1 Introduction

Mental Disorder and the Modern Prison in England and Ireland, 1840–1900

> Now regarding the prisoner as a moral patient, the paramount object is to render him as amenable as possible to the reformatory process…. The isolation that depresses the animal nature of the prisoner, and lowers the whole tone of the nervous system, produces a corresponding effect upon the mind…. In consequence of the lowering of the vital energies, the brain becomes more feeble, and, therefore, more susceptible. The chaplain can then make the brawny navvy in the cell cry like a child; he can work on his feelings in almost any way he pleases; he can, so to speak, photograph his own thoughts, wishes, and opinions, on his patient's mind, and fill his mouth with his own phrases and language.[1]

Referring to his close observations of the convict system in England and Ireland and of prisoners undergoing the solitary system of separate confinement, Reverend W.L. Clay highlighted the anticipated, and desired for, impact of cellular isolation: to break down and then re-form the minds of prisoners or, as he put it, 'patients'. The discipline of separate confinement dominated English and Irish prison regimes from the mid-nineteenth century to the early part of the twentieth. The reformers who supported its uptake, not least Clay's father, Reverend John Clay, chaplain at Preston Gaol, underlined its potential to produce deep-seated redemption among prisoners. John Clay collected detailed evidence demonstrating the success of the regime in the form of notes based on his conversations with prisoners, revealing how the process of redemption was shaped – or, perhaps more precisely, manipulated – by the ministrations of the chaplain in the cell.[2] This disturbing quotation also starkly illuminates the risks of this strategy for the mental wellbeing of the many deeply vulnerable and isolated people confined in prison.

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[1] Reverend W.L. Clay, *Our Convict Systems* (Cambridge: Macmillan and Co., 1862), pp. 43–4.

[2] John Clay's son, Walter, published the biography *The Prison Chaplain: A Memoir of the Reverend John Clay* (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1861) after his father's death in 1858.

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The prisoners who were the subjects of separate confinement provided very different but equally disturbing interpretations of cellular isolation, referring to it as a form of torture designed to undermine the will and weaken the faculties that for many resulted in complete mental breakdown. Convict E.F., who served time in Mountjoy Convict Prison, Dublin in the 1870s, claimed to have borne witness to the terrible effects of separate confinement. Among his fellow convicts, held in separation, were 'cases of violent insanity, for days and nights men had to be strapped down and strait jacketed and others refused to take food for weeks and had to be pumped'.[3] 'No one', declared Florence Maybrick, describing her fifteen-year prison sentence in Liverpool, Woking and Aylesbury prisons, 'can realize the horror of solitary confinement who has not experienced it … the voiceless solitude, the hopeless monotony, the long vista of tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow, stretching before her, all filled with desolation and despair.' 'The torture of continually enforced silence', she concluded, 'is known to produce insanity or nervous breakdown more than any other feature connected with prison discipline.'[4]

This book explores how, from the creation of the modern prison system in the mid-nineteenth century, prisons have stood accused of both producing and exacerbating mental despair and illness, their regimes functioning as detonators for pre-existing mental health problems, and their emphasis on enforcing discipline and punishment destroying the minds of prisoners and obstructing efforts to ameliorate conditions and to care for and treat those showing signs of mental breakdown.[5] From the era of Charles Dickens, who castigated prison reformers for introducing the cruel and mentally taxing system of separate confinement in the 1840s, through to that of Oscar Wilde, who experienced the discipline of the separate system firsthand towards the end of the century, the prison has been subject to continuous criticism for making its inmates mad and for doing very little to address this issue.[6] In the nineteenth century the prison became and remained a place where

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[3] Royal Commission into Penal Servitude Acts, Minutes of Evidence [Kimberley Commission] (1878–79) [C.2368] [C.2368–I] [C.2368–II], p. 829.

[4] Florence Elizabeth Maybrick, *Mrs. Maybrick's Own Story: My Fifteen Lost Years* (New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1905), pp. 68, 74–5, 81.

[5] Mary Gibson has argued that dating the emergence of the 'modern prison' to the early and mid-nineteenth century is accurate only for the Western/Anglo world: Mary Gibson, 'Global Perspectives on the Birth of the Prison', *American Historical Review*, 116:4 (2011), 1040–63.

