

# The Private Lunatic Asylums of Leicestershire

by *Peter Carpenter*

The oldest building used by Leicester University is now 150 years old. Originally it was built as the Leicestershire County Lunatic Asylum, which opened in 1837. This asylum is well documented and can trace its history back to 1784, when it was first sited at the Leicester Infirmary; and forwards to its present form as Carlton Hayes Hospital on a site occupied since 1908.

It is not generally known that in Leicestershire the insane were also cared for at several other, private, asylums. At present these private Madhouses, as they were once known, are poorly documented. The earliest, those of the Arnolds, predated the Leicester Infirmary Asylum; the last, Wigston House, was closed in 1852.

The founder of the Arnold asylum business was William Arnold (c1695-1770). He was a baptist preacher, a baker,<sup>1</sup> and from about 1740 cared for lunatics.<sup>2</sup> He was succeeded in the lunatic trade by his second son,<sup>3</sup> Thomas Arnold, who became one of the most famous physician-psychiatrists in England at the end of the eighteenth century. Born in 1742, Thomas studied for his MD at Edinburgh, where he was a pupil of William Cullen, a prominent alienist, who coined the word 'neurosis'. He graduated in 1766<sup>4</sup> and returned to Leicester to take over the management of his father's asylum. His father advertised that 'I educated [Thomas] as a Physician, with a particular view to succeed me in the Practice of curing LUNATICS, and...I have communicated [to him] all I Know, relative to that deplorable Disorder and my Method of Curing it'.<sup>2</sup>

Working with William Arnold was his nephew, Thomas's cousin, Robert Allen Arnold, a framework knitter by trade, who had worked as William's servant and helper for about 20 years.<sup>5</sup> Robert had recently been left his father's estate,<sup>6</sup> and possibly because of this, or because of a dispute with Thomas, he moved out and set up a rival asylum nearby 'at the corner of New-Bond St. next the Swines-Market [High Street]'.<sup>7</sup> That year William and Thomas repeatedly and widely advertised that Robert had been 'no more than...[a] servant'<sup>2</sup> and had no knowledge of how to treat insanity. Robert's reply was that his experience was lengthy, and he was currently treating 14 patients, which was many more than the five being treated by Thomas when Robert left him.<sup>5</sup> He also advertised the names of people whom he had cured.<sup>8</sup> Despite his claims, Robert Allen Arnold's asylum quickly disappeared into obscurity. He was imprisoned for debt in 1771, and died in gaol the following year.<sup>9</sup> Thomas Arnold remained to run the only private asylum in Leicester.

Thomas became highly appreciated in Leicester. His obituary summarizes: 'In his neighbourhood, and among an extensive circle of private friends, no man could be more sincerely or more deservedly beloved; while, in his public character, he always proved himself an unshaken friend of civil and religious liberty, and the anxious promoter of every design which tended to ameliorate distress. In a word, he was an enlightened ornament of his native town, and his station in society will not easily be filled again by a similar union of estimable qualities.'<sup>10</sup> A contemporary described him as 'cautious, deliberate and sure... [he was] one of the few persons in Leicester that encouraged the arts. He collected a library

of considerable extent and filled his house with pictures'.<sup>11</sup> He was the first president of the Leicester Literary Society,<sup>12</sup> a liberal churchman and an expert local botanist.<sup>13</sup>

Thomas Arnold's first asylum was on the north side of Bond Street, later called North Bond Street and presently part of St Peter's Lane. Susanna Watts described it, in 1804, situated here, between the Independent Chapel and the Baptist Chapel on St Peter's Lane, in the area known as New Vauxhall: 'a spacious house [which among] ...various assemblages of edifices [will] from its size...attract the attention of visitors'. It is said to have been 'provided with an underground passage across the narrow street, by which the patients could reach the walled garden opposite, within which they took their exercise'.<sup>14</sup> This was probably the same Madhouse that William Arnold conveyed to his son, and probably was adjacent to the original site of William's Lunatic Asylum.<sup>15</sup> This site was the most rural area within the city walls and was therefore very suitable for an asylum, where patients were felt to need seclusion, quiet, and exercise. It was close to the site of Robert Allen Arnold's and William Ingle's asylums in the High Street.

