BEDLAM
the asylum and beyond

Large print guide

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INTRODUCTION
Our mental health has many dimensions: medical, psychological, social, spiritual and environmental. While the boundaries between what is deemed as ‘sanity’ or ‘insanity’ remain elastic and widely debated, we find – or are given – our place on the spectrum: perhaps with a diagnosis, a treatment, a lifestyle change or a place of safety.

In ancient times the asylum was a space, often a religious sanctuary, where individuals could seek refuge. It was from these spiritual origins that modern mental asylums emerged. They became the places where Western ideas about mental illness were defined and different approaches to treatment evolved.

Throughout the asylum’s history these different ideas and approaches were created, challenged and reinvented by different and often opposing voices: those of doctors, patients, religious leaders, artists, social commentators and reformers. Their experiences shaped the meaning of mental illness and created today’s landscape of mental health care.
Bedlam: the asylum and beyond combines some of these perspectives by following the story of one such institution, ‘Bedlam’. The word became a general term for asylums but it originally referred to the Bethlem Royal Hospital in London, which was founded in the 13th century and still provides mental health care today. The exhibition focuses on the lived experiences of those who inhabited asylums or created alternatives to them. It juxtaposes historical material and medical records with individual testimonies and artworks that reflect or reimagine the institution, both as a physical and a virtual space.

Today asylums have largely been consigned to history, widely regarded as outmoded, inhumane and haunted places. Meanwhile mental illness is more prevalent than ever, and our culture teems with therapeutic possibilities – yet for many there are no satisfactory options. Against this background, Bedlam: the asylum and beyond interrogates the original ideal that the asylum represented – a place of refuge, sanctuary and care – and asks whether and how it could be reclaimed.
Asylum

Eva Kotátková
2014

Using what she describes as an ‘archaeological’ approach, Kotátková’s installations and sculptures examine the psychological and physical effects of restraint and social pressures. Based on her frequent research visits to the Bohnice psychiatric hospital in Prague, the installation attempts to capture both the institutional constraints and the alternative modes of communication envisioned by the patients.

In the words of the artist, ‘Asylum presents a collection of fears, anxieties, phobias and phantasmagoric visions of patients and children suffering from communication difficulties or struggling to fit within social structures, a chaotic archive of inner visions.’

This installation is animated by performers regularly

COURTESY OF THE ARTIST,
HUNT KASTNER AND MEYER RIEGGER
Bethlem hospital was founded in 1247 by the London alderman Simon FitzMary after his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Its formal name was the Priory of St Mary at Bethlehem. It offered charity and hospitality to the needy, especially those referred to at that time as ‘lunaticke’.

For centuries it was the only such institution in London, and musicians turned the stories and laments of its inhabitants into popular ‘Bedlam ballads’.

Around the time that Bethlem was founded, the town of Geel in Flanders became a place of pilgrimage, as it housed the shrine of St Dymphna, the patron saint of the ‘mentally distracted’. People who were not cured during their trip were often abandoned there, and many were taken in by local families, joining them in working on their farms.

The system of ‘family care’ at Geel – a precursor to the modern concept of ‘care in the community’ – continues to this day. ‘Boarders’ still live with families and are part of the town’s life. Meanwhile pilgrims continue to arrive from all over the world to visit St Dymphna’s relics in her church.
Procession of St Dymphna

1925
16mm film transferred to digital
5 min

ARCHIVES OF THE OPENBAAR PSYCHIATRISCH ZORGCENTRUM GEEL (OPZ), BELGIUM
SCENES FROM BEDLAM
Scene 1

The labels in this book are organise for the following viewing sequence.
The world is but a great Bedlam,
where those that are more mad,
lock up those who are less

— Thomas Tryon (1689)

Since the 17th century Bethlem (known in popular slang as ‘Bedlam’) has occupied three different buildings. They set the scene for the successive phases of the asylum’s story.
Bethlem at Moorfields was the classic 18th-century ‘madhouse’, one of London’s most famous landmarks; Bethlem at Southwark epitomised the 19th-century ‘lunatic asylum’; and Bethlem at Beckenham was a model example of the 20th-century ‘mental hospital’. This progression was mirrored in asylums across the world.

Each of these incarnations reflected the world outside the asylum’s walls, and all of them struggled to address the same recurring issues: the balance between biomedical and psychosocial approaches to therapy; the tensions between protection and restraint; and the conflicts between creating a safe haven from the world and reintegrating patients into society.

The asylum loomed large in the popular imagination, its meaning reimagined and questioned in the ballads and popular songs, plays, novels and art of the day. Each era also imagined, and often created, alternative models of care in which the asylum was no longer required.
The Chancel of the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem

Louis Haghe after David Roberts
1849
Coloured lithograph

WELLCOME LIBRARY
Bethlem Royal Hospital
Rev Edward Geoffrey O’Donoghue, Bethlem chaplain from 1892 to 1930, compiled this collection of lantern slides over a period of years to illustrate the regular lectures he gave as part of a programme of entertainments for staff and patients.

Glass lantern slides

1   Photographic glass negative of painting of Bethlehem, Palestine

2   Extract from a printed copy of the hospital’s foundation deed, showing part of the deed poll of Simon FitzMary

3   Plan of medieval Bishopsgate, showing the site of Bethlem hospital

4   Engraving of Elizabethan London prior to the Great Fire of 1666

ON LOAN FROM
BETHLEM MUSEUM OF THE MIND
Geel

c.1900-09
Glass lantern slides

1 St Dymphna church exterior

2 St Dymphna church aisle

3 Mausoleum of Baron Jan III Van Merode and Anna Van Gistel within the church of St Dymphna

4 Plan of Central Geel

ARCHIVES OF THE OPENBAAR PSYCHIATRISCH ZORGCENTRUM GEEL (OPZ), BELGIUM
Goswin Van Der Weyden’s Late Medieval Cycle of Paintings Representing the Life of St Dymphna: A Study into the Psycho-archaeology of a Flemish Saint

Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp
Paul Vandenbroek
2008

Please feel free to browse

According to legend, Dymphna was a seventh-century Irish princess whose father went mad after the death of his wife and attempted to claim his daughter in marriage. To escape his incestuous passion, Dymphna fled to Europe and hid in the marshes of Flanders. Her father followed her and in Geel, when she refused him once more, he beheaded her. St Dymphna’s church in Geel houses the shrine.

