

PLANNING AND BUILDING THE NEW WORCESTER CITY AND COUNTY PAUPER LUNATIC ASYLUM AT POWICK.

Powick Asylum, the Pauper Lunatic Asylum, created to provide accommodation for pauper lunatics from Worcestershire, opened in August 1852, as a delayed response to the Lunatic Asylums' Act of 1845.¹ Whilst there were a few Counties, and County Boroughs, that provided Pauper Lunatic Asylums under the Acts of Parliament of 1808 and 1828, which allowed, but did not compel, such institutions to be built, it was only places that had a need for a public asylum for insane paupers that chose to provide one.² For instance, Middlesex created what Leonard Smith has referred to as a 'massive showpiece' asylum, at Hanwell, in 1830³ Staffordshire opened its County Pauper Lunatic Asylum in 1838, whilst Devonshire opened theirs in 1845. However, Worcestershire, like many other places, saw no need to provide such an institution before they were compelled to do so by Law. In the interim, Worcestershire Poor Law Unions continued to use Droitwich Lunatic Asylum, and institutions like it to house pauper lunatics, for whom the County Poor Law Unions had responsibility. In December 1845, the Worcestershire Justices asked Mr. Eginton, a local architect, to estimate the cost of building a joint lunatic asylum, for 450 pauper inmates, in comparison with the cost of constructing a separate institution, just to serve Worcestershire, for three hundred such patients. Thus, at this stage the intention appeared to be to find a partner authority to share a joint asylum with, although there appeared to be some ambivalence about this issue, because some of the Worcestershire Justices were adamant that they did not wish to join with another County to create a Pauper Lunatic Asylum.⁴ Then, having taken note of 300, or so, pauper lunatics in Worcestershire, who were kept in private lunatic asylums, at the expense of their Home Parishes; at Droitwich, in Gloucestershire, Staffordshire and Shropshire, it was obvious that of the adjacent Counties to Worcestershire, only Warwickshire and Herefordshire were available as partner Counties, in the possible creation of a joint Pauper Lunatic Asylum. However, Warwickshire had 406 pauper lunatics within its borders, which made a joint asylum with that County impracticable, as the asylum created would be far too big. Thus, it was thought that a joint asylum with Herefordshire was the only practical option, particularly as the combined numbers of pauper lunatics in these two Counties were handleable in a single institution.⁵ However, Herefordshire was already in the process of negotiating with some of the Welsh Counties adjacent to it, who were also covered by the 1845 Lunatic Asylums' Act,⁶ to establish a joint asylum with them. For this reason, not surprisingly, many of Worcestershire's Justices believed that a separate Pauper Lunatic Asylum was their most desirable option, which was a decision that was confirmed when Mr. Eginton found no cost advantage in building a joint asylum. The architect consulted by the Worcestershire Authorities now suggested that an institution for, say, 450 patients would cost no less per head than a smaller asylum for 300 patients, and he also suggested that there would not even be a savings on offices and other types of accommodation in a joint asylum, with any savings being 'trifling', so that in the consultant architect's opinion 'in no way' would the County Authorities compensate for the problems of a large joint asylum.⁷ Furthermore, Mr. Eginton thought that 'Unions of Counties would be inconvenient...(and should be) avoided...if possible,'⁸ which was an opinion that led the Worcester Justice's to decide to build an asylum just for Worcestershire. However, at this stage the Worcestershire Justices appeared to ignore the needs of the City of Worcester, the County Borough within the County's Boundaries, that under the Lunatic Asylums' Act of

¹ 8 & 9 Vic. c. 126 (1845) Lunatic Asylums' Act.

² 48 Geo III. c. 96 (1808) County Asylums' Act a 9 Geo. IV. C. 40 (1828) Lunatic Asylums' & Pauper a Criminals Maintenance Act. This Act is often styled, the County Lunatic Asylums' Act of 1828.

³ SMITH, Leonard, *Cure, Comfort a Safe Custody*, Leicester University Press, 1999, p. 7.

⁴ Powick Asylum Visitor's Committee Minutes (VM) 20 December 1845, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

⁵ VM 5 January 1846, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

⁶ 8 & 9 Vic. c. 126 (1845) Lunatic Asylums' Act.

⁷ VM (Visitor's Minutes) 5 January 1846, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

⁸ Ibid.