In 1784, Dr Arnold took charge of the Infirmary Asylum, though patients were not actually admitted there until 1794. He continued until 1815, when he resigned from this position.<sup>16</sup> I do not propose to discuss Dr Arnold's stormy relationship with the other Infirmary staff in this paper, but will attempt to describe it in a separate article.

Thomas Arnold and his family lived in several houses in Leicester, at one point residing at Westcotes. In about 1792 he finally moved his family to Belle Grove on Belgrave Gate. The position of this house is now covered by St Mathews Way roundabout.<sup>17</sup> It is not clear if he initially used Belle Grove solely as his private residence. What would have been customary, would have been for his more expensive patients to share his household, and I suspect that this is what happened and that both houses were run as asylums for a time. In his will he implies that his family only lived in part of Belle Grove.<sup>18</sup> If this was the case, at one point Dr Arnold was looking after three lunatic asylums simultaneously. The North Bond Street house was closed between 1804, when Mrs Watts described it, and 1813, when the house was unoccupied.<sup>14,19</sup> Dr Arnold's will<sup>18</sup> refers to a 'newly erected building near to my... [house] used for the reception of insane patients'. This new building probably was built in the grounds of Belle Grove to house the patients transferred from the North Bond Street Asylum.

Thomas Arnold died on the 2nd September 1816<sup>10</sup> and was buried in the local parish church, St Margarets.<sup>20</sup> His asylum was not taken over by either of his physician sons, one of whom, William, was still a physician at the Infirmary and was involved in the supervision of the Infirmary Asylum patients. The management of Belle Grove was taken over by his friend John Hill M.D., who unsuccessfully tried also to take over the management of the Infirmary Asylum. Dr Hill probably bought Belle Grove, for Thomas's will directed that it be sold.<sup>18</sup>

John Hill was known as an urbane and hospitable man, who held very successful musical parties, but he had only recently qualified<sup>21</sup> and was not a well known psychiatrist. Under his supervision the asylum ran down, until in 1840, three years after the opening of the new County Asylum, he did not renew his Madhouse licence.<sup>52</sup> In 1842 he left Leicester for Derby, leaving unpaid his dues to the Leicester Medical Society.<sup>22</sup> Thomas Arnold's famous asylum disappeared without any comment by the local press.

Dr Arnold's main fame came from two books that he wrote on insanity. The first, the earliest two volume book in English on psychiatry<sup>23</sup> had a mixed reception, as its detailed divisions of insanity were felt to be of little use. As Crichton said 'it is entirely founded on a gratuitous distinction between ideas [hallucinations] and notions [delusions], and on the apparent variety of these which occur in insanity rather than on the more immediate

nature of the diseases themselves'.<sup>24</sup> But in all fairness to Thomas Arnold, it was not until over 50 years later that mental illness was more usefully classified in a manner akin to modern styles.

His book on the management and cure of the insane,<sup>25</sup> gives an impression of a changing style of care. In the book he claimed that he cured two-thirds of his patients but he omits to mention that he admitted only new cases, who therefore had a better chance of recovery. This was a practice common in private asylums who advertised their curative skills. He advocated the use of good nursing and good diet, as did Moral Treatment, a new style of patient care practiced at the York Retreat, and made famous by the Tukes. He enjoyed 'Chains should never be used but in the case of poor patients, whose pecuniary circumstances will not admit of such attendances as is necessary to procure safety without them'.<sup>26</sup> In practice, though, he equipped the Infirmary Asylum with most of the instruments of restraint then ubiquitous in madhouses.<sup>27</sup> His private asylums would have been similarly equipped.

One of Arnold's better known patients in 1804 was the Rev. Robert Hall, a well-known local Baptist preacher who did not appreciate his stay:

'they took away my watch, and confined me in a place which overlooked the ward in which were a number of pauper lunatics, practising all manner of ludicrous antics. Sir, this sight was enough to make me ten times worse; they were as mad as March hares. I was at times quite insensible. I don't believe Dr Arnold was aware how I was treated by a lazy keeper. Do you know, sir, to save himself a little time and trouble, (being winter) the fellow came at five o'clock, and fastened me down upon my bed, where I could not stir either hand or foot, till about eight o'clock the next morning. During this time I had many lucid intervals; he had no business to leave me, sir, so long, but it was to enable him to go away sooner. You cannot conceive the horror of my situation, when I found myself perfectly sensible... *Mild treatment with proper restraint and kindness*, is all that is necessary in such cases.'<sup>28</sup>