WELLCOME COLLECTION
The outside is a perfect mockery to the inside

— Thomas Brown,
Amusements Serious and Comical (1700)
In 1676, after the Great Fire of London, Bethlem hospital was relocated to a new building on the edge of the city by London Wall. Its magnificent baroque architecture was a symbol of the city’s reinvention. It reflected new charitable attitudes and civic pride, but also a desire to cleanse the previous chaos and disorder from the streets. These tensions were reflected in the building itself: behind its splendid facade its cells were gloomy and poorly constructed, and the structure soon began to crumble.

The building was open for public visits, which were depicted by artists and writers as scenes of cruelty and horror. In an age when the terrors of religion were waning, ‘Bedlam’ became a secular vision of hell.

By the end of the 18th century public attitudes to the treatment of madness were becoming more humane, as they were around issues such as slavery and animal cruelty. When the conditions of patients at Bethlem were exposed it led to a public scandal.
Bethlem Royal Hospital
Rev Edward Geoffrey O’Donoghue, Bethlem chaplain from 1892 to 1930, compiled this collection of lantern slides over a period of years to illustrate the regular lectures he gave as part of a programme of entertainments for staff and patients.

Glass lantern slides

1  Engraving of the exterior of the hospital at Moorfields

2  Engraving of Cibber’s Raving and Melancholy Madness

3  Drawing of the front gates of the hospital at Moorfields

4  Engraving of the exterior of Bethlem Royal Hospital’s centre block at Moorfields
   After Robert White

ON LOAN FROM BETHLEM MUSEUM OF THE MIND
Madness was originally defined not by medicine but by law. Those designated as ‘insane’ (the legal term) received special protection but also had their rights curtailed.

The Vagrancy Acts of 1714 and 1744 made whipping them a crime, but allowed Justices of the Peace to lock them up. John Brydall’s *Non Compos Mentis* argued that people ‘out of their wits’ should not be held responsible for their actions.
1  Vagrancy Act
Records of the House of Lords:
Public Act, 13 Anne, c.26

1714
Parchment, ink manuscript, roll

PARLIAMENTARY
ARCHIVES, LONDON

2  Non Compos Mentis

John Brydall
1700
Book

WELLCOME LIBRARY
Tripartite engravings of the exterior of Bethlem Royal Hospital, Moorfields

Robert White
c.1690

ON LOAN FROM BETHLEM MUSEUM OF THE MIND
1  Bethlem's beauty, London's charity, and the cities glory

Roger L’Strange
1676

THE BRITISH LIBRARY

2  The Poetical History of Finnesbury Mad-house

James Carkesse
1679

THE BRITISH LIBRARY

3  Bethlem a Poem

J Clark of London
c.1744

ON LOAN FROM BETHLEM MUSEUM OF THE MIND
Surely we’re all mad people, and they, Whom we think are, are not

— Thomas Middleton, *The Revenger’s Tragedy* (1606)

By the 17th century, ‘Bedlam’ had come to signify the mythical domain of the mad. ‘Bedlam scenes’ became a common element in Jacobean drama. They often took the form of masques in which madfolk performed for entertainment. But they were also looking-glass worlds in which the rules of reality were suspended and the madness of modern society reflected.
1. The Honest Whore with the humours of the patient man and the longing wife. A comedy

Thomas Dekker
1604

‘Pray may we see some of those wretched souls That here are in your keeping?’

THE BRITISH LIBRARY

2. The Lover’s Melancholy

John Ford
1628

THE BRITISH LIBRARY

3. Poster advertising The Changeling at The Riverside Studios, Hammersmith

Richard Bird, Michael Mayhew, J & P Atchison
1978
Poster

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM
To raise funds, the governors of Bethlem decided to open the hospital to public visits. The hospital became part of a London tourist circuit that included the Tower, the royal palaces and the zoo.

From their descriptions, visitors appear to have witnessed very different scenes. For some, the experience was a charitable duty or a moral lesson. For others it was simply entertainment, and on Sundays and holidays the visits could become drunken and rowdy.
4  

‘Tom of Bedlam’ or a mad poem, writ by a mad author

Attributed to Francis Tolson or Luke Milbourne 1701

‘Tom o’Bedlam’ was a name given to beggars who had spent time in Bethlem. ‘Tom’ was a character in Bedlam ballads and in Shakespeare’s *King Lear* Edgar adopts his persona when he is on the run from the law. Here a poet (probably Francis Tolson or Luke Milbourne) uses the character to present an anonymous satire.

THE BODLEIAN LIBRARIES, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, G.PAMPH. 1670 (10)

5  

All Men Mad, or England a Great Bedlam

Ned Ward 1704

THE BRITISH LIBRARY
In the final scene of William Hogarth’s *The Rake’s Progress*, Bethlem is presented as a vision of hell – the lowest level to which a person can sink. In this later engraved version, Hogarth added the coin of Britannia on the back wall to signal that the scene is also an allegory for the nation outside its walls.

**THE BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON**

R Watkins after G Arnold

1811

Coloured engraving

**ON LOAN FROM BETHLEM MUSEUM OF THE MIND**
By the late 18th century Bethlem’s palatial structure had crumbled beyond repair and the government granted funds for a new building.

A parliamentary investigation led by the Quaker philanthropist Edward Wakefield revealed a hospital regime that was underfunded and understaffed, and had sunk into cruelty and neglect.
James Norris surrounded by text of extracts taken from minutes of evidence before the House of Commons Committee on Madhouses

George Arnald
1814
Broadsheet

One Bethlem inmate, James Norris (incorrectly named as William in this image), had been kept chained to the wall by his neck for ten years. His case was highlighted by the House of Commons Committee on Madhouses to argue for sweeping reforms to Bethlem.