1845⁹ also had to provide a lunatic asylum for its citizens, although some of the Committee of Visitors must have been aware that the City of Worcester had responsibility for the provision of accommodation for pauper lunatics from what was a County Borough, under the 1845 Lunatic Asylums' Act.¹⁰

In 1846, the Worcestershire Committee of Justices created a Sub Committee, called the Worcester County Pauper Lunatic Asylum Committee of Visitors, to plan a new County Pauper Lunatic Asylum. However, it was then decided to create a joint institution with the City of Worcester, the County Borough that was an enclave within Worcestershire, a decision that led to the planned asylum's Committee of Visitors being enlarged from fourteen to eighteen members, by adding representatives of the City of Worcester, and the word 'City' was added to the name of what was now the Worcester City and County Pauper Lunatic Asylum. It was this enlarged Visiting Committee who planned the new asylum, negotiated the purchase of a suitable site, and the building of the new asylum. Once the City and County Asylum opened, in August 1852, the Visiting Committee was responsible for the oversight of all aspects of the administration of this institution. Indeed, this Committee would continue to report back to the Worcestershire County Committee of Justices, and to the Worcester City Council, who had continuing joint responsibility for the new asylum. The Committee of Visitors consisted of fourteen members of the County's social elite, including local landed gentry and magnates, the County MP and sundry army generals and naval admirals, some of whom were JPs, plus the city representatives, including the mayor and senior council members, some of whom were Magistrates. What was certain about these Visiting Committee members was that it would be impossible to envisage individuals with a greater 'social distance' between themselves and the pauper clientele of the new asylum. For this reason, it was difficult to understand the motivation of these 'socially elite individuals,' in becoming involved in organising and running a Pauper Lunatic Asylum. Notions of 'Duty', that were later explored by Samuel Smiles, in books on; *Self Help* (1859), such as *Character* (1871), *Thrift* (1871), *Duty* (1880) and *Life and Labour* (1887);¹¹ all aspects impinging on Smiles's ideas about 'Self Help', may have gone some way to explain the elite's inducement to become involved in this work. These elite individuals assiduously attended Visiting Committee Meetings and dealt with the trivial aspects of running the asylum, but it may have been their 'self interest' in ensuring that their community, and Society in general, were safe, from what were contemporaneously regarded as a small, but dangerous group, of pauper lunatic individuals. The other interesting aspect of the interaction between this 'social elite,' and the pauper clientele of the lunatic asylum, must have related to a hegemonic relationship that existed between them. Surely the understanding that the 'ruling elite' had of paupers in general, and pauper lunatics in particular, made it unlikely that they could share a common perception of a Pauper Lunatic Asylum, because the 'ruling elite' had an essentially controlling relationship. They intended to dominate the pauper clientele of the institution they were creating, because in the last analysis, it was the Asylum Visitors, advised by the asylum's Medical Superintendent, who determined the fate of individual pauper patients in the asylum – a form of hegemony.

After some postponements and delays,¹² caused by a prevarication by some of the County Justices, who were opposed to the creation of any Pauper Lunatic Institution, funded from the Poor Rates, under any circumstances, the Visiting Committee was created. By this time, in June 1846, the Rev. A. B. Lechmere, one of the locally influential Coventry Family, had moved a Motion to confirm the decision not to unite with another County to build a Pauper Lunatic Asylum,¹³ although for some unexplained reason this Motion was then withdrawn.¹⁴

⁹ 8 & 9 Vic. c. 126 (1845) Lunatic Asylums' Act.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ SMILES, Samuel, 1812-1904, originated the concept of 'Self Help' in a speech in 1845, which was later published as an article, entitled; the *Education of the Working Class* (March 1845).

¹² VM 29 June 1846. WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹³ Ibid.

Then, at the Quarter Session Meeting, in 1846, an augmented 'permanent Visiting Committee' was created, and amongst the first duties of this Committee was the assessment of the impact of the 1845 Lunacy Act ¹⁵ on the number of lunatics in Worcestershire, which was presumably in case there was a need to rescind the decision to build a separate Pauper Lunatic Asylum for the County.¹⁶ The quantitative information about the numbers of pauper lunatics in Worcestershire was compiled, using a circular letter, from the Asylum Visiting Committee to all of the County's Poor Law Unions; requiring them to report the numbers of pauper lunatics in their Unions, ¹⁷ but also to reveal, in detail, the names, ages, and gender of all pauper lunatics in the County. The Boards of Guardians were also asked to ascertain, from the Medical Officers of their Unions, whether the individuals named should be categorised as lunatics, or as idiots, and whether these individuals ought to be confined in a lunatic asylum. This survey also included pauper lunatics, who were, kept by friends; ¹⁸ including relatives, who were sometimes given Outdoor Poor Relief to care for these people. Despite the precise instructions give on how these Returns were to be made, the results recorded were patchy, with some Unions providing results that were not considered satisfactory, probably because some Union Medical Officers were uncertain about which persons of unsound mind could still be kept in the Union Workhouse. However, this problem was also exacerbated by suggestions, in the 1845 legislation, ¹⁹ that Pauper Lunatic Asylums were only intended for 'acute cases', with 'Special Institutions', for the 'chronically insane', to be created later, under separate legislation. However, this second phase of Pauper Lunatic legislation was never enacted, except in London, where two institutions, for the 'incurable insane,' were created, by the Metropolitan Asylums' Board, at Caterham and Leavesden, after the Metropolitan Poor Act of 1867. ²⁰ Thus, outside the Metropolis there were no institutions for poor incurably insane individuals.

In 1846, some Worcestershire Boards of Guardians undoubtedly believed that a proportion of the lunatic paupers in their Union Workhouses were 'harmless', and safe to be left in what the Guardians saw as an appropriate institution for the care of insane pauperised individuals, although the fact that this option was thought a much cheaper alternative to sending these lunatic paupers to what they perceived as costly Pauper Lunatic Asylums, must also have been an influence. In turn, this meant that some insane paupers were undoubtedly intentionally hidden from the scrutiny of the Visiting Committee, of the planned new asylum, which was a 'sleight of hand', that was probably consciously undertaken by some Boards of Guardians, when they made their Lunacy Returns, in the mistaken belief that this would potentially save them money.. However, it was also likely that inaccuracies also occurred in estimating the numbers of pauper lunatics living with friends, particularly where no Outdoor Poor Relief was paid to maintain such insane individuals. Indeed, some such cases would have been deliberately hidden from the local Poor Law Authorities, in an effort to ensure that some of these mentally infirm people were never removed to a mad house, which arguably illustrated well the stigma associated with insanity in the 1840s. There were then, already, 105 patients in private mad houses, at Union expense, in Worcestershire, with twenty more afflicted individuals, who were not confined in such asylums, when they should have been. Then, there were a further 50 lunatics, living with friends and relatives, so that it was clear that a lunatic asylum for 175 inmates would be sufficiently large for Worcestershire's needs. However, Osman Ricardo, ²¹ who was one of the Committee of Visitors, elected to oversee the new asylum, did later propose that the new institution should cater for 200 patients, to

¹⁴ Ibid reporting the Michaelmas Quarter Session in 1846

¹⁵ 9 & 10 Vic. c. 84 (1846) Lunacy Act.

¹⁶ VM 29 June 1846, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i) reporting on the Michaelmas Quarter Sessions of 1846.

¹⁷ VM 10 November 1846, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ 8 & 9 Vic. c. 126 (1845) Lunatic Asylums' Act.

²⁰ 30 Vic. C. 6 (1867) Metropolitan Poor Act.

²¹ Osman Ricardo was born in 1785, the son of David Ricardo, the economist a Member of Parliament, for Gloucestershire. Osman Ricardo lived at Bromsberrow Court and he was High Sheriff of Worcestershire, at the time he was appointed to the asylum Visiting Committee. He was a man of great political influence, who was elected as Member of Parliament in July 1847. He represented Worcester until 6 July 1865, a he died in 1881.

'allow for the admission of new 'curable cases'.²² Whilst this proposal was accepted, because it was in accordance with the County Justices declared intention, to create a separate Pauper Lunatic Asylum, at least one member of the intended asylum's Visiting Committee still wanted the Committee to communicate with the Herefordshire Justices, about building a joint asylum with them. However, in December 1846, the Worcestershire Committee of Visitor's Minutes revealed that 'No communication...(had been) received from Herefordshire'.²³ However, in spite of this, two members of the County's Asylum Committee of Visitors now proposed that the decision not to unite with another County for the purposes of providing a Pauper Lunatic Asylum should be rescinded,²⁴ but this notion was not supported by a majority of the Visiting Committee, although the majority of this Committee did now support building a joint asylum, with the City of Worcester. The County Justices now formally asked the City of Worcester Council, to collaborate with the County, in building a joint lunatic asylum;²⁵ a decision that was confirmed in January 1847.²⁶ This arrangement was also strongly favoured by the City Council, who immediately resolved that the problem they had in providing a separate Pauper Lunatic Asylum for the City of Worcester, under the 1845 Lunatic Asylums' Act,²⁷ would be resolved by this arrangement.