Patients from all levels of society came to Dr Arnold's asylum. Even King George III knew of it, though Dr Arnold was not invited to treat him.<sup>29</sup> In the higher social range of patients treated by Dr Arnold was the son of John Howard, whose estate paid over £606 for his detention between August 1789 and November 1791.<sup>30</sup> Between 1801 and 1812, Thomas Arnold admitted at least 141 private patients who came from a wide area. Half came from outside Leicestershire, including from as far as London (1 patient), Lyme Regis (1), Chester (2) and Sheffield (3).<sup>48</sup>

Thomas Arnold's care also extended to pauper patients. Typically in private asylums these were confined to the basements and outhouses. His fee for pauper patients is not known, but at one point he advertised a reduced fee of 10 shillings a week.<sup>31</sup>

The founder of Wigston House, John Blunt, was born in 1762 in Loughborough. He was the son of an attorney and the grandson of a cooper, John Blunt of Loughborough. John Blunt the younger had a fairly large number of wealthy siblings. He trained as a surgeon and presumably worked as such for several years before he set up his first asylum in Warwick, from where he advertised, in 1809, that 'In three Years, of Twenty Four Patients immediately under [my] Care, Fourteen have been restored to Society, Three or Four Irrecoverable Cases and the Rest are Convalescent'.<sup>32</sup>

In about August 1809, John Blunt moved his asylum to Wigston Magna. He took over a house at the end of Newgate End. This house was demolished about 1960 and is now covered by a Council Depot. Here he lived, close to his brother, Edward Blunt, a prosperous non-conformist surgeon. He acquired further land around the asylum and in 1817 married a local girl, Ann Tebbut, thirty years his junior.<sup>33</sup> John died on

25 September 1826 leaving the bulk of estate, including the asylum, to his wife for 22 years, or until his children became 21, when they would take it over, with Ann maintaining an income.<sup>34</sup>

Ann Blunt moved out of the asylum and into a neighbouring house in Newgate End. The asylum was run by Joshua Burgess, a local surgeon and apothecary, who presumably was employed by her. In 1828, a directory described the asylum thus: 'the building is most judiciously situated, in a retired and salubrious spot affording to those patients who are capable of appreciating the recreations of country life, all the comforts, domestic and otherwise, that can be applied to their unhappy disorder'.<sup>35</sup>

The opening of the Leicester County Asylum in 1837 placed Wigston House under threat. A few weeks after it opened, Mr Burgess placed the following advertisement in a local paper:

#### WIGSTON PRIVATE LUNATIC ASYLUM

Mr Burgess appeals to public patronage upon the following grounds. He considers the advantage of a Private Lunatic Asylum, to consist in its limited numbers, rendering classification and tranquility more certain of attainment, and more practicable; as its inmates are not intruded upon by the presence, or neighbourhood of persons afflicted, in addition to insanity, with the objectionable habits and manners, which in a Pauper Lunatic Asylum is inevitable — alike painful to their feelings — and preventative of their cure.

He further suggests that the responsibility of a person whose interests are identified with the success of his Establishment, requires a devotion to his Patients; to their comfort and cure, and to the economy and welfare of his undertaking, which can only be found in such circumstances.

The permission of the use of County Rates for the care of Pauper Lunatics and other treated in community with them, makes the charges less than in a Private Asylum, but the arrangements of a private Establishment are formed for persons of more respectable habits and better station.<sup>36</sup>

In 1840, Rebecca Blunt, John's sole surviving daughter, came of age and as directed by John's will, took over ownership of the asylum. In the 1841 census Joshua Burgess, aged 48, was still called the proprietor of the asylum and had seven patients, with two female servants, a housekeeper and one male servant in residence to help him.<sup>37</sup>

In 1842, Rebecca married John Ewins Bennett, a farmer from Husbands Bosworth, who took over legal ownership of the asylum. The licence was cut to permit only private patients, presumably due to the change of ownership as well as the lack of demand for pauper places since the opening of the County Asylum. In 1844, Joshua Burgess was replaced by Mr C. Benfield,<sup>53</sup> who was not medically qualified and whom I presume was a friend or relative, possibly an erroneous documentation for Mr Bennett who was shortly afterwards noted to be the owner.