[6] Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation, Vol. 1* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1842; with an Introduction and Notes by Patricia Ingham, London: Penguin Classics, 2002), pp. 111–24; Oscar Wilde, *Oscar Wilde: The Soul of Man and Prison*

the mentally disordered were incarcerated and retained in significant numbers in spite of their deteriorating mental health, a situation that endures today.[7]

This is the first historical study to offer a sustained and detailed exploration of the closely intertwined relationship between the modern prison and mental breakdown. It focuses on the 1840s, when the separate system was first introduced to Britain and Ireland, to the end of the nineteenth century when it was finally acknowledged, notably with the publication of the Gladstone Report in 1895, that prisons might have a detrimental effect on prisoners' mental health, initiating the slow and halting dismantling of this system. Drawing on a wide range of archival and official sources, and the accounts of prison administrators, reformers, prison doctors and prisoners, our book investigates the ways in which the English and Irish prison authorities attempted to mask, subdue and manage the high rates of mental illness that manifested themselves in their prisons. It seeks to understand the motivations of prison officers eager to disclaim the impact of prisons in causing mental breakdown, while at the same time attempting to deal with ever-increasing rates of insanity that confounded the order and discipline of the prison. As prison doctors spent more time dealing with mentally ill prisoners, our book argues that they positioned themselves increasingly as specialists in managing insanity in the particular setting of the prison, dealing with the distinct category of prisoner patients, creating new taxonomies and ways of describing mental illness, devoting themselves to the task of distinguishing real from feigned insanity, and authorising transfers of mentally disordered offenders within the prison estate or to criminal lunatic or public asylums.

In taking an approach that has investigated underutilised English and Irish prison archives in conjunction with official publications and reports and medical literature, our analysis, rather than reprising their

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Writings, edited with an Introduction by Isobel Murray (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

[7] See, for example, Tony Seddon, _Punishment and Madness: Governing Prisoners with Mental Health Problems_ (Abingdon: Routledge-Cavendish, 2007), which, while providing a brief historical overview, focuses largely on the relationship between the prison and mental illness between 1980 and 2005. There have been numerous inquiries into mental health in prisons in England and Ireland, including _The Bradley Report: Lord Bradley's Review of People with Mental Health Problems or Learning Disabilities in the Criminal Justice System_ (London: Department of Health, 2009); Sharon Shalev and Kimmett Edgar, _Deep Custody: Segregation Units and Close Supervision Centres in England and Wales_ (London: Prison Reform Trust, 2015); Michael Reilly, _Healthcare in Irish Prisons_ (Nenagh: Inspector of Prisons, 2016); Agnieszka Martynowicz and Linda Moore, _Behind the Door: Solitary Confinement in the Irish Penal System_ (Dublin: Irish Penal Reform Trust, 2018).

arguments, puts to an empirical test the conclusions of influential studies of the prison, particularly those of Michel Foucault, Michael Ignatieff and David Garland.[8] These authors have emphasised the imposition of penal power in nineteenth-century prisons and the ways in which new categories were produced in prisons through the discourses of the locally powerful. As psychiatry and medicine expanded their influence beyond nineteenth-century lunatic asylums, prisons became sites of intervention and 'mental disorders provided ways of constructing social deviance', blurring 'the lines between … medicine and … the jurisdiction of other authoritative bodies'.[9] Our evidence has highlighted the complex exercises of authority and decision-making within prisons, for example between chaplains and prison medical officers, key brokers in gauging and responding to mental illness, or between prison officials and local magistrates, who had an enduring influence in shaping the destinations of mentally disordered offenders. Exploring transfers between prisons and asylums, we ask how far these were prompted by law, pragmatism and the desire for effective prison management, as well as the assertion of professional authority and knowledge.

A study encompassing England and Ireland has offered rich opportunities for comparison. The Irish prison system was an expression of colonial power, and prison administrators were actors in the colonial apparatus answerable to the British administration in Dublin Castle. While sharing ideologies and similar systems of governance and administration, there was much variation in terms of implementation and interpretation in the two countries, notably in the way the separate system was adapted for Irish prisons. In the early 1860s the graduated marks system introduced by the Chairman of the newly established Directors of Convict Prisons, Sir Walter Crofton, made Ireland a model of penal management, and was pointed to for its impact in reducing crime, for its cheapness and for being '*curatively* deterrent and reformatory' in

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[8] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, translated from the French by Alan Sheridan (London: Allen Lane, 1977); Michael Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain: The Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution 1750–1850* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978); David Garland, *Punishment and Modern Society: A Study in Social Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).