The structure of the proposed Asylum's Visiting Committee was now inevitably altered, with the City's Members of the Asylum Committee of Visitors representing the 25,401 citizens of the City of Worcester, in an area with a combined County population of 233,266. Thus, there was a 8/9th to 1/9th proportion used to calculate the division of costs, in providing the intended new joint Pauper Lunatic Asylum.²⁸ The notion of a joint asylum now immediately led to a decision to look for a suitable site for the planned institution, 'within 5 miles of Worcester Shire Hall',²⁹ so that the site for the new asylum would certainly not be in the centre of the County the institution was being built to serve, although apparently there was no adverse comment about this, at this time. The unfairness of this proposal, in terms of the institution's accessibility to much of the County was apparently ignored. The site sought, had to be between twenty and twenty five acres in area, and it had to be freehold, or copyhold, land. Tenders offering suitable land were now advertised for in the local Worcester newspapers in early February 1847, stating that the asylum Committee of Visitors sought, 'a sufficient quantity of ground for the asylum to allow employment and exercise of the patients', who were incarcerated in the new institution.³⁰ It was expected that tenders would be submitted on, or before, 27 February 1847.³¹ However, the Lunacy Commission's Rules, about the location of Pauper Lunatic Asylums, required that any new asylum site must have access to a good road, to have a gravel, or rocky, subsoil, and a constant supply of good water, with the facilities for obtaining a complete system of drainage also available.³² A Sub Committee of Visitors were now deputed to visit the sites on offer, and report back to the Visiting Committee, but two additional sites were then added to the sites to be considered.³³ Table 1.1 lists the tenders that were received by the Visiting Committee by the closing date for tenders.³⁴

TABLE 1.1 The Land Offered as a Site for the new Worcestershire County Asylum in the Tenders submitted to the Asylum's Visiting Committee in February 1847.

²² VM 14 December 1846, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ VM 4 January 1847, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

²⁷ 8 & 9 Vic. c. 126 (1845) Lunatic Asylums' Act.

²⁸ VM 23 January 1847, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ VM 1 February 1847, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

³² VM 23 January 1847, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ VM 27 February 1847, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

<u>OWNER.</u>	<u>Area Offered.</u>	<u>More Detail.</u>
Mr Laslett	Almost 40 acres	Freehold at Hallow Heath 3½ miles from Worcester @ £120 per acre.
Mr Stokes (W/D)	34 acres	Copyhold at Kempsey 4 miles from Worcester @ £57 per acre.
Mr Jones	29 acres	Copyhold at Norton 4 miles from Worcester @ £68 per acre.
Mr Stallard No. 1.	26 acres	Part Freehold and Part Copyhold At Pappenhall in Claines Parish 2½ miles from Worcester @ £3,150.
Mr Stallard No. 2.	40 acres	Freehold called Porter's Mill in Claines Parish 4 miles from Worcester @ £3,180.

In April 1847, the new Asylum's Joint Visiting Committee, now consisting of fifteen members; eleven County and four City representatives, met,³⁵ and they immediately elected Sir John Pakington, Member of Parliament for Worcestershire, as Chairman of the Committee of Visitors.³⁶ The first task of this Committee was to recommend that the County of Worcester join with the City of Worcester, to build a joint Pauper Lunatic Asylum,³⁷ and when this Resolution was passed, it was immediately announced that Mr. Stallard, of Worcester, had offered the White Chimney's Estate, at Powick, as a site for the new asylum, and it was now clear that this was one of the two properties that had been 'mentioned' to the Visitors, in addition to the five properties contained in Table 1.1. The asking price for this, 'favoured property', was £2,800. exclusive of the Common Rights, which if they could be severed from the rest of the estate, and if they were purchased, this would mean that the price of this site would be £3,150, which was an offer that the Visiting Committee immediately accepted. The Visitors then decided to sever the property from the Common Land, which they considered would further enhance the Powick site's suitability for a Pauper Lunatic Asylum. The White Chimney's Estate was thought 'ideally suited' to the Visitor's purpose, of constructing a new public lunatic asylum, and in April 1847 the Asylum Visiting Committee adopted all provisions of the 1845 Lunatic Asylum's Act³⁸ and resolved that:

1. Mr Stallards estate at White Chimney's, in the Parish of Powick, was desirable as a site for the new asylum.
2. The price, presented by Mr Stallard in a sealed envelope, was more than the Committee felt justified in giving.
3. Mr Onslow resolved that the tenders be readvertised.
4. If agreement could be reached, with Mr Stallard, then the Earl of Coventry, and Sir John Pakington (would) be approached to sell extra fields adjacent to the site.

³⁹

The Visitors now stipulated that their offer for this site was only acceptable to them, if twelve acres of land was available from Lord Coventry, and if a meadow belonging to Sir John Pakington was also available. The Visitors then offered £100 an acre/ for the extra land they required,⁴⁰ but Lord Coventry refused to sanction the sale of his land, whereas Sir John Pakington, who was the Chairman of the Asylum's Committee of Visitors, immediately agreed to sell his land. However, without Lord Coventry's land, the area of the new Powick

³⁵ VM 3 April 1847, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

³⁶ VM 10 April 1847, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i). 8 & 9 Vic. c. 126 (1845) Lunatic Asylums' Act.

³⁷ VM 3 April 1847, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

³⁸ VM 10 April 1847, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i). 8 & 9 Vic. c. 126 (1845) Lunatic Asylums' Act.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ VM 15 May 1847., WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i). 8 & 9 Vic. c. 126 (1845) Lunatic Asylums' Act.

Asylum site would only be 29 acres and 19 poles,⁴¹ which whilst the Visitors regretted Lord Coventry's decision to refuse to sell his land, they felt that the remainder of land available was 'so suitable', as a site for the new asylum, that it should be immediately purchased. Then, an additional 3 roods 29 poles of meadow, was added to the cost of Mr. Stallard's land, and understandably the Asylum Visiting Committee now determined that they would follow the steps laid out in a Lunacy Commission Circular, about setting up a new Pauper Lunatic Asylum. The Visitors now asked for the Commission's specific advice on drawing up the agreement to purchase the land, for the site of the new Powick Asylum, and they then adjourned their Meeting, until the Commission's advice was available.⁴² In June 1847, a contract was signed for the purchase of the land necessary to build the new Powick Asylum, although this step could only be undertaken after agreement had , been reached, for the County of Worcester to cooperate with Worcester City Council, to create a new joint asylum.⁴³ The Minutes of the Visiting Committee's Planning Meetings, held in June 1847,⁴⁴ revealed that several Contracts were then drawn up with; Mr. William Stallard, Mr. Thomas Stallard and Sir John Somerset Pakington, for the purchase of the site of the new asylum.⁴⁵

The Powick Asylum Visitors now decided to advertise in the Worcester newspapers, the *Midland Counties Herald*, the *Times* and in the *Morning Chronicle*, for designs for the new asylum,⁴⁶ with architects invited to submit plans, and estimates for an institution, to house two hundred patients. These advertisements also stated that, the asylum 'building...(was) to be of brick, and simple in style.' Prizes of £50, £30, and £20, were offered to the three architects, whose designs were short listed, and the closing date for entries to this competition, was set as 31st October 1847.⁴⁷ At this time, Mr. Helm, who had been Clerk to the Visitors at Droitwich Lunatic Asylum, was appointed Acting Clerk to the new Powick Asylum Visitors, but at the inaugural Meeting of the Visitor's Committee, he was then formally appointed Permanent Clerk to the Asylum Committee of Visitors. This was a very logical decision, given that he had gained unique experience, regarding the treatment of pauper insanity, whilst he worked at Droitwich Asylum.⁴⁸ Thus, he had experience of dealing with both the Poor Law Commission, and with the Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy, the body that later became the Lunacy Commission. Entries in the competition, for a design for the new Powick Asylum, were opened, by Mr. Helm, in early November 1847, and the designs received were then displayed in the 'Turnpike Commissioner's Room', which was a venue used to ensure that the plans of the new institution were only seen by Members of the Visiting Committee. To ensure that the construction of the new asylum was not delayed, Mr. Helm negotiated three provisional contracts, for the construction of the new institution, with the Secretary of State, and then all the Members of the Visiting Committee, were sent copies of the Act of Parliament,⁴⁹ under which the new asylum would be built, together with the Rules of the Lunacy Commission, and a copy of the draft contracts, that the Clerk had prepared.⁵⁰ Thus, the men adjudicating on the suitability of the Asylum Plans, submitted by the architects, were thoroughly briefed for their task. However, it now transpired that, the competition to design the new Lunatic Asylum was keen, as there were twenty-seven designs submitted by the closing date. These plans were then displayed, so that the Visitors could examine them, and vote on their preferred design,⁵¹ but to ensure complete fairness

