to be beyond the parameters of normative behaviour by ‘professional’ observers and were ‘othered’ by their disposition, age and class.\(^\text{18}\) Therefore it is crucial to understand the motives of those that


\(^{13}\) C. Dickens, *Oliver Twist* (London, 2012; originally published 1838); Dickens, *Great Expectations* (London, 2012; originally published 1860); Dickens, *David Copperfield* (London, 2004; originally published 1850).


\(^{16}\) Humphries, *Childhood and Child Labour*; Kirby, *Child Labour in Britain*.

\(^{17}\) Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*; Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*; Cunningham, *Children of the Poor*; Wardle, *Rise of the Schooled Society*.

described them, sometimes using quite extreme language. Historians have argued that an innocent childhood was a discourse pursued by reformers and philanthropists of the middle class.¹⁹ Harry Hendrick observed that a key element was the polarization of children of the working poor as either innocent or deviant.²⁰ These labels were imposed by those adults eager to engineer their own ideals of working-class ‘respectability’.²¹ Within this discourse, however, not all working-class children were described negatively. A Victorian childhood was consequently not a linear experience and contemporary descriptions cannot be placed towards either pole of good or bad without acknowledging the nuances and complexities that shaped them. Family background, social interaction, community involvement, education, economic prosperity and health all shaped a child’s life and affected external assessments and perceptions. It was not simply that the insane child was a ‘devil’ and the ‘normal’ child an innocent, nor does the binary model easily fit for parameters of class or variations of ‘insane’ children: yet the binary of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ nevertheless still existed during this period.

This article explores the admission and experience of children, labelled as insane by way of the Lunacy Acts, as a lens to address a number of questions, such as: what types of behaviour and actions featured in descriptions of them? What existing conceptual ideas pertaining to the child helped shape these perceptions? Were insane children polarized between the good and the bad? And, if so, by whom? The answers will provide insights into why children were placed inside asylums alongside adult lunatics and how their mental ill-health was observed and constructed.

By tackling these questions it becomes apparent that perceptions of asylum children existed in isolation from the emerging nineteenth-century discourse of childhood as a space of innocence and perfection. In turn further issues are raised that seek to better explain any polarized portrayals of child mental illness that existed, particularly: did the adults responsible for the welfare of mentally impaired children delve into extreme descriptions of them, and if so why? When parents vilified their children, what did the family have to gain? Were there certain behaviours that particularly caused concern or outrage? And, to what extent were polarized descriptions justified? The analysis demonstrates that families played important and pivotal roles in providing descriptions of their young that often fulfilled professional expectations of insanity and what modern observers may term ‘deviant’ behaviour.

The article is divided between three further sections. The first considers the asylums and sample of patients to be analysed. The second discusses the admission and experience of deprived, deviant and dangerous children into the institutions. And, the third develops the idea of insane children

²¹ Murdoch, *Imagined Orphans*. 

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in the context of polarized binaries by exploring the experiences of those described as depraved. Throughout the analysis explanations will be sought for why such descriptions and portrayals occurred.

II

Five pauper lunatic asylums have been used to create a sample of 773 insane children that were certified as insane prior to their fourteenth birthday between the years 1845 and 1907. These years have been selected because they represent the beginning of the compulsory asylum era in England and Wales through to the establishment of the School Medical Service in 1907 and with it shifting jurisdiction over child mental health. The asylums discussed – Colney Hatch, the second Middlesex county asylum; the Birmingham Borough Asylum at Winson Green; Berrywood Asylum in Northamptonshire; Three Counties Asylum serving Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire and Huntingdonshire; and the Prestwich Asylum located just outside of Manchester – have been selected because they covered a geographical range that stretched from the north-west of England to the south-east of the country. They also all had specific individual characteristics that further understandings of how these institutions functioned. For example, when the Colney Hatch Asylum opened in 1851 it was the largest and supposedly most modern institution of its type in Europe. It had the capacity to accommodate 1,250 patients in 1851, but at its peak later in the century it had expanded to hold 3,500 individuals. The Winson Green Asylum (1850) in Birmingham was a borough asylum, rather than county, and only admitted patients from three urbanized Poor Law Unions that made up the city. It was markedly smaller than its counterpart at Colney Hatch, having room for 300 patients when it opened. However, by the turn of the twentieth century it accommodated 1,200 individuals. The Berrywood Asylum in Northamptonshire did not open until 1876, considerably later than the other asylums that feature, and operated with a keen eye on maximizing the amount of money it could make from the pauper insane. It also covered much of rural central England. When it opened in 1876 it housed 115 patients, but thirteen years later, in 1889, it was home to 850 patients. The Three Counties Asylum (1860) provided provision for three rural counties with limited industry and no major cities. Like the other institutions its population grew rapidly during the period, from 466 patients in 1860 to 1,000 in 1894. Finally, the Prestwich Asylum in Manchester was one of four institutions that served the county of Lancashire, the others being Lancaster Asylum (1816), Rainhill Asylum (1851) and Whittingham Asylum (1873). It predominantly took its patients


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from the city but also admitted significant numbers from the outlying mill towns of Blackburn, Bolton, Burnley, Oldham and Rochdale. Prestwich initially had the capacity to accommodate 350 patients, but this number increased to 2,300 in 1889, following the erection of an ‘annex’ in 1882 that housed 1,100 individuals. By 1903 the asylum was overcrowded with a population of 3,135 patients and had no further space available for admissions. The experience of Prestwich was further complicated by the presence of large numbers of Irish migrants in Lancashire throughout the century. These five selected institutions provide a wide range of experience and offer effective examples of mental health provision in industrial and urbanized areas, as well as large rural populations. They were all heavily influenced by local concerns and consequently were products of the areas that they served, which led to very different experiences of dealing with children.