[9] Jean Daniel Jacob, Amélie Perron and Dave Holmes (eds), *Power and the Psychiatric Apparatus: Repression, Transformation and Assistance* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), p. 5. We have consciously used the terms 'psychiatry' and 'psychiatrist' as useful in describing the emergence of a distinct form of specialism focusing on the management and treatment of mental disorder in the second half of the nineteenth century, though prison medical officers might also refer in their publications to their engagement with medical psychology or morbid psychology.

contrast to England.[10] A comparison of the two countries provides opportunities for understanding how particular orders and regulations concerning prison administration, alongside penal philosophies and psychiatric theories, were reinterpreted and adjusted as they crossed the Irish Sea, and also significantly expands the scope to investigate a variety of prison contexts. Prison reformers, prison chaplains and doctors, magistrates, penologists and prison administrators, including Crofton, moved back and forth between England and Ireland, visiting and critiquing prisons. They went on to exchange ideas and theories in their publications and official reports and through such organisations as the Association for the Improvement of Prisons and Prison Discipline in Ireland, the Evangelical Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline and the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders, the Social Science Association and the Howard Association, prompting debates on the impact of prison regimes on mental health, and the finer points of management in mitigating the negative effects of prison discipline on the mind. Those in a position to compare the two prison systems, like land reformer and Fenian Michael Davitt, argued that treatment in Irish prisons was more humane and less likely to produce insanity than English prisons. Our book also focuses on a period of significant legislative change across the two prison estates, which repeatedly saw adaptations in nomenclature and usage at different moments. For example, with the implementation of the English Prison Act of 1865, the term 'gaol' was replaced with 'prison' to denote local institutions, yet the older nomenclature continued to be widely used. Consequently we adhered to the labels found in our source material, which at times might be inconsistent with the official terminology.

While our book is not based on a case study approach, we draw extensively on the records of individual prisons, local and convict, that provide rich examples of their landmark status in introducing the system of separate confinement; the impact of particular prison officers, chaplains or doctors and the ways they interpreted prison policies; and the local conditions within which they operated. This approach has provided us with the opportunity to draw on a wealth of individual prison archives and evidence about how prison officials and doctors dealt with mental illness in a variety of prison settings, urban and rural, large and small, convict and local, male and female. Special provisions were devised for

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[10] This inspired Wakefield Prison, for example, to adopt elements of the Irish system in 1861: Edward Balme Wheatley, *Observations on the Treatment of Convicts in Ireland with Some Remarks on the Same in England by Four Visiting Justices of the West Riding Prison at Wakefield* (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1862), pp. 124–5.

female prisoners that reduced the term they spent in separate confine-
ment, given claims that they were poorly equipped to cope with long
periods in isolation. Women were depicted as being particularly volatile
and irrational in their conduct. As explored in Chapters 3 and 4,
Liverpool Borough Prison was notable for receiving many Irish prisoners,
and it also housed what was said to be the largest female prison
population in Europe by the late nineteenth century.[11]

Taking as our sources not only the wealth of official reports, which
provide rich and voluminous information on the viewpoints of prison
administrators, inquiries into the discipline and running of prisons, the
evidence and facts and figures on the rate of mental illness and the
treatment and destinations of the mentally ill, the archives of individual
prisons also offer important evidence. These are scattered, often scanty,
and varied in form and content (notably between England and Ireland),
and they include minute books and prison journals, reports, character and
punishment books, prisoners' files, correspondence between prison
officers and prison administrators and letter books.[12] Collectively, des-
pite the fragmented status of the archival sources and variation in terms
of what has survived, they provide us with new insights into the levels of
mental illness in prison; official accounts tended to downplay rates
of mental disorder, while prison archives provide detail on the impact
of mentally disturbed prisoners on a day-to-day basis. They uncover
great variation in the implementation of official policy and directives
and in terms of the impact of individual prison medical officers on the
management and treatment of prisoners. They also reveal individual
stories of prisoners' mental breakdown and how it was dealt with, move-
ments of prisoners within and between institutions, prisoners' efforts to
feign mental illness and the attempts of prison doctors to detect this,
alarm at prisoners' suicide attempts, and, in a small number of cases, the
discharge of prisoners on medical grounds. Where possible, we have also
drawn on asylum casebooks and reports to track the institutional careers
of individuals removed to public and criminal asylums. Alongside arch-
ival material, the book draws on a diversity of print sources, the accounts
and memoirs of prison chaplains, governors and prison doctors, as well