ON LOAN FROM BETHLEM MUSEUM OF THE MIND

Parts of London Wall and Bethlem Hospital

J T Smith
1812
Etching

ON LOAN FROM BETHLEM MUSEUM OF THE MIND
Pinel freeing inmates from their chains at la Salpêtrière

Tony Robert-Fleury
1876
Oil on canvas

Mental therapy was revolutionised around 1800 by Philippe Pinel, who demonstrated the value of listening to patients and involving them in their own cures. This painting commemorates the famous story of him releasing the inmates of Salpêtrière hospital in Paris from their chains. In reality the process of reform was more gradual.

WELLCOME LIBRARY
Bethlem Hospital, Moorfields: plate from The Beauties of England and Wales

R Watkins after G Arnold
1811
Coloured engraving

ON LOAN FROM BETHLEM MUSEUM OF THE MIND
It is easy for anyone to say so and so is enough for another, but trying it on himself would perhaps alter his opinion.
— James Tilly Matthews

In 1810 Bethlem held a public competition to design a new hospital building. These drawings and notes were submitted by James Tilly Matthews, who had been confined in the old building as an incurable lunatic since 1797. They are the first plans for a mental hospital designed by a patient.

In his accompanying notes, Matthews proposes that inmates should not be kept locked up but occupied in growing vegetables, caring for the sick and helping with the daily routines. The madhouse should become a community in which everyone has a stake.
1 Architectural Plans and Explanatory Notes

James Tilly Matthews  
1810–11  
Ink and watercolour on paper

ON LOAN FROM BETHLEM  
MUSEUM OF THE MIND

2 Notes for new Bethlem

James Tilly Matthews  
1811  
Ink on paper

ON LOAN FROM BETHLEM  
MUSEUM OF THE MIND

These notes are also presented digitally on the ipad to the left
Scene 2

The labels in this book are organise for the following viewing sequence
The new Bethlem opened in 1810 in an inexpensive residential and industrial district on the south bank of the Thames. In contrast to its predecessor it was designed in a plain and unadorned style. Its only decorative feature was a central cupola, later replaced with a taller dome resembling a birdcage.

During the 19th century the asylum became an emblem of social progress and reform. Asylums multiplied, ambitious programmes of care and therapy were introduced, doctors developed new diagnoses and more people were classified as insane.

Throughout this period recovery rates remained stubbornly low and asylums became overcrowded; many patients were confined for life. Although most left no trace beyond their medical records, a growing number made their voices heard through campaigns for asylum reform and in the art and writings they left behind.
New Bethlem Hospital, St George’s Fields, London

Plate 3, Vol IV in Repository of Arts
by R Ackermann of London
c.1816
Aquatint with watercolour

ON LOAN FROM BETHLEM MUSEUM OF THE MIND
Bethlem Royal Hospital
Rev Edward Geoffrey O’Donoghue, Bethlem chaplain from 1892 to 1930, compiled this collection of lantern slides over a period of years to illustrate the regular lectures he gave as part of a programme of entertainments for staff and patients.

Glass lantern slides

1 Engraving of the exterior of the Old Bethlem Hospital at Moorfields being pulled down

2 Engraving of New Bethlem Hospital under construction at St George’s Fields, London, in 1814

3 Photograph of the dome of New Bethlem Hospital at St George’s Fields, partially hidden by trees

4 Photographic glass negative of an 18th-century map of St George’s Fields, London in 1814

ON LOAN FROM BETHLEM MUSEUM OF THE MIND
Patients from this era of Bethlem have left many artworks and writings, ranging from protests to poetry. In later years they produced an in-house magazine, *Under the Dome*, which played on the image of the building as a birdcage.

1. The interior of Bethlem Hospital, humbly addressed to His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, and to the other governors

   Urbane Metcalf
   1818
   Pamphlet

   BISHOPSGATE LIBRARY, BISHOPSGATE INSTITUTE

2. *Under the Dome*

   Bethlem Royal Hospital
   1911
   Magazine

   ON LOAN FROM BETHLEM MUSEUM OF THE MIND
3 Poems by a Prisoner in Bethlem

Arthur Pierce
1851

THE BRITISH LIBRARY

4 Epitaph, of My Poor Jack, Squirrel II

James Hadfield
1834
Ink and watercolour on paper

James Hadfield was committed to Bethlem after attempting to assassinate King George III at Drury Lane theatre. He was the first person to be found not guilty by reason of insanity. He made several versions of this illustrated poem, which he sold to visitors.

ON LOAN FROM BETHLEM MUSEUM OF THE MIND
The York Retreat was opened by the Society of Friends (Quakers) in 1796, in response to the poor conditions in York’s public asylum. It was designed to resemble a family home. Patients and staff lived, ate and worked together. The women polished furniture and churned butter, while the men laboured in the house and grounds.

The regime was known as ‘moral therapy’. Many of its precepts were later adopted by 20th-century ‘therapeutic communities’.

5 Perspective view of the north front of the Retreat

Peter Atkinson
1812
Watercolour on paper

RETREAT ARCHIVE, BORTHWICK INSTITUTE FOR ARCHIVES, UNIVERSITY OF YORK
6  Description of the Retreat

Samuel Tuke
1813

Samuel Tuke was the grandson of William Tuke, who founded the York Retreat. His book announced it to the world and inspired many imitations across Britain, Europe and America.

A section of this book is also presented digitally on the ipad on the bench in front of you

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7  Visitors’ book

The York Retreat
1818
Ink on paper

The York Retreat visitors’ book was a popular attraction. Its signatories included members of the royal family and famous reformers such as Robert Owen and Elizabeth Fry. This page is signed by a visiting group of Seneca Indians.

RETREAT ARCHIVE, BORTHWICK INSTITUTE FOR ARCHIVES, UNIVERSITY OF YORK
In her series titled *held*, Jane Fradgley photographed strong clothing and straitjackets that were worn by patients in London asylums between 1880–1930. The images balance their function of restraint with ideas of care and protection, and highlight the attention to detail in their design.

1  **Within**  
Jane Fradgley  
2012  
Archival pigment print

2  **Cocoon**  
Jane Fradgley  
2012  
Archival pigment print

COURTESY OF THE ARTIST
The entire absence of restraint, with the general prevalence of order and quiet, is very striking.