A large majority of children (76%) admitted to the asylums were diagnosed as idiots or imbeciles; conditions which are today described as learning disabilities. Asylum records referred to this type of case as ‘chronic and incurable’ with symptoms usually present from birth or infancy. These children posed particular problems to the curative ambitions of the pauper lunatic asylum. In these institutions the first professional psychiatrists were attempting to establish their authority over the insane by providing therapies and treatment that led to recovery. These efforts were, however, thwarted by the presence of long-stay patients that due to their incurability would have been better suited to ‘treatment’ outside the institution. Subsequently, Wright has argued that the learning disabled occupied an inferior place in the mind-sets of those running the asylums. Lunacy, apposed to idiocy and imbecility, affected adults and was considered a temporary condition that provided asylum doctors with an opportunity to provide cure, undertake empirical research, and to display the benefits of moral and humane therapy. The idiot child, consequently, was of little professional value to the development of the asylum and the psychiatrists inside it.

The Lunacy Acts of 1845 prescribed no age limit on persons that could be certified and confined within newly established asylums. This lack of age restriction was exasperated by a quirk in the legislation of lunacy that meant asylum patients were not directly chosen by the institution. Potential patients were identified, examined, ‘diagnosed’, and dispatched to the county asylum by Poor Law Relieving Officers with the

assistance of a Justice of the Peace, rather than asylum doctors. It was in this context that a child was certified and dispatched to the asylum. We must assume that in some instances the easier option, particularly for the time-consuming or troublesome patient, was the asylum rather than tolerance in the community. In 1861, the alienist John Millar published a treatise to guide ‘medical men who had no opportunity during their professional education of becoming practically acquainted with Insanity’. The aim was to avoid, where possible, the admission of unsuitable patients, but despite Millar’s guidance and children being considered inferior patients they were still admitted regularly to asylums, often to the chagrin of asylum doctors. The confinement of children inside asylums is significant to understanding the nature of childhood during this period as well as the function, development and nature of these institutions.

The presence of the ‘abnormal’ or ‘deviant’ child in mainstream society was abhorrent to middle-class reformers who sought to correct their behaviour. Hence the case studies that feature later in the article often include descriptions of deviant, rather than mentally ill, children. Such circumstances emphasize the importance of exploring and analysing how the young were presented and represented in asylum documents.

The records used here are those that deal specifically with the admission and observation of patients, such as casebooks and Certificates of Insanity. The corpus of material left by asylums is dense and an alternative methodology could have been attempted using records such as annual reports, visitor reports, and material created by the asylum inspectorate – the Commissioners in Lunacy. Such an approach would have, however, led to another top-down examination of asylum populations and was therefore disregarded in order to focus on family, lived experience, and medical descriptions of the young.

The asylum records offer limited access to the child’s voice but they are rich in material created by a professional middle class that depicted

30 J. Millar, Hints on Insanity (London, 1861), preface; ‘alienist’ was the term used to describe a doctor specializing in mental illness. This was later succeeded by the term ‘psychiatrist’.
31 Melling et al., ‘Proper lunatic”; Wright, Earlswood; S. J. Taylor, “All his ways are those of an idiot”: the admission, treatment of and social reaction to two idiot children of Northampton Pauper Lunatic asylum’, Family and Community History, 15/1 (2012), pp. 34–43.
the youngster. From them it is possible to glean insights into ideas of childhood through the othering of the deviant or abnormal by educated medical professionals, many of whom thought that insane children were incapable of an ‘innocent’ childhood because they were tainted by the bad heredity of their class and the darkness of their own minds. From Table 1 we can see the number of children that each of the five institutions confined.

Table 1 Admissions of children by institution, 1845–1907

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<th>Birmingham M – F</th>
<th>Colney Hatch M – F</th>
<th>Manchester M – F</th>
<th>Northampton M – F</th>
<th>Three Counties M – F</th>
<th>Total M – F</th>
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Source: Birmingham Central Library (BCL), Male Patient Casebooks, MS344/12/2 & 2a, MS344/12/5, MS344/12/7–9, MS344/12/11–14, MS344/12/20–2, MS344/12/27; BCL, Female Patient Casebooks, MS344/12/41–7, MS344/12/49–51, MS344/12/53 & 54, MS344/12/56 & 57, MS344/12/60–3; BCL, Patient Index, MS344/11/1 & 2; London Metropolitan Archive (LMA), Colney Hatch Male Patient Casebooks, H12/CH/B/13/001–61; LMA, Colney Hatch Female Patient Casebooks, H12/CH/B/11/001–085; Northamptonshire Record Officer (NRO), Male Patient Casebooks, NCLA/6/2/1–12; NRO Female Patient Casebooks, NCLA/6/2/11–13; Greater Manchester County Record Office (GMCRO), Male Patient Casebooks, ADMM/2/1–16; GMCRO, ADMF/2/1–21; Lancashire Record Office (LRO), Male Patient Casebooks, QAM/6/6/1–34; LRO, Female Patient Casebooks, QAM/6/6/1–34; Bedford and Luton Archives Service (BLAS), Male Patient Casebooks, LF31/1–12; BLAS, Female Patient Casebooks, LF29/1–12.