The local licencing magistrates did not approve of Mr Bennett's management and in 1848 it is reported that 'The Justices refused to renew the licence to the former proprietor and the house appears to be under rather better management'.<sup>55</sup> The new manager was the surgeon Thomas Edward Blunt, son of Edward Blunt and nephew of John Blunt. He must have been well acquainted with the asylum as he grew up within a few hundred yards of it and lived on Moat Street.

The 1851 Census shows Ann Blunt to be an annuitant, and Thomas Blunt to own the Asylum. Another doctor ran the asylum, a certain Charles Smith Bompros(?), a 32 year old surgeon who came from near Bristol. One hopes that for him to have come so far, he must have had some prior experience of asylum management. Working alongside him in the

management of the seven patients were Thomas Blunt's 70 year old sister-in-law as matron, and one male and one female servant who were both in their 50's.<sup>38</sup> The Bennetts had moved back to Husbands Bosworth.

The asylum closed in the following year.<sup>61</sup> What finally shut the asylum is unclear. The probable cause was the refusal of a licence due to poor facilities, and the loss of interest by the Bennetts. Thomas Blunt died in 1858, Rebecca died in 1882 and John Bennett sold the asylum building, by now just a house or farm, to relatives, who eventually sold it to the local Council.

Little is known about the patients admitted to Wigston House. Records for 1810-12 show that most of the private patients admitted to the asylum were local. Most came from Leicester or Wigston (11 patients) with the furthest source 30 miles distant — one patient each from Warwick, Derby and Kettering<sup>48</sup> After the Bennetts took over the business, they appear to have limited their trade to chronic patients. This was probably due to the alteration of demand for private places created by the opening of the County Asylum, which presumably could accommodate more acute private patients than Wigston House, at a lower cost, but had only limited accommodation for chronic patients. The County Asylum only permitted a limited number of the acute private patients who had not recovered within the first year to remain in hospital. However, there were advantages in caring for only chronic patients. They caused fewer management problems than acute patients and were a more reliable, though less lucrative source of income. One or two of the patients moved to the County Asylum when the house closed in 1852. Ironically, one of the young female servants became a chronic patient at the County Asylum, with what was probably a schizophrenic illness.<sup>39</sup>

The remaining Asylums can be dealt with more briefly. William Ingle surgeon, was born in Ashby de la Zouch in 1760, the son of Thomas Ingle, a farmer and member of a locally eminent family. He was apprenticed to a Leicester surgeon and apothecary, John Fox, in 1775, and set up his own business in Leicester in July 1781, a year before he married.<sup>40</sup>

He became a surgeon attached to the Infirmary in 1781, at the same time that the Asylum there came to be seriously planned. He was not asked to become involved with the Asylum plans, and he left the Infirmary in 1784, soon after Dr Thomas Arnold became Infirmary Physician and the natural choice for asylum doctor. He was later involved in a dispute with Dr Arnold over access to patients in the Infirmary.<sup>41</sup>

William Ingle appears to have run a rival private asylum near to Dr Arnold's. In 1786 he advertised for an apprentice, then later in the same year advertised for insane patients. In a 1787 advert he says that he has just moved from Swines Market (very close to Dr Arnold's North Bond Street Asylum) to Saint Martin's Church Yard, presumably a move to a larger house to accommodate his patients. His appeal makes interesting reading, when it is borne in mind that the only other asylum keeper advertising in Leicester at this time was Dr Arnold.

'The conduct of those committed to my care will not be governed by the capricious, unfeeling mind of a *servant*, but will be regulated by *myself*, with the strictest regard to their comfort and welfare; ...Let any impartial person compare this proposal with the shameful exactions which are everyday practiced, in those Houses, where it is the fate of the miserable lunatic to be confined.

Instead of taking patients by the quarter (as is the custom of other Houses) I propose lessening the expence, by admitting *recent cases*, by the week; so that they will be removeable whenever their friends chose to take them away, without the additional expence of a quarter — There is but too much reason to believe that, in

*some places*, the confinement has been cruelly and unnecessarily extended from the most sordid motives.