— Samuel Tuke of the York Retreat, visiting Northampton asylum in 1839

In response to the overuse of restraining devices and garments, some asylum doctors banned them altogether. The ‘non-restraint’ movement, led by Robert Hill Gardiner at Lincoln asylum and John Conolly at Hanwell, was fiercely opposed by other asylum superintendents who argued that restraints were beneficial to doctors and patients alike.
8  An inquiry concerning the indications of insanity, with suggestions for the better protection and care of the insane

John Conolly
1830

A section of this book is also presented digitally on the ipad on the bench in front of you

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9  Restraints used at Lincoln Lunatic Asylum

&

10  Total abolition of personal restraint in the treatment of the insane: A lecture on the management of lunatic asylums, and the treatment of the insane

Robert Hill Gardiner
1830, 1838 (reproduction)

WELLCOME LIBRARY
Evidence on the non-restraint system of the Lincoln Lunatic Asylum

W D Cookson

1841

‘My reason for using the instruments was that I considered it milder treatment than ill using the patients. They ill-used me and I could not help ill using them. I consider the patients would have more liberty with the belt on, and would feel easier than when we held them’

— John Emmerson, former Keeper at Lincoln Asylum, April 6th 1840
In the early 19th century, romantic depictions of madness contrasted with the clinical illustrations produced by a new generation of mental specialists. With the rise of photography, asylum patients became popular subjects for portrait studies. In the late 19th century, depictions of insanity became more threatening, as artists experimented with fractured and expressionist styles.

Among the multitudes who were confined in asylums were artists who turned the medical gaze back on their doctors.
13  **Salpêtrière album**

Jean-Martin Charcot  
1875–76  
Photograph album

*I am absolutely nothing but the photographer;  
I inscribe what I see.* — Jean-Martin Charcot,  
head of the medical service at the Salpêtrière

The famous first volume of the *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière* (presented alongside) seems to be based on this original album of photographs. It shows evidence of retouching on their surfaces and includes instructions to the retoucher on their versos. It remains unclear whether the retouching was for aesthetic purposes or to reinforce the doctor’s theories on the anatomy of hysteria.

**ARCHIVES DE L’ASSISTANCE PUBLIQUE,  
HÔPITAUX DE PARIS, 21×23cm**

14  **Iconographie photographique  
de la Salpêtrière: service de M Charcot**

Bourneville and P Regnard  
1876–77

**WELLCOME LIBRARY**
La folle par amour (Love Madness)

Antoine Maurin after Horace Vernet
1825–29
Lithograph on chine collé

THE BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON

Photographs of psychiatric patients at the Surrey County Lunatic Asylum

Hugh Welch Diamond
c.1850s
Photographs

Hugh Welch Diamond was a pioneer of photography in Britain and also the superintendent of the female wing of Surrey Country Asylum. He believed photographs could be therapeutic, allowing patients to see a true image of themselves. The patient in the top left is styled as Ophelia.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF MEDICINE, LONDON
The society photographer Henry Hering photographed many of Bethlem’s patients, including the artist Richard Dadd at work. He believed photographs could be a valuable aid to diagnosis. His Bethlem studies included paired portraits of patients before and after their recovery, such as these of the former soldier William Grace.

Richard Dadd in Bethlem at work on his painting Contradiction

Henry Hering
1857

Portrait of William Grace on admission to Bethlem Hospital in March 1857

Henry Hering
1857

Portrait of William Grace at the time of his discharge in March 1858

Henry Hering
1858

FACSIMILE PHOTOGRAPHS FROM ORIGINALS AT BETHLEM MUSEUM OF THE MIND
Sir Alexander Morison, 1779–1866. Alienist

Richard Dadd
1852, Oil on canvas

Richard Dadd turned the patient’s gaze on the doctor with his portrait of Alexander Morison, governor of Bethlem. Morison was an admirer of Dadd’s work and owned several of his watercolours.

NATIONAL GALLERIES OF SCOTLAND

L’Homme à la pipe

Vincent Van Gogh
1890
Etching

Van Gogh made this etching of his doctor Paul Ferdinand Gachet, who treated him after his release from Saint-Rémy asylum. He described Gachet as ‘a ready-made friend and something like a new brother… he’s very nervous and very bizarre himself’.

This is Van Gogh’s only etching.

THE BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON
La femme et la Folie dominant le monde

Félicien Victor Joseph Rops
1882
Héliogravure

COLLECTION OF THE FRENCHSPEAKING COMMUNITY OF BELGIUM, IN REGULAR DISPLAY IN ROPS MUSEUM, NAMUR

Morphinomane

Eugene Grasset
1897
Colour lithograph

This lithograph of a Parisian prostitute injecting morphine shocked the public with its graphic image of the new threats to sanity generated by modern life. ‘Morphinomania’ was one of many psychiatric diagnoses introduced at this time.

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM
During the 19th century the asylum population increased steadily, and asylums became as diverse and class-ridden as Victorian society itself. Some were luxurious, with plenty of daytime activities and evening entertainments. Others were under-resourced, with patients neglected in overcrowded ‘back wards’.

Bethlem’s superintendent William Charles Hood transformed the regime there by abolishing restraints, furnishing the day rooms with flowers and pictures, and holding public dances on Monday nights.
An Act (8 & 9 Vict. c.100) for the regulation of the care and treatment of Lunatics: with explanatory notes and comments

Forbes Benignus Winslow
1845

The 1845 Lunacy Act obliged all asylums to register for inspection and have a resident physician. It was passed together with the County Asylums Act, which mandated that a public asylum be built in every county. After the Acts the growth of the asylum population accelerated.