The historiography has established a narrative of asylums being a response to early capitalism. This clearly was not the situation, and child insanity was a more acute issue in agricultural regions rather than urban cities. Such a discrepancy can be explained by the uneven regional development that occurred in England during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As industrial cities expanded to accommodate their ever-increasing work forces they also developed a range of responses to manage child poverty and illness. These new welfare options included: numerous charities such as the Barnardo’s Homes, The Waifs and Strays Society, The Manchester and Salford Boys’ and Girls’ Refuge, and the Middlemore Homes; larger workhouse wards particularly in Birmingham; and the birth of the children’s hospital with medical facilities specifically for the young established in London at Great Ormond Street (1852), Manchester (1852) and Birmingham (1860). In contrast, rural areas were slower to develop, often losing their excess population through migration to cities and leaving the Poor Law and Asylum as the spaces where medical relief could be sought for those living at the margins of society.

33 Scull, *Museums of Madness*; Walton, ‘Casting out and bringing back’.
34 L. Smith, “A sad spectacle of hopeless mental degradation”: the management of the insane in West Midlands workhouses, 1815–1860”, in J. Reinarz and L. Schwarz (eds), *Medicine and the Workhouse*
Looking at Figure 1 it is evident that children were admitted to asylums throughout the chronological period examined here. Whilst variations


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existed in the numbers admitted across asylums, the peaks and troughs in admission were consistent across the country. The influxes of the 1880s can explained by numerous internal and external factors such as increased institutional capacity, a popular acceptance of eugenicist principals, and the impact of the Poor Law crusade against out-relief limiting welfare options for pauper families.\textsuperscript{35}

Of the children confined, there were 585 (76\%) diagnosed with the mental disabilities of idiocy or imbecility. These conditions were considered permanent states of mental disability and the prominent contemporaneous French psychologist Edouard Seguin described sufferers as those ‘who know nothing, can do nothing, cannot even desire to do anything’.\textsuperscript{36} The remaining 24\% of children in the sample were certified as maniacs, dement, melancholics and epileptics. The inability of the asylum to ‘improve’ the mental abilities of these children is essential for framing the analysis that follows.

The historiography has assumed that older male children were most commonly admitted to pauper asylums.\textsuperscript{37} An examination of the patient sample constructed here demonstrates that such a statement is only partially accurate. The gender split amongst child patients was made up of 63\% boys and 37\% girls. This is somewhat peculiar as society at this time contained more women. Explanations for why more male children were confined have been offered elsewhere, but they link to issues of regulating male behaviour and the suitability of female children in completing household chores.\textsuperscript{38} The question of age is more complex. Children were admitted across the age range, from as young as two up to thirteen. But when the asylums are divided between rural and urban, this picture becomes even more fascinating. Urban institutions most regularly admitted older children, whereas rural asylums accommodated children of all ages, as can be observed in Figure 2, thus highlighting the different functionality of asylums in different areas.

The representations of children constructed in a medico-legal context differ from those created in an everyday or less formal environment. Asylum doctors were often overworked and regularly attempted to comment on more patients than the asylum was designed to confine. As a consequence they relied on other members of staff around the asylum to help form their opinions and case-notes entries. Nevertheless, there are definite and clear examples that demonstrate that children

\textsuperscript{35} E. Hurren, \textit{Protesting about Pauperism: Poverty, Politics and Poor Relief in Late-Victorian England, 1870–1900} (Woodbridge, 2008); Taylor, ‘Insanity, philanthropy and emigration’.

\textsuperscript{36} E. Seguin, \textit{Idiocy: And its Treatment by the Physiological Method} (New York, 1866), p. 29.

\textsuperscript{37} Melling \textit{et al.}, ‘Proper lunatic’.

suffering mental illness and disabilities were described both positively and negatively within the institution.

Figure 2  Age at admission by institution

Source: BCL, Male Patient Casebooks, MS344/12/2 & 2a, MS344/12/5, MS344/12/7–9, MS344/12/11–14, MS344/12/20–22, MS344/12/27; BCL, Female Patient Casebooks, MS344/12/41–7, MS344/12/49–51, MS344/12/53 & 54, MS344/12/56 & 57, MS344/12/60–3; BCL, Patient Index, MS344/11/1 & 2; LMA, Colney Hatch Male Patient Casebooks, H12/CH/B/13/001–61; LMA, Colney Hatch Female Patient Casebooks, H12/CH/B/11/001–085; NRO, Male Patient Casebooks, NCLA/6/2/2/1–12; NRO Female Patient Casebooks, NCLA/6/2/1/1–13; GMCRO, Male Patient Casebooks, ADMM/2/1–16; GMCRO, ADMF/2/1–21; LRO, Male Patient Casebooks, QAM/6/6/1–34; LRO, Female Patient Casebooks, QAM/6/6/1–34; BLAS, Male Patient Casebooks, LF31/1–12; BLAS, Female Patient Casebooks, LF29/1–12.