⁴¹ Lord Coventry's land, which he sold to the asylum, covered 23 acres 39 poles, and the land being purchased from Mr. Stallard covered 3 roods 29 poles of meadow, a Sir John Pakington's land covered 4 acres 3 rood 31 poles, making a total of 29 acres 19 poles, that was purchased to be added to the asylum estate..

⁴² VM 15 May 1847, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i). 8 & 9 Vic. c. 126 (1845) Lunatic Asylums' Act.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ VM 26 June 1847, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i). 8 & 9 Vic. c. 126 (1845) Lunatic Asylums' Act which reported the Mid Summer 1847 Quarter Sessions.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ VM 24 July 1847, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i). These advertisements were placed on three separate occasions in each of these newspapers.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ VM 16 October 1847, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1 (i).

⁴⁹ 8 & 9 Vic. c. 126 (1845) Lunatic Asylums' Act was bound into the front of the volume of Visitor's' Minutes.

⁵⁰ VM 30 October 1847, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

⁵¹ VM 8 November 1847, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

in this selection process, the plans were each given a name, such as *Non-Quo*, *Veritas*, *Humanitas* and *Justitia*, etc., so that the architect's personal details were removed from their design, ensuring anonymity in the voting procedure. The three designs selected for further 'serious consideration' were: *Fides*, submitted by Mr. Samuel Stinton Markham, of 10 Buckingham St, Adelphi, London, *Industry and Perseverance*, submitted by Messrs. Hamilton & Medland, of Clarence Street, Gloucester, and *Vincit qui patitur*, submitted by Mr. Frederick John Francis, of 2 Cork St, Burlington Gardens, London.

The Powick Asylum Visiting Committee was now cautious, and they deferred their final decision on the choice of a plan for the new asylum, until all three architects had been approached for estimates of the cost of constructing their design of an asylum, although even at this stage, it was clear that Messrs. Hamilton and Medland's design was favourite, followed by Mr. Francis's design, and then that of Mr. Markham. At the end of November 1847, it was reported that whilst both Mr. Francis and Mr. Markham, had submitted the requested estimates of the building costs, Messrs. Hamilton and Medland had not submitted their costing, because they had 'remonstrated' that they would require more time to produce an accurate estimate.⁵² Coincidentally, it was at this time that, the Visiting Committee recognised their own inability to assess the diverse designs submitted, because whilst they felt able to judge architectural designs, in terms of their own personal aesthetic likes and dislikes, they lacked understanding of the technicalities of costing the buildings. Thus, they decided to employ a surveyor, to judge the estimates for the building, and to provide 'technical assistance' to a Sub Committee of the Committee of Visitors. Mr. Stewart, of Liverpool, was appointed to deal with this matter.⁵³ In the time taken to resolve the matter of how much it would cost to build their design of building, Messrs. Hamilton and Medland were able to submit their costings for the new building. In January 1848, the Visitors sent a copy of their 'planning brief', which was a lengthy and detailed document, to the Lunacy Commission,⁵⁴ suggesting that the site for Powick Asylum was 'healthful and commodious, and (they) would take advantage...(of its site by building) wings...(with) open aspects to the south'. The entrance gate, where a porter's lodge would be built, was on a branch lane off the main Malvern to Worcester Road, in 'prettily wooded land.' They then suggested that the asylum buildings were being planned, to accommodate 200 patients, 100 of each gender, and within the asylum buildings, it was expected that about 10% of the patients would be 'convalescent', and be able to be employed in farm work, and in various domestic offices, under moderate supervision. Thus, the intention for the pauper lunatics, incarcerated in the new Powick Asylum, was to create an environment that was, 'tranquil,' in which 'cure' would be possible, which was exactly what the Lunacy Commission demanded. This planning brief also suggested that ten of the convalescent patients, would sleep in the day room of their ward, two in the associated sleeping rooms, and five in each ward, with supervision provided by one attendant, which was an arrangement intended to place the sleeping rooms under closer inspection, than the wards; an approach already successfully adopted at 'Dumfries and Gloucester...(Asylums, and this system had) long...(been) used as an instrument of cure in some (other) large foreign asylums'⁵⁵ Men of the 'highest authority', such as Drs. Hitch, Conolly, Fonville and Esquirol, were said to have sanctioned the use of such plans, which was a 'recommendation indeed!⁵⁶ The advantage of this 'management scheme', for the oversight of patients, was to minimise staffing, but it also provided security, by placing the 'least trusted inmates' in the closest proximity to the ward attendants, thus tacitly recognising a 'hierarchy of trust', so that the most reliable patients were placed furthest from their attendants. Thus, the notion of a 'gradation of trust' amongst patients, within the institution, was an implicit organising principle in the new Powick Asylum from the outset.