WELLCOME LIBRARY

Music Room, Ticehurst asylum

Ticehurst House Hospital Papers
1900
Reproduction

WELLCOME LIBRARY
Table showing employment of lunatics at Crichton Royal Institution for Lunatics

Crichton Royal Institution for Lunatics Annual Reports 1st–8th
1841

DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY ARCHIVES

Advertising leaflet for Dinsdale Park Retreat, near Darlington, a residence for ‘Mental Invalids’

1850
Printed ink on paper

WELLCOME LIBRARY
The Royal Hospital for Bethlehem
– the Gallery for Men

Frank Vizetelly for The Illustrated London News
24 March 1860
Printed ink on paper

ON LOAN FROM BETHLEM
MUSEUM OF THE MIND

Playbill for Crichton Royal Institution theatre
for a farce, Monsieur Tonson

Crichton Royal Institution
1843
Pen and ink on paper

DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY ARCHIVES
Mary Frances Heaton, a music teacher, was admitted to Wakefield asylum in 1837 suffering from epilepsy and ‘delusions’ of an affair with Lord Seymour, whose children were her pupils. She remained there for 36 years. She never accepted her diagnosis and over the years sewed intricate samplers detailing her version of events, including this letter to Queen Victoria protesting against her confinement.

1  **British Government/A Deed of Gift**

   Mary Francis Heaton  
   Linen, cloth and thread sampler  
   1852

2  **15 or the 3 lustre/Our Most Gracious Sovereign Queen Victoria**

   Mary Francis Heaton  
   Linen, cloth and thread sampler  
   1852

MENTAL HEALTH MUSEUM, WAKEFIELD
By the end of the 19th century the lines between madness, art and science were becoming blurred.

New advances such as X-rays, images of the nervous system and electro-medical devices all pointed to invisible dimensions that informed both avant-garde artists and the visionary worlds of mental patients.

19 High-frequency (violet-ray) apparatus

1920–55
Case, wood, brass, leatherette covering, blown glass tubes

The violet-ray apparatus was based on a coil designed by Nikola Tesla. It was used for treating pain relief and also for mental conditions such as nervous exhaustion and ‘brain fog’. It could be operated from a battery, allowing treatments to take place in the home.
20  Pulvermacher belt

Electric Medical Battery Company
c.1871–90
Copper (gilt), zinc

SCIENCE MUSEUM, LONDON

21  Directions for the Application of Pulvermacher’s Galvanic Combined Bands

Galvanic Establishment, London
c.1883
Paper, printed ink

SCIENCE MUSEUM, LONDON

22  Jackson-type X-ray tube

United Kingdom
1896
Glass tube, aluminium cathode, platinum anticathode

SCIENCE MUSEUM, LONDON
El. Mordversuch (Attempted Electrical Murder)

Jakob Mohr
1910
Pen in black on pencil, coloured pencil on drawing board

Jakob Mohr was confined in a psychiatric hospital in Heidelberg. He believed he was being attacked by destructive electric currents or ‘waves’, and wore metal foil beneath his shirt to protect himself from them.

SAMMLUNG PRINZHORN,
UNIVERSITY HOSPITAL HEIDELBERG
A Mask

Vaslav Nijinsky
1919
Pastel on paper

‘What are those masks?’
‘Soldiers’ faces. It is the war.’

Nijinsky was an exceptional dancer and innovative choreographer who achieved world fame with Sergei Diaghilev’s Ballets Russes, the company that introduced Russian ballet to the West. After falling out with Diaghilev, Nijinsky’s mental health declined and he was confined in a succession of asylums and clinics. During the early part of his breakdown he wrote and drew continuously, and insisted that war had plunged the whole world into madness. Many of his drawings include stylised human figures and portraits, all based on the circle.

ON LOAN FROM BETHLEM MUSEUM OF THE MIND
Inferno

August Strindberg
1912

A section of this book is only displayed digitally on the ipad on the bench next to you

DIGITAL REPRODUCTION FROM AN ORIGINAL IN THE BRITISH LIBRARY
Caligari and the Sleepwalker

Javier Téllez
2008
Super 16mm film transferred to high-definition video
27:07 min

Javier Téllez’s films and installations are often created in collaboration with psychiatric patients, aiming to challenge the stereotypes associated with mental illness and to question established definitions of normality and pathology. This work was inspired by the 1919 expressionist film classic *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, one of the first films to reflect on mental illness and the psychiatric institution.

Developed with patients at Vivantes Klinik in Berlin, the film is set in and around Erich Mendelsohn’s Einstein Tower in Potsdam – an icon of German Expressionism – as well as the auditorium of Haus der Kulturen der Welt in Berlin and the Klinik.

COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND PETER KILCHMANN GALLERY
In 1930 Bethlem moved to a new site in a rural setting, away from the crowds and noise of the city: the Monks Orchard estate near Beckenham. This new building was not a giant asylum but a ‘villa system’ of small complexes scattered across 270 acres of parkland.

The new mental hospitals were designed to provide medical treatment based on the latest scientific knowledge. They envisaged a new type of mental health care, not segregated from but integrated into the community.

At the same time, they aimed to incorporate the best practices of ‘moral therapy’. Patients were encouraged to create art – preserved today in some extraordinary collections – enjoy outdoor activities or occupy themselves with chess, billiards, woodwork and basket weaving. But, just like the asylums, the mental hospitals soon filled up with people suffering from what were understood as incurable illnesses.
During the 1960s the role of the mental hospitals came under attack from many different directions. New pharmaceutical remedies were marketed as alternatives to residential care, radical psychiatrists and patients challenged their authority, and governments looked to replace them with cheaper alternatives.

Architectural drawing of
The New Bethlem Royal Hospital

Artist unknown
c.1930
Drawing

ON LOAN FROM BETHLEM MUSEUM OF THE MIND
The Mental Treatment Act of 1930 officially replaced the term ‘asylum’ with ‘mental hospital’. Some patients were still confined in residential wards but others were now treated as outpatients on a voluntary basis. Mental illness was seen as a temporary condition that most could recover from.
Bethlem Royal Hospital
Glass lantern slides

1 Photograph of one of the wings of the old Bethlem Royal Hospital at St George’s Fields being demolished, 1930

2 Photograph of the main entrance of Bethlem Royal Hospital at Monks Orchard, looking west towards hospital administration buildings, 1932

3 Photograph of Queen Mary planting a tree at Bethlem Royal Hospital at Monks Orchard, with Dr John Porter-Phillips and matron Sarah Hearder, 1934

4 Photograph of a male patient corridor in Witley House at Monks Orchard, decorated for Christmas, c.1934–37

ON LOAN FROM BETHLEM MUSEUM OF THE MIND
By the early 20th century the family care system at Geel had become a popular alternative to the Belgian state asylums. At its peak in the 1930s there were almost 4,000 boarders living and working among a local population of 16,000. They worked alongside families on the farms and took care of children at home.

c.1890–99
Glass lantern slides

1 Patients at a table

2 Male patient with three children

3 Female patient in a turnip field with St Dymphna Church in the background

4 Patient’s bedroom

ARCHIVES OF THE OPENBAAR PSYCHIATRISCH ZORGCENTRUM GEEL (OPZ), BELGIUM
Patient art was encouraged in the new mental hospitals for a variety of reasons: as occupational therapy, for developing craft skills, and as a tool for exploring the patient’s mental world.