The centrality of the relationship between the Poor Law and the asylum has already been outlined, but it is vital to develop the mechanics of
this relationship a little further. The asylum, at least in the selection of patients, can be considered an institution of the Poor Law.\footnote{Bartlett, \textit{Poor Law of Lunacy}; Bartlett, ‘The asylum and the Poor Law: the productive alliance’, in J. Melling and B. Forsythe (eds), \textit{Insanity, Institutions and Society, 1880–1914} (London, 1999), pp. 48–67.} The Poor Law Amendment Act (1834), however, only made one reference to the insane: that all dangerous lunatics should be removed from a workhouse within fourteen days of being admitted.\footnote{Bartlett, \textit{Poor Law of Lunacy}, p. 44.} In the eyes of the Poor Law, and the paupers that became familiar with its operation, dangerousness was a core element of constructing insanity.\footnote{On pauper understanding of the Poor Law system see S. A. King, ‘Negotiating the law of poor relief in England 1800–1840’, \textit{History}, 96 (2011), pp. 410–35; for the importance of families in the process of admission see Wright, ‘Getting out of the asylum’, p. 154.} Suicide and the danger posed to the self was a common symptom of insanity for adult patients and usually expedited their admission to the asylum.\footnote{A. Shepherd and D. Wright, ‘Madness, suicide and the Victorian asylum: attempted self-murder in the age of non-restraint’, \textit{Medical History}, 46 (2002), pp. 175–96; Wright, ‘The certification of insanity’; York, ‘Suicide, lunacy and the asylum’, p. 143.} For children, who rarely displayed such characteristics and suffered from conditions considered more harmless, some degree of dangerousness had to be constructed in order to access the more comfortable environment of the asylum, rather than treatment in the workhouse or through out-relief payments.\footnote{Smith, ‘Family, community and the Victorian asylum’, p. 118.} By way of example, John Wenborn who was admitted, aged 6, to the Northampton Pauper Lunatic Asylum in 1877, was said to be destructive and often ran into the fire; thus he constituted a danger to himself.\footnote{Taylor, “All his ways are those of an idiot”, p. 36.} While in the asylum however, the boy was quiet, placid and never displayed any dangerous or destructive tendencies. Consequently, it can be ascertained that an element of dangerousness was crucial to ensuring he entered the institution.

At the point of admission, staff tried to identify and filter those that were considered unsuitable but it was not an easy task. Patient casebooks were used to record personal information about the individuals that were admitted. First, they noted the name, age, and next of kin for each child. This was followed by a diagnosis of their condition and testimonies taken from the Certificate of Insanity (completed by Poor Law Medical Officers after 1853) and the child’s family. These testimonies provided initial descriptions of the children and are essential to the discussion here. In actuality they were subjective social assessments constructed in a manner that justified admission to the asylum. Subsequently, many testimonies, such as in the case of Wenborn, relied on presenting the dangerousness of the child in order to secure admission. Such descriptions were the initial presentation of insane children in the polarized language of bad and good, abnormal and normal.

Furthermore, it is important to highlight that ‘ideas’ about what constituted ‘insane’ behaviour, especially for children, were fluid.
throughout the nineteenth century. Ideas of degeneration and the ‘scientific’ influence of eugenicists began to take hold in the 1870s and 1880s and had a specific impact on the young.\textsuperscript{45} These discourses introduced gradations of mental ‘deficiency’ that led to a more intense focus on the classification of childhood conditions.\textsuperscript{46} In an intellectual climate influenced by Darwin’s \textit{On the Origin of Species}, the terms ‘feeble-minded’ and ‘weak minded’ emerged as descriptors for individuals who occupied a perceived grey area between ‘normal’ mental abilities and imbecility. Those who occupied this ‘borderland’ were thought prone to criminality, poverty and promiscuity, and thus posed a threat to wider society.\textsuperscript{47} Social policy and attitudes towards the young were influenced by these ideas and saw children increasingly moved away from the workplace and their intellectual abilities placed under intense scrutiny inside compulsory state schools. In 1845, at the beginning of the period in question, it would have been easy for a family to shelter their mentally disabled child in the domestic home if they so desired. However, by the turn of the century, the intellect of a child was cast into a public arena with peers, neighbours, teachers and school attendance officers all on hand to make inexpert judgements if needed. It is in this social context of increased public scrutiny that child insanity needs to be examined.

III

To construct the dangerous child, in need of asylum confinement, a number of key techniques were employed across the period. These are explored through four emblematic case studies that were selected from the wider corpus of patient records using random sampling techniques. The chosen cases have all been selected from after 1870 in order to ensure as complete as possible case histories; prior to this year records were partially completed and at times totally neglected, with some patients not having case files updated for a number of years. A common feature of admission documentation was the danger that a child might pose to other children. For instance, Caroline Holsey was confined in the Three Counties Asylum on 28 August 1872 when only five years old. It was stated at admission that ‘if not prevented [she] would injure the children in the ward. Treats the children in the ward very roughly. She kicks and bites the children and this morning threw one of them on the floor and injured its


\textsuperscript{47} Jackson, \textit{The Borderland of Imbecility}, p. 1.
The perceived danger posed by Caroline is apparent, but what is less clear is whether her behaviour was witnessed in the lunatic ward of the workhouse from where she was admitted, or after a brief spell in the asylum.