Finally, (which must prove to be an advantage not to be met with in any other House of this sort) *each patient shall be attended by any Physician of good character* the friends may appoint; to whom my doors shall be open at all times.<sup>42</sup>

William Ingle soon seems to have abandoned the lunacy trade, for by 1795 he had returned to Ashby de la Zouch, where three of his daughters were baptised.<sup>43</sup> The only trace of his asylum that remains is his newspaper advertisements.

In the case of the other lunatic asylum in Leicestershire and Rutland, I have found no advertisements, but only the record of patients as returned to the Royal College of Physicians.<sup>48</sup> This is the asylum of Samuel Marriott of Hathern, near Loughborough, who gave notice of having received four male and four female patients over 12 months in 1810 and 1811. Two of the first four patients were certified by Dr Arnold from Leicester and one of these had been admitted twice already to Thomas Arnold's asylum, in 1803 and 1806. All the patients came from Leicester, Nottingham or the Loughborough area.

Unfortunately there is no local record of this asylum, and though there are a large number of Marriotts in Hathern, I have found a record of only two Samuel Marriotts being alive in 1810. The older was a cordwainer, who died in 1814 aged 74. His will makes no reference to an asylum. The younger, his grandson, born in 1794, is too young to have run one.<sup>44</sup> Whoever Samuel was, I suspect that he was connected in some way with Dr Arnold, and that he probably ran a small asylum mainly catering for chronic patients. Such a venture could have been run by a 70 year old man, but if so, it would have been shortlived.

I doubt if we will ever know the truth about Samuel's asylum, for these private asylums did not seek publicity beyond that needed to attract custom. The rich patronised quiet, inconspicuous places that hid their embarrassments and family shame from the awareness of others. In Leicester all the magistrates records relating to the private asylums have been lost, apart from such incidental sources as newspaper advertisements, there are few sources to tap. Most madhouses took pauper patients, but until the 1840's, there is little record of them, except for occasional references in overseer's accounts, and the recorded burial of the keepers' failures.<sup>45</sup>

In general the development of the madhouses of Leicestershire and Rutland seems to have been little different to that described more generally by Parry Jones.<sup>30</sup> Some of the medieval hospitals may have admitted the insane, but Wyggeston Hospital appears to have excluded them.<sup>46</sup> The first madhouse in Leicestershire was that of William Arnold, started about 1740, but others joined the profitable trade at the end of the century. Three of these other private asylums were shortlived, and the other, at Wigston was a family business. In the 1830's, apart from the Infirmary Asylum, there were only two other asylums in the county, both of which were admitting very few, if any, acute patients. The Leicestershire County Lunatic Asylum was opened in 1837 as a response to the inability of the local asylums to accommodate the insane of the county.<sup>47</sup> It was built to house 104 patients and was the largest asylum in the county. After it opened, the other two asylum's clientele changed to the care of chronic patients, most of whom, probably had spent their first year in the County Asylum.

TABLE 1

Available statistics on admissions, discharges, number of patients and licenced capacity for private asylums of Drs Arnold and Hill (Bond St/Belle Grove)

Year	Proprietor	Number Present		Number Admitted		Number Discharged		Number in Licence	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	Priv.	Paup.
1802 <sup>48</sup>	T. Arnold	.	.	8	10	.	.	.	.
1803 <sup>48</sup>		.	.	7	7	.	.	.	.
1804 <sup>48</sup>		.	.	9	8	.	.	.	.
1805 <sup>48</sup>		.	.	8	6	.	.	.	.
1806 <sup>48</sup>		.	.	9	8	.	.	.	.
1807 <sup>48</sup>		.	.	5	4	.	.	.	.
1808 <sup>48</sup>		.	.	3	2	.	.	.	.
1809 <sup>48</sup>		.	.	10	7	.	.	.	.
1810 <sup>48</sup>		.	.	4	3	.	.	.	.
1811 <sup>48</sup>	T. Arnold	.	.	8	8	.	.	.	.
1819 <sup>49</sup>	John Hill	5	4	.	.	.	.	.	.
1825 <sup>50</sup>	John Hill	3	5	.	.	.	.	.	.
1830 <sup>51</sup>	John Hill	2	-	.	.	4	2	.	.
1837 <sup>52</sup>	John Hill	.	.	-	1	.	.	20	30
1838 <sup>52</sup>		.	.	2	2	.	.	20	30
1839 <sup>52</sup>		.	.	2	-	.	.	20	30
1840 <sup>52</sup>	John Hill	.	.	1	-	.	.	20	30
1841 <sup>52</sup>	Licence stopped	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