Irren=Anstalt Band=Hain (Mental Asylum Band-Copse)

Adolf Wölfli
1910
Pencil and crayon on paper

Adolf Wölfli was confined for life as a criminal patient in a Swiss asylum. He was unstoppably creative, producing 25,000 pages of paintings, collages, poems, journals and musical compositions.

THE ADOLF WÖLFLI FOUNDATION, KUNSTMUSEUM BERN
Sports and activities at the Retreat

George Isaac Sidebottom
1890
Oil on board

RETREAT ARCHIVE, BORTHWICK INSTITUTE
FOR ARCHIVES, UNIVERSITY OF YORK

Wolf painting

Sergei Pankejeff
1975
Oil on board

Sergei Pankejeff is remembered as ‘the Wolfman’, the subject of one of Sigmund Freud’s most famous case histories. Freud argued that his childhood dream of wolves sitting in a tree represented a ‘primal scene’ of psychosexual development. In later life Pankejeff depicted the dream that gave him the name.

ON LOAN FROM FREUD MUSEUM LONDON
John Gilmour was confined at Gartnavel asylum in Glasgow and Crichton asylum in Dumfries, diagnosed with ‘delusions of persecution’. His art was not therapy but protest at the system that kept him locked up.

1  **The Confessional Press**  
John Gilmour  
1910  
Watercolour on paper

2  **Scales**  
John Gilmour  
1910  
Watercolour on paper

ON LOAN FROM DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY LIBRARIES, INFORMATION AND ARCHIVES
Untitled (Two fishes)
Untitled (A donkey, a house, a tree etc.)

J J Beegan

c. 1946
Matchstick drawing on lavatory paper

ADAMSON COLLECTION
/ WELLCOME LIBRARY
Abandoned Goods

Pia Borg and Edward Lawrenson
2014
Film
35 min

*Abandoned Goods* is a short essay film about the extraordinary collection of artworks created by patients detained in Netherne psychiatric hospital in Surrey between 1946 and 1981. The artworks were created in a pioneering art studio in the hospital run by the artist Edward Adamson. Today around 5,500 pieces survive, assembled together as the Adamson Collection, one of the major bodies of British ‘asylum art’.

Blending archive, reconstruction, 35 mm rostrum photography, oral testimonies and observational footage, the film explores the transformation of the objects in the Adamson Collection, from clinical material to revered art objects.

PRODUCED BY KATE OGBORN & LISA MARIE RUSSO FOR FLY FILM. CONSULTANT AND CHAIR OF THE ADAMSON COLLECTION TRUST, DR DAVID O’FLYNN. ABANDONED GOODS WAS MADE WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE WELLCOM TRUST SMALL ARTS AWARDS AND THE MAUDSLEY CHARITY
Electroconvulsive therapy – known as ECT or ‘electroshock’ – was introduced to mental hospitals in the 1940s. It was often administered without consent or anaesthetic. Some doctors and patients found it very effective in the treatment of psychosis and depression, but others saw it as a form of torture.

Today it is given with a general anaesthetic, and full patient consent is required. The NHS administers around 5,000 treatments a year.
1  The Hanging Man  
   Sylvia Plath, 1965  

   BRITISH LIBRARY  

2  The treatment of depression: part one  
   A Pfizer Medical Recording, Harvey Pharmaceuticals, UK  
   1960  
   Sound recording, 4:38 min  

   © PFIZER INC. / WELLCOME LIBRARY
Psychiatric drugs transformed mental treatment after the discovery of chlorpromazine by the French neurosurgeon Henri Laborit in 1951. It became part of the daily routine in mental hospitals, and also allowed some long-term asylum patients to return home.

Pharmaceutical companies commissioned artworks and films that promoted the new ‘miracle drugs’ and showed how they could be integrated into domestic settings.
Bottle of Largactil syrup

May and Baker Limited, London
1970–85
Antipsychotic medication, bottle

Chlorpromazine was marketed as Largactil in Europe and Thorazine in the USA. This drug was described as an ‘antipsychotic’ – specific against conditions such as schizophrenia – but was used more widely for modifying disruptive behaviour.

SCIENCE MUSEUM, LONDON
Schering Chess

Javier Téllez
2015

This installation takes the form of a chess game in which the pattern of the board evokes a hospital floor, the chess pieces are replicas of pre-Columbian ceramics produced by Schering laboratories to promote psychotropic drugs in the 1970s, and the pawns are reproductions of eggs – an image the artist associates with the mind and its fragility.

The base of each figure features a mental disorder label from the time such as anxiety, depression or dual emotional distress, highlighting the social and historical dimensions of mental illness.

COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND PETER KILCHMANN GALLERY
1  Before and after a patient took the drug Thorazine

Mental Hospitals
November 1956
Journal

WELLCOME LIBRARY

2  Symposium in blues: a presentation album from Merck Sharp and Dohme

Radio Corporation of America
1966
Record sleeve

WELLCOME LIBRARY
The Relaxed Wife

On Film Inc., J B Roerig & Co., a division of Charles Pfizer & Co., Inc
1957
16mm film transferred to digital
13:27 min

PUBLIC DOMAIN
Crisalida  
(Femme à la Tête de Fleurs, le Bras Droit Levé)

Salvador Dalí  
1958  
Brochure

‘As a surrealist, Dalí is able to bridge the gap between thought and reality, between the subconscious and the conscious, between the inner man and the outer world’.
— Wallace Laboratories

Miltown (meprobamate) was the first ‘tranquiliser’, a new type of mild sedative – the most familiar version today is Valium (diazepam). In 1958 Miltown’s manufacturers, Carter-Wallace, commissioned Salvador Dalí to create a series of paintings to visualise the transition from mental turmoil to tranquillity associated with the product. The work depicted was painted by the studio of René d’Auriac after Dalí’s designs and under his direction.