The records for Alfred Sowter indicate that he was a specific danger to his mother, rather than other children. He was confined in Colney Hatch, aged 12, after being admitted on 12 February 1897. The Medical Certificate stated that he was ‘deficient in moral sense. Acknowledges that he attempted to poison his mother, because he refused to go to the Hospital’. In this example the child was considered capable of confessing to his transgressions. These were illustrated further by the certifying Medical Officer, who recorded that he is ‘very violent at times, has struck his mother on the head causing a scalp wound, and last Thursday put a poisonous potion into her tea’. This was followed by a statement from the asylum that echoed the Medical Certificate: ‘the patient is evidently deficient in moral sense. He is full of mischief, always ready to fight, has attempted to poison his mother and has done her other injuries.’ Consequently, the negative portrayal of Sowter’s actions, and his supposed violent personality, corroborated by his own confession, meant he was considered dangerous and thus suitable for confinement in the asylum.

A more serious threat to society was posed by William Rickard, aged 10, sent to Colney Hatch on 8 October 1898 as a criminal lunatic. The case provides a unique opportunity to assess the threat that the insane child might have posed to the general public. The asylum case-notes are accompanied by a newspaper report. Rickard was ‘charged with seriously injuring a boy of 6 years of age, by hitting them on the head with a chopper. He frequently threatens and attempts to injure others when excited.’ In addition a number of suicide attempts were also recorded. He posed a danger not just to himself, but to others as well. Such a situation was further corroborated when admitted to the asylum. It was recorded that ‘he has fits of maniacal excitement at times, when he requires to be held to prevent him from attempting to injure others, or from knocking himself against the wall. At these times he appears to have absolutely no control over himself and scarcely to know what he is doing.’ Alongside the asylum notes the newspaper clipping reported: ‘Criminal Lunatic Aged Ten: A little fellow, with a peculiar look and a hideous grin named William Rickard … perhaps the youngest prisoner ever committed for trial’. The newspaper presents Rickard as a monster.
that is physically dangerous and morally depraved in order to emphasize his threat to society. Of further interest is the focus on the fact that he was possibly the youngest person committed for trial; which on the one hand insinuates that this is a sensational case, perhaps an anomaly, but nevertheless intends to provoke a wider depiction of the insane child as the deviant other. Consequently, in this instance the idea of the mentally abnormal child as dangerous or devilish extends beyond the perceptions of the family or asylum, but to society more generally.

Finally, David Walford was admitted to the Birmingham Asylum, aged 6, on 26 March 1907. This case marks a return to the danger that a child might pose to other children, especially younger siblings, demonstrating at the end of the period a continuity in the techniques used to define dangerousness. The Medical Certificate that initiated his confinement stated that Walford ‘kept being cruel to his sister, throwing himself on her and beating her. Then he tried to set a lot of papers on fire and kept pushing sticks in the fire and chasing the other children with them.’ These read like a list of events that happened one after the other, but it was more probable that the Medical Officer either witnessed them on separate occasions, or, more likely, was told about them by family members over a period of time. The dangerousness of David Walford was reinforced by the testimony of his mother. She stated that he ‘tried to smother the baby with pillow, also to burn her. Plays with fire and tries to set the other children on fire. Throws knives about and wanders.’54 Thus a whole host of reasons could be cited to depict the potential danger posed. He was a threat to other children, he played with fire, he was reckless with dangerous objects, and he was prone to wandering around and getting involved in further mischief. From the family perspective it appeared essential that the asylum was used to regulate the behaviour of this deviant child.

In the four case studies presented, the children were described in a way that explicitly displayed their dangerous tendencies despite changing understandings of child mental impairment across the period. However, some cases were not so clear cut. For example, when in 1875 ten-year-old Rosa Doughty was admitted to the Three Counties Asylum her Medical Certificate stated: ‘is an idiot and has lately assumed a dangerous tone, I have never witnessed any of her special wrong-doings, but am convinced of the truthfulness of the information received’.55 Rosa was considered deviant and dangerous based on second-hand information. The Medical Officer did not reveal whose testimony he trusted enough to commit the girl to the asylum. It is unclear whether the family, or the Master of the Workhouse, or another third party, was responsible for the depiction of Doughty. It was recorded by the nurse of the ward that the girl used ‘obscene language, is dirty in her habits, very mischievous, noisy, annoying and troublesome. Lately she has taken to strike and otherwise annoy those

54 Birmingham Archives and Heritage Service (BAHS), All Saints Hospital Collection, Male Patient Casebook 29, MS344/12/29, David Walford, p. 663.
55 BLA, Three Counties, Female Casebook 4, LF29/4, Rosa Doughty, p. 61.

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with whom she is placed, throws forks, and on one occasion threw a
knife at Mary Wilson and Rebecca Smith. The paupers with whom she
is placed.\textsuperscript{56} Thus, it can be deduced that the nurse was from a Workhouse
lunatic ward as the reference to being placed with paupers reflects the
language of Workhouses, rather than that of the asylum.

From these examples it might be expected that children intent on
causing harm to those around them were ubiquitous in the asylum. After
all, the institution has been observed as a tool to control the behaviour
of those unfit for everyday society.\textsuperscript{57} When we look in more detail at
experiences inside the institution, however, a different picture emerges.
David Walford was transferred to another asylum in Birmingham within
a week of his admission. During his brief asylum stay no evidence of the
violence and danger that he posed outside the asylum was displayed. The
only observation of him was that ‘he is restless and excitable. He is unable
to talk as a child of his years should and is generally backwards.’\textsuperscript{58} It may
have been that Walford was not in the asylum long enough to display the
negative traits of his personality, but it is more likely that he was just a
child that was difficult to deal with in ordinary society or that his lacking
of intellectual ability meant that he would struggle to find employment
as an adult and represent an economic drain on the family and likely the
Poor Law. Unfortunately the limited records available cannot help resolve
which was the most probable.