TABLE 2

Available statistics on admissions, discharges, number of patients and licenced capacity for Wigston House

Year	Proprietor	Number Present		Number Admitted		Number Discharged		Number in Licence			
		M	F	M	F	M	F	Priv.	Paup.		
1810 <sup>48</sup>	John Blunt	.	.	3	6	.	.	.	.		
1811 <sup>48</sup>		.	.	6	9	.	.	.	.		
1819 <sup>49</sup>	John Blunt	9	4	.	.	.	.	.	.		
1825 <sup>49</sup>	John Blunt	4	2	.	.	.	.	.	.		
1830 <sup>51</sup>	Joshua Burgess	5	2	.	.	1	-	.	.		
1837 <sup>52</sup>	J. Burgess	.	.	.	.	.	.	10	10		
1841 <sup>52</sup>	J. Burgess	.	.	.	.	.	.	10	0		
1844 <sup>53</sup>	C. Benfield	2	4	all incurable upper class patients						.	.
1846 <sup>54</sup>	J.E. Bennet	-	5	-	.	.	.	.	.		
1847 <sup>55</sup>	J.E. Bennet	1	6	.	.	.	.	.	.		
1848 <sup>56</sup>		-	9	-	.	.	.	.	.		
1849 <sup>57</sup>		2	6	.	.	.	.	incl. 2 paupers			
1850 <sup>58</sup>		1	5	.	.	.	.	incl. 1 pauper			
1851 <sup>59</sup>	T.E. Blunt	1	5	.	.	.	.	.	.		
1852 <sup>60,61</sup>	T. Blunt	-	6	.	.	.	.	Closed			