[11] For Liverpool Borough Prison, see Catherine Cox and Hilary Marland, '"Unfit for
Reform or Punishment": Mental Disorder and Discipline in Liverpool Borough Prison
in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Social History*, 44:2 (2019), 173–201.
[12] For Ireland, individual prisoners' stories can also be accessed using Convict Reference
Files and other individual penal files. See Elaine Farrell, *Women, Crime and Punishment in
Ireland: Life in the Nineteenth-Century Convict Prison* (Cambridge: Cambridge University
Press, 2020), pp. 26–8; Catherine Cox, *Negotiating Insanity in the Southeast of Ireland,
1820–1900* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), pp. 97–132.

as a rich medical journal literature. By the late nineteenth century, prison doctors had begun to publish extensively on their work in prison medicine and psychiatry in leading medical journals, most notably for our purposes in the *Journal of Mental Science*, the premier journal for mental science and psychiatry in the late nineteenth century, setting out their distinctive approaches to practice and their thoughts on the criminal mind and on mental disorder in prison, their unique ways of describing and classifying mental illness in the context of the prison, and advancing their claims as a specialist group.

While the vast majority of prison archives prioritise prison officials and administrators, our study additionally draws on the various critics of the prison system, many of them ex-prisoners, who described its devastating impact on mental health. Dickens, Maybrick, Davitt and Wilde have already been referred to, and alongside these were the works of prison reformers such as Mary Gordon and W.D. Morrison, and a wealth of other prison memoirs, including those of political prisoners, produced mainly after the 1860s.[13] These appeared in book form, but also in pamphlets, periodicals and the press, and provide rich insights into prison practices, what it was like to be in prison, and the plight and management of the mentally ill. In the final decades of the nineteenth century, these accounts, penned largely by educated, middle-class prisoners, also helped shape changes in prison policy.[14] The Victorian public, concerned about the expanding prison population and increased rates of crime and recidivism, had a vested interest in the way that prisons were run, and many were concerned with the treatment of prisoners themselves. Towards the end of our period, reform organisations began to make their impact felt, and their records, reflecting on both English and Irish prisons, form a further rich resource for this study.

[13] William Douglas Morrison, 'Are Our Prisons a Failure?', *The Fortnightly Review*, 55:328 (Apr. 1894), 459–69; Mary Gordon, *Penal Discipline* (London: Routledge, 1922). Among many influential prison memoirs are One Who Has Endured It, *Five Years of Penal Servitude* (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1878); One Who Has Tried Them, *Her Majesty's Prisons: Their Effects and Defects*, vols 1 and 2 (London: Sampson Low, Marsten, Searle & Rivington, 1881); W.B.N., *Penal Servitude* (London: William Heinemann, 1903); Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, *Six Years in Six English Prisons* (New York: P.J. Kennedy, 1874). See also Sean T. O'Brien, 'The Prison Writing of Michael Davitt', *New Hibernia Review*, 14:3 (2010), 16–32.

[14] For overviews of prison memoirs, see Philip Priestley, *Victorian Prison Lives: English Prison Biography, 1830–1914* (London: Pimlico, 1985); Sarah Anderson and John Pratt, 'Prisoner Memoirs and Their Role in Prison History', in Helen Johnston (ed.), *Punishment and Control in Historical Perspective* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 179–98.

Institutions of Confinement

Despite the long-standing association of prisons with the deteriorating mental health of their inmates, there has been little historical work on this subject. Criminologists and historians of crime and prisons have produced an impressive scholarship examining nineteenth-century prisons and prisoners, though this is chiefly in the context of England. Irish prisons, despite a number of important contributions, have had less coverage, especially with regard to late nineteenth-century Irish penal policy.[15] Histories of the convict system and transportation in both contexts, the colonial character of the Irish convict system, women in prison and political prisoners have engaged little with matters of health and medicine in prison, and even less with mental illness.[16] However,