Caroline Holsey was confined because she posed a danger to other
children, but in her first observation on the asylum ward she was stated
to be ‘much improved in personal appearance, is now under control is
very happy’.\textsuperscript{59} In fact all of the observations for Caroline Holsey present
the picture of a peaceful and compliant child; she was noted to be ‘well
behaved and seems to be very comfortable’ rather than the dangerous
deviant she was admitted as.\textsuperscript{60} Such a statement poses the question
whether she was ever out of control or, paradoxically, whether the asylum
had an instant effect in bringing about improvement. The former appears
most likely as Holsey was not discharged as recovered and died in the
asylum on 8 March 1874, eighteen months after being admitted to
the institution. The cause of death was recorded as acute phthisis, a
degenerative condition of the lungs from which she would have been
suffering when admitted. Thus it appears that the difference in perception,
‘before and after’, was nothing to do with the nature of the child, but
rather she was presented negatively in order to access the asylum
and the medical provision that was attached to it. The family had
managed to deal with the child until her condition worsened but when
she needed regular specialist care she would have become a burden on the

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{57} Scull, \textit{Museums of Madness}, ch. 1.
\textsuperscript{58} BAHS, All Saints, Male Casebook 29, MS344/12/29, Walford, p. 663.
\textsuperscript{59} BLA, Three Counties, Female Casebook 3, Holsey, p. 97, Sept 7 1872.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., 20 Sept. 1872.
household economy and Poor Law Medical Officer who was required to pay for treatments out of his own pocket before being reimbursed by the Union Guardians.\(^\text{61}\) In this instance the negative portrayal was necessary in order to provide the most comfortable circumstances for a child in poor health.

Discrepancies also occurred in observations of Alfred Sowter. He was sent to Colney Hatch because he posed a threat to his mother, but in the asylum he was described as ‘fairly well behaved since admission. Is mischievous and very cheerful.’\(^\text{62}\) Observations of Sowter continued in the same vein and it was later noted that the ‘patient is still cheerful and fairly well behaved’.\(^\text{63}\) Again a paradox emerges where the child was admitted as a menace, but in the asylum appeared more like an ordinary child, if not better. Sowter was discharged to the Darenth School, an institution of the Metropolitan Asylums Board that provided vocational instruction to those with learning difficulties, on 19 March 1897. His brief stay in the asylum was not a reflection of the dangerous, devious and depraved child that was described at admission.

The criminal dimension of William Rickard’s admission provided a different set of circumstances. His violent behaviour in attacking another child seemed to confirm the necessity of his place in the asylum, but during his confinement he was never described in the same manner as the newspaper report that vilified him. He was released from the institution as ‘recovered’ on 13 April 1899, just over six months after being admitted.\(^\text{64}\) Of our dangerous children, Rosa Doughty was the only one that lived up to her reputation whilst inside the asylum and she did so on a regular basis.\(^\text{65}\) The first three years of her casebook observations record ‘no change’ in her troublesome and dangerous manner.\(^\text{66}\) A shift in her experience took place from about 1886, eleven years after her admission. From this point her behaviour settled, perhaps with maturity and a degree of institutionalization, and the negative observations subsided into ones of quiet acquiescence with the institutional regime. She remained in the asylum until at least 1914, when observations on her file abruptly ceased.

At admission the characteristics of these children were all negative and represented the insane child as dangerous and with demonic tendencies. However, the accuracy of their portrayals can be called into question considering the observational inconsistencies that occurred inside the asylum. It can thus be argued that representations of children were often constructed by adults to necessitate a specific need, whether it be a learning disability, degenerative disease, or to ease the domestic economy.

\(^{62}\) LMA, Friern Hospital, Male Casebook 44, H12/CH/B/13/044, Sowter, p. 111, 20 Feb. 1897.
\(^{63}\) Ibid., 6 March 1897.
\(^{64}\) LMA, Friern Hospital, Male Casebook 49, H12/CH/B/13/046, William Rickard, p. 107.
\(^{65}\) BLA, Three Counties, Female Casebook 4, LF29/4, Rosa Doughty, p. 61.
\(^{66}\) Ibid.
Regardless, in these examples there was a need to move the burden of care
from the home or community to the institution.

IV

Some motivations for, and experiences of, admitting dangerous children
have been identified so far, and it is clear that often descriptions could
drastically vary from the factual elements of a case. Furthermore, we have
seen that the symptoms of child insanity were fluid and insane children
were not a homogeneous group. This section presents the polarized
descriptions of a few children that stand out from the majority of child
cases admitted to asylums. These examples revisit some of the themes
already presented, but also introduce new avenues of discussion by
depicting children who more explicitly upset Victorian middle-class values
and morals.