## Notes

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1. H. Hartopp (Ed.) *Register of the Freemen of Leicester 1196-1770*, (1927, Leicester; Backus, for Corporation of City of Leicester), p.214. Also obituary *The Leicester and Nottingham Journal (L. J.)*, 21 July 1770 and wills at *Leicestershire Record Office (LRO)*, PR/T/1771/8 and PR/T/1816/11/1-2
2. See his advert *L. J.*, 6 August 1768 and consecutive weeks until 26 November 1768 (I am grateful to Mr E.R. Frizelle for pointing out this series of adverts)
3. H. Hartopp, *op.cit.*, p.365
4. His M.D. Thesis was *Dissertatio medica inauguralis de Pleuritide*, (1766, Edinburgh, Auld & Smellie)
5. *L. J.*, 13 August 1768
6. *LRO*, Will PR/T/1765/6
7. *L. J.*, 1 October 1768
8. *L. J.*, 3 December 1768
9. G.A. Chinnery (Ed.), *Records of the Borough of Leicester 1689-1835*, Vol.VII Judicial and Allied Records (1974, Leicester University Press), p.140. Also *LRO*, Leicester, All Saints Parish: Burial 1 August 1772
10. *Gentlemans Magazine*, (1816) 86/ii, p.378
11. Wm Gardiner *Music and Friends* (1853, Leicester, Crossley & Clarke), p.409-10
12. A. Temple Patterson, *Radical Leicester — a History of Leicester 1780-1850*, (1954, Leicester), p.68
13. Wm Withering, *An Arrangement of British Plants according to the latest improvements of the Linnaean System*, 6th edn (1818, London, Robert Scholey); acknowledges Dr Arnold's help. Also see A.R. Horwood & C.W. Noel, *The Flora of Leicestershire and Rutland* (1933, Oxford University Press), p.cxcvi
14. S. Watts, *A Walk Through Leicester*, (1804, Leicester) Combe, pp.24-25. the passageway is referred to by: Mrs T. Fielding Johnson, *Glimpses of Ancient Leicester*, 2nd edn, (Leicester; Clarke & Satchell). This location is not that given by references 16 and 26, but is fairly certain. Thos Arnold advertises the asylum to be in Bond Street, and this coupled with S. Watt's identification limits its site to the short stretch later known as North Bond Street, which later contained only the Independent Chapel and a public house (which was probably built on the site of the asylum, if not converted from the building). The site is now a car park and supermarket
15. In William Arnold's settlement of his estate on his children (*LRO*, 9D43/1/10), he talks of his new Madhouse, lately conveyed to Thomas subject to an £11 a year annuity. On the adjacent site was a barn which he had converted into living quarters and built a bathing house extension. This was probably his previous asylum. He bought this land in 1745. If he had an asylum before this it was probably at property that he owned in East Bond Street, (now the site of a modern road). The rates for the new Madhouse were high (*LRO*, 21D51/V/2), which suggests that it was a large building
16. See E.R. Frizelle & J.D. Martin *The Leicester Royal Infirmary 1771-1971*, (1971, Leicester), for a good description of the asylum's history
17. *Leicester Directory*, (1794, Leicester, R. Weston). Belle Grove is shown on 1823 and 1844 maps of Leicester. Also G.A. Chinnery, *op.cit.*, Vol.VI. The Chamberlains Accounts; (1967, Leicester University Press), p.259, and also see reference 31
18. *LRO*, Will: Thomas Arnold 1817 (Doctors Commons)
19. Rate Books, *LRO* 21D51/5/3 also 21D51/8/13
20. *LRO* Leicester, St Margarets Parish: burial 6 September 1816
21. Wm Gardiner, *op.cit.*, p.424-5. John Hall gained his MD in 1815, sponsored by Thos Arnold and William Withering. He was then said to be practicing in Hinckley. He gained his MRCS in 1816. See: P.J. Anderson (Ed.) *Selections from the Records of the Marischal College and University 1593-1860*, Vol.II Officers, Graduates and Alumni, (1898, Aberdeen), p.148
22. Accounts of the Leicester Medical Society (February 1842) at Leicester University Clinical Sciences Library. *The London and Provincial Medical Directory* for 1848 records Dr Hill at Derby, where he continued until his death on 3rd December 1857 (see *ibid.* for 1859)
23. T. Arnold, *Observations on the Nature, Kinds, Causes and Prevention of Insanity*, Vol.1, 1782 and Vol.2, 1786 (2nd edition (1806, Leicester, Ireland); reprinted 1976 New York, Arno Press)
24. A. Crichton, *An Enquiry into the Nature and Origin of Mental Derangement*, (1798), quoted in D. Leigh, *The Historical Development of British Psychiatry*, Vol.1, (1961, Oxford), Pergamon Press, p.45
25. T. Arnold, *Observations on the Management of the Insane*, (1809, London, Phillips). Unfortunately this book did not sell well, for it is difficult to find a copy in this country