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[15] See, for example, William James Forsythe, *The Reform of Prisoners 1830–1900* (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1987); Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain*; Seán McConville, *A History of English Prison Administration, Vol. 1, 1750–1877* (London, Boston and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981); Seán McConville, *English Local Prisons 1860–1900: Next Only to Death* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995); Martin J. Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal: Culture, Law, and Policy in England, 1830–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Alyson Brown, *English Society and the Prison: Time, Culture and Politics in the Development of the Modern Prison, 1850–1920* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003); Helen Johnston, *Crime in England 1815–1880: Experiencing the Criminal Justice System* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015); Victor Bailey, *Policing and Punishment in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016); Victor Bailey (ed.), *Nineteenth-Century Crime and Punishment*, 4 vols (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021). For Ireland, see Patrick Carroll-Burke, *Colonial Discipline: The Making of the Irish Convict System* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000); Tim Carey, *Mountjoy: The Story of a Prison* (Dublin: Collins Press, 2000); Cal McCarthy and Barra O'Donnabhain, *Too Beautiful for Thieves and Pickpockets: A History of the Victorian Convict Prison on Spike Island* (Cork: Cork County Library, 2016); Richard Butler, *Building the Irish Courthouse and Prison: A Political History, 1750–1850* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2020); Eoin O'Sullivan and Ian O'Donnell, *Coercive Confinement in Ireland: Patients, Prisoners and Penitents* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012); Beverly A. Smith, 'The Irish General Prisons Board, 1877–1885: Efficient Deterrence or Bureaucratic Ineptitude?', *Irish Jurist*, 15:1 (1980), 122–36; Shane Kilcommins, Ian O'Donnell, Eoin O'Sullivan and Barry Vaughan, *Crime, Punishment and the Search for Order in Ireland* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 2004).

[16] Carroll-Burke, *Colonial Discipline*; Lucia Zedner, *Women, Crime and Custody in Victorian England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991); Lucy Williams, *Wayward Women: Female Offending in Victorian England* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2016); Farrell, *Women, Crime and Punishment in Ireland*; Elaine Farrell, '"Having an Immoral Conversation" and Other Prison Offenses: The Punishment of Convict Women', in Christina S. Brophy and Cara Delay (eds), *Women, Reform and Resistance in Ireland, 1850–1950* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 101–18; Beverly A. Smith, 'The Female Prisoner in Ireland, 1855–1878', *Federal Probation*, 54:4 (1990), 69–81; Clare Anderson and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, 'Convict Labour and the Western Empires, 1415–1954', in Robert Aldrich and Kirsten McKenzie (eds), *Routledge History of Western Empires* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 102–17; Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, 'Transportation from Britain and Ireland, 1615–1875', in Clare Anderson (ed.), *A Global History of*

there are some important exceptions to this. The studies of Joe Sim, Anne Hardy and Peter McRorie Higgins have drawn attention to the status and role of prison medical officers, and Higgins' work also examined the management and treatment of the mentally ill in English prisons before 1850.[17] Scientific criminology and the relationship between crime, degeneracy and mental unfitness have been interrogated by Neil Davie and Stephen Watson in the context of late nineteenth-century English prisons, with particular emphasis on assessing the ways in which English criminology varied in approach from continental theorists.[18] Overall, there has been far less historical research on health and prisons in Ireland; the few existing studies have been largely preoccupied with exploring how political prisoners and suffragists used their bodily health during campaigns to achieve specific goals, and, while we have worked closely with and greatly enhanced the existing scholarship on English prison health, our contributions to the Irish historiography are particularly novel.[19]

Convicts and Penal Colonies (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), pp. 183–210; Joan Kavanagh and Dianne Snowden, Van Diemen's Women: A History of Transportation to Tasmania (Dublin: The History Press, 2015); William Murphy, Political Imprisonment and the Irish, 1912–1921 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Seán McConville, Irish Political Prisoners, 1920–1962: Pilgrimage of Desolation (New York: Routledge, 2014).

[17] Joe Sim, Medical Power in Prisons: The Prison Medical Service in England 1774–1989 (Milton Keynes and Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press, 1990); Anne Hardy, 'Development of the Prison Medical Service, 1774–1895', in Richard Creese, W.F. Bynum and J. Bearn (eds), The Health of Prisoners (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1995), pp. 59–82; Peter McRorie Higgins, Punish or Treat?: Medical Care in English Prisons 1770–1850 (Victoria, BC and Oxford: Trafford, 2007). See also J.E. Thomas, The English Prison Officer since 1850 (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972). For articles on health and medicine in the nineteenth-century Australian prison system, see the special issue of Health and History, 22:1 (2020), edited by Louella McCarthy, Kathryn Weston, Stephen Hampton and Tobias Mackinnon.