An alternative tactic to danger used to justify child admissions to
asylums was their characterization as depraved and a threat to moral
society. When the Three counties Asylum admitted Katie Agnes Jones,
aged 10 in May 1893, a core element of the Medical Certificate was
that ‘she exposed herself in a manner showing that she has no notion of
decency’. Such actions were reinforced by her mother, who stated: ‘she has
no notion of decency and has at different times literally torn the clothes off
her back when put out’. Much like the earlier examples, Jones did not act
while confined in the manner portrayed at her admission to the institution.
It could have been that the asylum had a miraculous curative effect, but
in reality she was another child suffering from a physical illness and the
asylum was utilized for its qualities as a hospice. This does not necessarily
mean that she did not ‘expose herself’ or tear off her clothes, but this may
have been a psychosomatic expression that was deliberately interpreted as
moral degeneration. Observations of the child show that she was ‘restless,
throws herself about can do nothing for herself’. During the summer
of 1893 she was observed to be of ‘rather poor bodily condition’, and
‘pale and thin otherwise no change’. Katie Agnes Jones was confined in
the asylum, mostly in ill health, for seven years. She died from phthisis
on 4 September 1900 and provides another example of an embellished
narrative being constructed by adults in order to ensure comfortable
conditions while declining from a degenerative physical illness.

A similar situation occurred for Albert Stanley, aged 7, admitted to
the Birmingham Asylum on 24 November 1895. His Medical Certificate
stated that he ‘tears clothing. Masturbates. Is dirty in habits’. It must be
questioned whether he had reached a level of physical maturity to commit
such acts and he was described during admission as ‘dull looking but

67 BLA, Three Counties, Female Casebook 12, LF29/12, Katie Agnes Jones, p. 85, 18 May 1893.
68 Ibid., 1 June 1893.
69 Ibid., 21 July 1893.
70 BAHS, All Saints, Male Casebook 14, MS344/12/29/14, Albert Stanley, pp. 523–5.
playful and very restless’. While in the asylum, however, his observation notes refer only to numerous instances of epileptic fits. In December 1895 he experienced twenty fits and thirty-seven in January 1896.\(^{71}\) Stanley was eventually moved on to the Rubery Hill Asylum just outside of Birmingham, but no reference to the sexual behaviour of the child was noted inside the asylum. The use of sexual awareness and activity was an external construction used to ensure the admission of a child with specialized medical needs. R. P. Neuman argues that control of child sexuality was a core element in the middle-class construction of a sheltered childhood.\(^{72}\) He suggests that attitudes towards sex and masturbation reflected a power relationship where sexual activity was considered to be only for ‘grown ups’.\(^{73}\) The use of sexual behaviour is important in the case of Stanley because the asylum was designed, and constructed, to regulate those that could not function in society, but it was not supposed to be a refuge for epileptics.

The final case study to be examined is that of Harriet Meadows. She was admitted to the asylum in Northampton, aged 5, on Halloween 1884. This example demonstrates that the truly sexualized child offended the sensibilities of middle-class professionals and provided a source of repulsion in the asylum. At her admission she was described as ‘apparently a healthy child until two years old, since then it has been imbecile’.\(^{74}\) The case-notes tell of a child that was admitted with a genuine need for care. But she was dehumanized from the beginning of her confinement, being referred to as ‘it’ in her admission statement. Such language was not uncommon. George Jelly was noted to be ‘worse than an animal’,\(^{75}\) and Oliver Bailey was described as ‘a repulsive looking idiot boy’.\(^{76}\) The notes for Meadows continued that she was ‘a well developed child for an idiot. Has intelligent features and a well formed head’, but ‘is never at rest a minute picks and twists at everything including its own face and fingers’.\(^{77}\) From this depiction we begin to get an image of the child’s physical behaviour and the characteristics of her mental condition.

Meadows was placed on a ward in the female side of the asylum. After two days it was noted that she was ‘very mischievous she hurts the old women on the ward’, and, perhaps most revealingly, she was described as ‘a little demon’.\(^{78}\) This is the first instance of a few occasions in which Meadows is presented between the poles of good and evil. What is extremely interesting is how descriptions of her oscillate in the notes

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\(^{71}\) Ibid.


\(^{73}\) Ibid., p. 20.

\(^{74}\) Northamptonshire Record Office (NRO), St Crispin Collection, Female Patient Casebook 4, NCLA/6/2/1/4, p. 175.

\(^{75}\) NRO, St Crispin, Male Casebook 10, NCLA/6/2/2/10, George Jelly, p. 121.

\(^{76}\) NRO, St Crispin Collection, Male Casebook 9, NCLA/6/2/2/9, Oliver Bailey, p. 188.

\(^{77}\) Ibid.

\(^{78}\) Ibid., 2 Nov. 1884.
that follow. She was described as ‘a very good tempered idiot’ and ‘a
general favourite’. Yet a week later on 11 November 1884 it was said that
there was ‘no change is often troublesome’. Such polarized observations
might be explained in two ways. First, the behaviour of the child could
have fluctuated and consequently led to conflicting observations. This
is a plausible explanation for a five-year-old child, but the use of the
term ‘a little demon’ on her second full day in the asylum seems quite
severe. Also, it might be anticipated that some explicit references to the
changes in mood and unpredictability in behaviour would have been
recorded in her medical file. The second, more plausible, explanation
is that the observations were influenced by differing perceptions of the
child’s behaviour. The case-notes of the asylum were always completed
by the Medical Superintendent, at this time Richard Greene. He was not
capable of observing every patient in the asylum and relied on input from
asylum attendants who were responsible for the everyday management of
the asylum’s patients. It is most probable that Greene’s observations of
Meadows were informed by two separate attendants, most likely a day
attendant and night attendant. The statement that declared the child was
well behaved and ‘a favourite’ does not correspond with the tone of the
previous two entries. It is possible that the comments were relayed to him
and he simply noted them in the casebook without checking previous
entries. Thus, one of these attendants viewed the five-year-old Harriet
Meadows as a dollish figure, whilst the other saw nothing but ‘a little
demon’. If this was the case it is essential to examine and analyse why
such polarized views of a single child may have emerged.