26. R. Hunter and I. MacAlpine, *Three Hundred Years of Psychiatry 1535-1860*, (1963, Oxford University Press), (reprinted 1982, New York, Carlisle) p.468
27. *LRO*, 13D54/2; Arnold's report for December 1792; also 13D54/2/2 minute dated 23 iv 1811
28. J. Greene, *Reminiscences of the Late Rev. Robert Hall A.M.*, (1832, London, Westley & Davis), pp.47-48
29. I. MacAlpine and R. Hunter, *George III and the Mad-business*, (1969, London, Allen Lane), p.71
30. Wm Ll. Parry Jones, *The Trade in Lunacy*, (1972, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul)
31. Advert *L. J.* 4 May 1785 and variously until 24 March 1787. One is reproduced in reference 26
32. Advert *L. J.* 12 Jan 1809
33. *LRO* Marriage Licence 1817 and Wigston Magna, All Saints Parish: marriage 13 October 1817. John's age of 46 given on the marriage bond is probably wrong and should be 56 when compared with the Parish Registers of Loughborough and the wills at *LRO* for Blunts at Loughborough. For Deeds see *LRO* 14D57/82/84, 89 and 93, and for most important deed relating John's descendants see *Public Record Office (PRO)* Close Roll (Chancery) 1869 part 184/13, a copy of which is in the possession of estates dept. of Oadby and Wigston Council, amongst their records for Newgate End
34. *L. J.* 6 October 1826; *LRO*, Will PR/T/1827/21. His estate was valued at less than £1500
35. *Pigots National Commercial Directory for England 1828-9*, (1829, London, J. Pigot & Co); Vol.2, p.504
36. Advert *Leicester Chronicle*, 26 May 1837; I am grateful to Dr W. Brock for pointing out this item
37. *PRO* HO107/599 folio 36
38. *PRO* HO107/2081 for Newgate End, entry No.86
39. Leicestershire and Rutland Lunatic Asylum Case Notes (due to be deposited soon at *LRO*) Case No.1568, admitted 30 xii 1854
40. See *LRO* Ashby de la Zouch Parish: baptism 1 April 1760; and Will, PR/T/1770/124. For Apprenticeship see *Register of the Freeman of Leicester 1770-1930*, p.443. Also see Advert *L. J.* 21 July 1781; *LRO* Marriage Licences 7 v 1782 & Leicester, St Martins Parish: marriage 8 May 1782
41. *LRO* 13D51/1, minutes for 21 June 1781, 17 June 1784 and 16 September 1784. For dispute see minutes of October and November 1785. Wm Ingle assaulted Thomas Arnold, for see G.A. Chinnery, Vol.VII *op.cit.* p.160
42. *L. J.* 23 December 1786 and 13 January 1787, for apprentice advertisement see 11 February 1786. Wm Ingle's original intention, according to his first advert (*L. J.* 21 July 1781) was to practice 'Surgery, midwifery and pharmacy', and did not include the care of lunatics
43. *LRO* Ashby de la Zouch Parish: baptism, 2 October 1795
44. *LRO* Hathern Parish: marriage 27 December 1760; baptism 14 July 1794; burial 20 April 1810; marriage 28 December 1818. Also Will of Samuel Marriott PR/T/1814/144
45. See for example *LRO* Leicester, St Margarets Parish: burial 23 December 1815 for burial of a patient of Dr Arnold; and also St Margarets Overseers Poor Book 21D51/VI/1, entries dated 25 June 1793, 31 July 1794, 28 September 1794 and 19 May 1795
46. A. Hamilton Thompson, *Wyggeston Hospital Records*, (1933, Leicester; Backus), p.70
47. In 1833 the Clerk of the Peace reported to the County Magistrates that there were 164 pauper lunatics in the county and only 22 beds available in existing asylums. These were the 22 places in the Infirmary Asylum. The new County Asylum was planned as a result of this information. See: Historical Manuscripts Commission, *National Register of Archives, Leicester County Records*, (1961), Manuscript at *LRO* p.563
48. *PRO* MH51/735 *The County Register* of the Royal College of Physicians. The list of patients is probably incomplete, for see comments in: *Third report from Select Committee...Regulations of Madhouses*, (British Sessional Papers 1814-15), (296) IV 959, p.166 and also 1825 (501) xxi 65

The following are all *British Parliamentary Sessional Papers*:

49. Return of Houses Licenced... 1819 (271) XVII 131
50. Returns respecting Licenced Houses 1815-24... 1826 (191) XXI 95
51. Return of the number of Public and Private Lunatic Asylums... 1830-1 (299) XIV 33
52. ...Houses licenced for the last 5 years... 1842 (2) XXXIV 3
53. Statistical Appendix to the Report of the Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy... 1844 (621) XVIII 1
54. First Report of Commissioners in Lunacy... 1847 (471) XXXIII 339
55. Second Report of Commissioners in Lunacy... 1847-8 (34) XXVI 225
56. Third Report of Commissioners in Lunacy... 1849 (1028) XXII 381
57. Fourth Report of Commissioners in Lunacy... 1850 (291) XXIII 363
58. Fifth Report of Commissioners in Lunacy... 1850 (735) XXIII 393
59. Sixth Report of Commissioners in Lunacy... 1851 (668) XXIII 353
60. Seventh Report of Commissioners in Lunacy... 1852-3 (285) XLIX 1
61. Eighth Report of Commissioners in Lunacy... 1854 (339) XXIX 1 and also see List of Visitors of Provincial Licenced Houses... 1854 (281) LXIII 577