[18] Stephen Watson, 'Malingerers, the "Weakminded" Criminal and the "Moral Imbecile": How the English Prison Officer Became an Expert in Mental Deficiency, 1880–1930', in Michael Clark and Catherine Crawford (eds), Legal Medicine in History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 223–41; Neil Davie, Tracing the Criminal: The Rise of Scientific Criminology in Britain, 1860–1918 (Oxford: Bardwell Press, 2006). For debates on the relationship between criminality and eugenics in the US, see Nicole Hahn Rafter, Creating Born Criminals (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1997). Ian O'Donnell has explored prisoners' strategies for overcoming mental distress while endeavouring to deal with the rigours of solitude: Ian O'Donnell, Prisoners, Solitude, and Time (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). For a compelling study of the 'death-in-life' experience of solitary confinement in the US, see Lisa Guenther, Solitary Confinement: Social Death and Its Afterlives (Minneapolis, MN and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2013).

[19] Beverly A. Smith, 'Irish Prison Doctors – Men in the Middle, 1865–90', Medical History, 26:4 (1982), 371–94; William Murphy, 'Dying, Death and Hunger Strike: Cork and Brixton, 1920', in James Kelly and Mary Ann Lyons (eds), Death and Dying in Ireland,

This stands in stark contrast to the emphasis in the medical humanities over the last few decades on exploring the other institutions that contained and treated the mentally ill, notably public, district and criminal lunatic asylums, but also workhouses, private madhouses, and institutions and schools specialising in the care of those deemed mentally deficient.[20] These studies have focused intently on the processes and pressures that prompted large-scale confinement of the insane in the nineteenth century. They question how far this was driven by major demographic and socioeconomic shifts, the growth of towns, poverty and poor living conditions, and the migration of large groups of people from the countryside into urban centres, factors also deemed to be productive of high rates of crime and incarceration. These major disruptions took place alongside changes in family structure and in working lives, including regimented factory conditions that subjected the poor to rigid and lengthy working days. These conditions, it has been argued, meant that mentally ill family members were less likely to be cared for within the household and became more liable to institutional

   Britain, and Europe: Historical Perspectives (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2013), pp. 297–316; Ian Miller, *A History of Force Feeding: Hunger Strikes, Prisons and Medical Ethics, 1909–1974* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Ian Miller, *Reforming Food in Post-Famine Ireland: Medicine, Science and Improvement, 1845–1922* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), pp. 74–81; Ciara Breathnach, 'Medical Officers, Bodies, Gender and Weight Fluctuation in Irish Convict Prisons, 1877–95', *Medical History*, 58:1 (2014), 67–86.

20 For example, out of a vast literature, see Andrew Scull, *The Most Solitary of Afflictions: Madness and Society in Britain 1700–1900* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2005); Roy Porter, 'Madness and Its Institutions', in Andrew Wear (ed.), *Medicine in Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 277–301; Peter Bartlett, *The Poor Law of Lunacy: The Administration of Pauper Lunatics in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England* (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1999); Joseph Melling and Bill Forsythe (eds), *Insanity, Institutions and Society, 1800–1914* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999); Mark Finnane, *Insanity and the Insane in Post-Famine Ireland* (London: Croom Helm, 1981); Cox, *Negotiating Insanity*; David Wright, *Mental Disability in Victorian England: The Earlswood Asylum, 1847–1901* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Mark Jackson, *The Borderland of Imbecility: Medicine, Society and the Fabrication of the Feeble Mind in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Janet Saunders, 'Institutionalised Offenders: A Study of the Victorian Institution and Its Inmates, with Special Reference to Late Nineteenth Century Warwickshire' (unpublished University of Warwick PhD thesis, 1983) is unusual in exploring both the prison and asylum, and the passage of inmates between the two institutions. For Ireland, see Oonagh Walsh, '"A Person of the Second Order": The Plight of the Intellectually Disabled in Nineteenth-Century Ireland', in Laurence Geary and Oonagh Walsh (eds), *Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2015), pp. 161–80; Peter Reid, 'Children, Mental Deficiency and Institutions in Dublin, 1900 to 1911' (unpublished University College Dublin MLitt thesis, 2018).