It is probable that attitudes towards Harriet Meadows were a result
of her behaviour being observed in different asylum settings. At night all
patients would be required to be quiet and calm; if she was boisterous
the ward would be disturbed and the night attendant’s job would be
made more difficult. It also seems that she displayed a set of behaviours,
more visible at quieter times of the night, that horrified the sensibilities
of the attendant. Whilst it is possible that the observations were from a
biased and unfeeling attendant, the specific behaviour that they chastise
suggests this behaviour did occur, and it was interpreted negatively. For
instance, on 22 November 1884 it was recorded that there was ‘no change
in this little idiot except that she is often noticed to be fingering about
the genitals’. Such inappropriate actions on the part of a young child
were considered to be morally unacceptable and would thus explain the
negative attitude towards and subsequent depictions of Meadows.

Observations of her throughout 1885 continued to fluctuate. In some
descriptions Meadows was ‘clean and quiet’ and in others she ‘screams,
kicks the floor and beats her hands together violently’. Then in the

79 Ibid., 3 and 5 Nov. 1884.
80 Ibid., 11 Nov. 1884.
81 Ibid., 22 Nov 1884.
82 Ibid., 5 April and 30 Aug. 1885.

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The autumn of 1886 an intriguing depiction of the child was recorded. It was observed that Meadows, a pauper patient, was ‘dressed up like the child of a gentleman and is a filthy little creature’.\(^83\) Thus, regardless of her respectable appearance in the asylum, or perhaps because of her appearance of transcending class boundaries, she was considered beyond human.

The inappropriate sexual conduct of Harriet Meadows meant that she was seen as a threat to the sensibilities of middle-class Victorian England. In 1889 she was forced to sleep with her hands confined because ‘she is a confirmed masturbator manages to get the whole hand and wrist up into the vagina which is dilated and looks almost fully developed. She is only nine years of age’.\(^84\) The explicit nature of this statement helps to explain the asylum attitude towards Harriet Meadows. She was a child that had developed earlier than her peers. Neuman states that this was considered a fear amongst the Victorian middle class.\(^85\) Thus Meadows was depicted as a source of revulsion inside the institution because she displayed behaviours that were reserved for adults. She remained in the asylum until she died on 18 April 1910, aged 31, of pneumonia. Into adult life she was continually described between the extremes of destructive and troublesome to tranquil and well behaved, and was very much the embodiment of the varied ways that children in asylums could be presented.

The admission processes that led to children being confined in asylums often depicted insane children unpleasantly. This was despite their mental conditions being considered beyond the boundaries of the normal. Their status as mentally ill or disabled was often what instigated the descriptions of their manners and behaviours as deviant. Dangerousness was an essential element in constructing the insane pauper and justifying incarceration and potential treatment, for adults as well as children.\(^86\) Thus, the children described as dangerous often did not display the same characteristics inside the asylum as those that featured on their certificates of insanity. Often the danger of the child was actually used to mask physical illnesses and ensure that the child received medical care. The situation was much similar for the depraved child. These children were considered to be breaking the boundaries of social etiquette and consequently represented a moral danger opposed to the physical one. Again the reasoning behind such portrayals was to guarantee admission and medical care. It can therefore be argued that the image of the insane

\(^{83}\) Ibid., 8 Oct. 1886, p. 176.
\(^{84}\) Ibid., 26 Feb. 1889, p. 177.
\(^{86}\) Bartlett, *Poor Law of Lunacy*, p. 44.
child as a source of threat and horror was a social response to the lack of adequate care and treatment for children of pauper families.

While this article is focused specifically on children it is important to consider how its findings might impact the representation and experience of other patient populations inside the asylum. If discrepancies between representation and experience regularly occurred it would mean that historical understandings of how asylum networks operated need to be reconsidered. A reliance on diagnoses taken from Medical Certificates and asylum admission documents by scholars means that the experience of patients goes unnoticed, unless they were representative of particularly interesting or noteworthy behaviours. Rather, the function of asylums must be evaluated using representations of patients prior to, during and after admission.

Inside the institution indecent sexual behaviour crossed the boundary between deviance and acceptability. Children who conducted themselves in an over-sexualized way (across the spectrum of ‘insanity’) were a source of horror. Victorian society in general had constructed an ideal of childhood as a sheltered and innocent time, and consequently the realities of a child having knowledge of, let alone performing, sexual activities was unacceptable to moral sensibilities. The few children who crossed this boundary horrified those who witnessed their actions and were indeed considered devilish in both body and soul.

Depictions of children in the nineteenth century are multilayered and problematic when viewed through the prism of insanity. Some were more deviant than others, although this often depended on the motivations and interests of the adults close to them. The sexually aware child was the biggest fear, but few children seemed genuinely to perform the negative acts of which they were accused. The general idea of the insane child as a devil emerged because these children existed at an intersection of sickness and childhood, a nexus that welfare responses had not yet developed sufficiently enough to tackle. Families of these children wanted them to receive care and treatment, while they represented a burden to the overworked and underpaid Medical Officers of the Poor Law. Consequently, such negative depictions of the children were essential to warrant their confinement in the county asylums that were established in the second half of the nineteenth century, despite the lack of provision for and understanding of the children in their care.