WELLCOME COLLECTION
‘For the great majority of these establishments there is no appropriate future use.’

In 1961 Britain’s Minister for Health, Enoch Powell, announced that residential treatment in the old asylum buildings was costly and unnecessary, and should be phased out.

The mental health care of the future would consist of beds in general hospitals, at roughly half the current levels, with care in the community preferred wherever possible. Some hospitals were converted into luxury flats, such as Friern Hospital in Colney Hatch.
Please feel free to browse

COURTESY OF COMER HOMES

High Royds Hospital, Menston, Ilkley, Yorkshire: a corridor

Paul Digby
2004
Pencil on paper

WELLCOME LIBRARY
During the 60s, the ideology that underpinned the asylums came under sustained attack.

Erving Goffman argued that such institutions had an inbuilt tendency to operate for their own benefit rather than that of their patients. Thomas Szasz claimed that ‘mental illness’ had no scientific basis and was simply used to control deviant behaviour. For Michel Foucault, the asylum and psychiatry had developed as a way of silencing the voices of the mad. R D Laing saw schizophrenia not as a disease but a way of coping with unbearable situations.

All these books were huge popular successes and inspired movements both within and outside psychiatry that campaigned successfully for patients’ legal rights to privacy, consent and self-determination.
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<td>1</td>
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<td>Pelican, 1961</td>
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<td>The Myth of Mental Illness</td>
<td>Thomas Szasz</td>
<td>Phaidon, 1962</td>
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<td>Madness and Civilization</td>
<td>Michel Foucault</td>
<td>Pantheon Books, 1965</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>The Divided Self, a study of insanity and madness</td>
<td>R D Laing</td>
<td>Penguin, 2010</td>
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<td>(reprint of the original 1960 edition)</td>
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<td>COURTESY OF BÁRBARA RODRÍGUEZ MUÑOZ</td>
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In Italy the asylum system was closed down by a movement that formed around the psychiatrist Franco Basaglia. It was known as Psichiatria Democratica (democratic psychiatry).

In 1961 Basaglia was appointed as director of the asylum at Gorizia. He unlocked the wards, held public meetings and encouraged the patients to run the hospital democratically.

A team of like-minded psychiatrists, sociologists and social workers spread his reforms through the Italian state system. In 1971 he took over the asylum in Trieste, where his campaign turned into a mass popular movement. In 1978 Law 180, known as the Basaglia Law, made Italy the first country to end all admissions to psychiatric hospitals.
Eccoli

Stefano Ricci
2015
35mm film
6 min

This documentary evokes the memory of psychiatrist and hospital director Franco Basaglia and his work to break down barriers between the patients and the outside world. In this sequence the patients, along with doctors and nurses, destroy the fence of networks surrounding the hospital of Gorizia, Italy.

© STEFANO RICCI
Zitti e buoni!

Ugo Guarino
1979
Facsimile reproductions

From 1972 the artist Ugo Guarino collaborated with the Democratic Psychiatry movement in campaigning to close asylums and replace them with community mental health centres.
Today’s post-asylum world presents a chaotic marketplace of therapies, in which prescription medications and clinical treatment coexist with complementary medicines, online support, spiritual and creative practices, and healing traditions from around the globe.
Many of these more holistic approaches were familiar in the era before the asylum. Herbal remedies, meditation, dance and music have long been regarded as beneficial not only to those suffering mental crises, but to all of us as we face the challenges of trying to forge a happy and meaningful life.

The internet offers conflicting visions for the future of mental health, as it does for society as a whole. On the one hand it holds enormous potential by inviting us to support one another and access help and advice, but it can also have an alienating effect, obscuring the need for real-life community structures.

In this ever-changing landscape, the asylum might seem out of date or irrelevant, but can the ideal that it represented – a protected space of refuge and care – still be recovered?
Making sense

1992–2003
Pamphlets

MIND / WELLCOME LIBRARY

St Dymphna souvenirs

Various sources
Mixed media

WELLCOME COLLECTION
Today’s medical marketplace has its roots in the world before the asylum.

The casebooks of the 17th-century physician Richard Napier show that he treated mental conditions with remedies that ranged from herbal preparations to toxic chemicals, horoscopes to cranial surgery.

Richard Napier

Anonymous
c.1630
Oil on canvas

THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD. BEQUEATHED BY ELIAS ASHMOLE, 1692
Richard Napier
1598

1  Case 13542: Elisabeth Richardson

THE BODLEIAN LIBRARIES, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, MS. ASHMOLE 182

2  Case 18910: Matthew Altham

THE BODLEIAN LIBRARIES, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, MS. ASHMOLE 404

3  Case 29287: Mrs Tyrringham

THE BODLEIAN LIBRARIES, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, MS. ASHMOLE 216

4  Case 12955: Thomas Longfield

THE BODLEIAN LIBRARIES, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, MS. ASHMOLE 228
Anatomy of Melancholy

Robert Burton
1628

Robert Burton’s classic text from the same period recommended everything from drugs and bloodletting to meditation, music, prayer, exercise, diet, keeping occupied and cultivating friendships.
Shana Moulton’s films and performances explore contemporary anxieties through her alter ego, Cynthia. Using colourful psychedelic performance she initiates relationships with objects and consumer products that are at once banal and uncanny.

In this edition of Moulton’s narrative series, her character, Cynthia, suffers from restless leg syndrome, and seeks relief in pharmaceutical ads on TV and in health magazines. In a domestic world enlivened with animated dance and mystic poetry Cynthia finds relief in the healing mineral AION A.

COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND GALERIE GREGOR STAIGER, ZURICH.
The music made a strong impression on me... in that moment I was cured of my melancholia

— Izabella, Countess Flemming (1746–1835), after Benjamin Franklin played the armonica to her in 1772

The glass ‘armonica’ was invented by Benjamin Franklin in 1761. Its vibrating sounds were believed to act on the nerves and soothe mental distress, though others argued that it could be dangerously overstimulating.

Mozart was one of many composers, including Beethoven and Richard Strauss, who wrote pieces for the armonica.
1 Franklin Style Glass Harmonica

Anonymous
c.1820
Wood, glass, iron (axle), lead (rim),
4 iron spokes within an oak case

ROYAL COLLEGE OF MUSIC, LONDON

2 Adagio in C Major for glass harmonica

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart
1791
Audio recording

© NAXOS LICENSING
Empathy Deck

Erica Scourtí
2016

Empathy Deck is a live Twitter bot that responds to your tweets with unique digital cards, combining image and text.

Inspired by the language of divination card systems like tarot, the bot uses five years’ worth of the artist’s personal diaries intercut with texts from a range of therapeutic and self-help literatures. The texts are accompanied by symbols drawn from the artist’s photo archive, in an echo of the contemporary pictographic language of emoticons. Somewhere between an overly enthusiastic new friend who responds to every tweet with a ‘me-too!’ anecdote of their own and an ever-ready advice dispenser, the bot attempts an empathic response based on similar experiences. It raises questions about the automation of intangible human qualities like empathy, friendship and care, in a world in which online interactions are increasingly replacing mental health and care services.

COMMISSIONED BY WELLCOME COLLECTION FOR BEDLAM: THE ASYLUM AND BEYOND
The Hearing Voices Café

2014–ongoing

The Hearing Voices Café is a project initiated by artist Dora García to create a meeting place for voice-hearers, their friends and coincidental guests. It has taken place in public cafés around the world including Toronto, Madrid and Paris and, in August 2016, our own Wellcome Café.

Acting as an exchange and research platform led by voice-hearers, the project explores the significant role that voice-hearing has played in human experience throughout history, spanning arts, spirituality, philosophy, science, psychiatry and psychoanalysis. At the centre of The Hearing Voices Café are voice-hearers’ movements, such as the Hearing Voices Network: a network of peer-focused national organisations promoting wider and freer approaches to voice-hearing.

The newspapers on display came out of the programme that took place at Wellcome Collection.

Find out more at
hearingvoicescafelondon.tumblr.com

COURTESY OF THE ARTIST
Bethlem today offers a range of specialist and residential services, including a medium secure forensic unit for criminal offenders, a mother and baby unit, a centre for anxiety disorders, and an internationally renowned psychosis unit. It has studio facilities for art, woodworking and textiles, and an on-site gallery where work is presented to the public.
A Day Room

David Beales
2003, based on experiences from 1981
Pencil on paper

‘In the day room of an admission ward in an old psychiatric hospital, morning coffee was served from a jug on the counter by a member of the domestic staff. The patients who were not well enough for therapy sat in armchairs, talking or resting. Occasionally a patient too disturbed for therapy was brought to the day room to socialise. The nurse would be there to give out medication, help the patients fill out their weekly menu, and provide counselling.’

COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND BETHLEM GALLERY
Guy Ward Dormitory 2

David Beales
2003, based on experiences from 1981
Pencil on paper

‘Some older patients had good memories of the hospital. There were three hot meals a day and in the evening the kitchen was left open on some wards. There were films on Wednesday afternoon, old black-and-white films shown in the main hall. In the evening there was a games night where patients were allowed to listen to their records and play dominoes, snakes and ladders, draughts, and chess. There was bingo night where patients could win a loose cigarette or a bar of chocolate for a line, or ten cigarettes for a full house. There were skittles matches against teams from other hospitals. In the summer there was a fete on the cricket pitch, with prizes for painting, drawing, cakes, jam and tapestry.

During the summer there were cricket matches against other hospitals. There was a yearly trip to the coast, to Eastbourne, Brighton or Hastings, where the patients would roam the seaside town, often as not ending up in the pub.’

COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND BETHLEM GALLERY
'During the day most patients were required to attend the Industrial Therapy Unit. The top rate of pay in 1981 was about 15p an hour. Patients could supplement their £7 a week benefit allowance with a pay packet of between £2–£4.50 pence without losing money. The work areas were segregated. The work itself was simple, mainly packing jobs. The most complicated job was assembling ceiling roses.

In the Industrial Therapy the staff were friendly and would listen to the patients, who would discuss the problems of the hospital and the other patients while they worked. Considering the low rate of pay, the atmosphere was generally good. Perhaps because of the low pay patients were allowed to wander off and visit the hospital shop during work hours without loss of pay, as a concession.'

COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND BETHLEM GALLERY
Mr X
2016
Film by Josip Lizatovic
10 min

Mr X is an artist currently based at Bethlem Royal Hospital, where he makes cardboard structures and vehicles. The structures are repeatedly modified and adjusted, evolving over time.

COURTESY OF THE ARTISTS AND BETHLEM GALLERY
The tradition of family care continues at Geel today, with several hundred boarders living among the local inhabitants. These photos by the Antwerp photographer Hugo Minnen capture their participation in the life of the town.
Madlove: A Designer Asylum

‘It ain’t no bad thing to need a safe place to go mad. The problem is that a lot of psychiatric hospitals are more punishment than love... they need some Madlove.’

‘Is it possible to go mad in a positive way? How would you create a safe place in which to do so? If you designed your own asylum, what would it look like?’

Artists Hannah Hull and the vacuum cleaner ran Madlove workshops with 432 people with lived experience of mental distress in a range of settings: from high-security psychiatric hospitals to activist groups. They accumulated thousands of suggestions for how a utopian mental health hospital could look and work.

A project by Hannah Hull & The Vacuum Cleaner. Design by Benjamin Koslowski & James Christian (Projects Office). Illustration by Rosemary Cunningham

WITH SUPPORT FROM ARTS COUNCIL ENGLAND’S STRATEGIC TOURING PROGRAMME. DISPLAY COMMISSIONED BY WELLCOME COLLECTION FOR BEDLAM: THE ASYLUM AND BEYOND