⁵² VM 29 November 1847, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ The National Archive, Kew, (NA) Ref: MH83/300, 3 January 1848.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

In line with the 'contemporary orthodoxy,' the treatment régime to be adopted at the new Powick Asylum, was 'Moral Treatment,' but in large institutions, like the one planned at Powick, an attempt was made to create the most suitable separate environments, for the treatment of a particular type of mental affliction. Thus, the detailed arrangements for housing inmates, at the planned asylum, included, eighteen incurable patients being housed in 'tranquil surroundings;' in galleries that would be located near to the central buildings, with five of these inmates housed in single rooms, so that they could be more easily managed. However, this also meant that less staff per patient were necessary, which probably made these arrangements very attractive, to the asylum's administrators.⁵⁷ Sixteen imbecile and epileptic patients, who were expected 'to be somewhat more troublesome' than other patients, were to be placed in a gallery, although half of these patients would sleep in single rooms.⁵⁸ Violent and dirty patients, who were thought likely to be of a 'dangerous character', were to be placed in a specially constructed gallery, under the charge of two attendants, who were responsible for twenty two such patients, fourteen of whom were to sleep in single rooms, which was a proportion larger than the one third recommended by the Lunacy Commissioners, but less than that recommended by Dr. John Conolly, an influential authority on psychological medicine, who had been Medical Superintendent at Hanwell Asylum, in Middlesex. He believed that two thirds of patients of this type, in an institution, should sleep in single rooms. The Powick Asylum Visitors would then certainly have expected that, most of the patients transferred to their new institution, would have come from private mad houses, where it was likely that they had been 'under restraint.' Thus, when they arrived at the new asylum, these patients would 'give much trouble, if they (were placed) in associated dormitories. For this reason, initially, these inmates were to be placed in a separate area of a ward, intended for patients likely to be troublesome. Whilst the Asylum Visitors decided to deviate from the Lunacy Commission's recommendations, about housing such patients, ND they did regard this as a temporary measure, undertaken to gain 'practical advantage.'⁵⁹

The Powick Asylum Visitors now stated that, the advantage of the new asylum site, which was on the edge of Malvern Old Hills, a large area of common-land, would be best exploited by building a 'ha ha fence...(to) give patients an uninterrupted view of the surrounding countryside, with no appearance of restraint', which was an effect that had successfully been achieved at the North Wales Asylum, at Denbigh.⁶⁰ This approach would then give the asylum inmates, an 'impression of freedom'. The apartments and offices, for the Medical Superintendent, and Matron, were to be placed centrally, although they would be 'entirely private,' but they would then have immediate access to the galleries, and wards, of the main asylum buildings, which was thought 'essential.'⁶¹ Elsewhere, in the main building, a 'corridor of communication' was planned, by the architects, who claimed that this was an 'innovation,' although a not dissimilar arrangement had already been used, at Derby Lunatic Asylum. The intention of this approach, was to attempt to attain an object hitherto considered unattainable; the 'corridor of communication', planned at Powick Asylum, was intended to be as 'light as day', and would connect every ward to the Chapel, the visiting rooms, the kitchen and to all other parts of the asylum, providing 'sight of all day-rooms, airing-courts and galleries'; allowing the Medical Superintendent to inspect both inmates and staff, without leaving the asylum main building, and without being detected in doing so. This was clearly in line with Jeremy Bentham's plans⁶² for a 'Panopticon, or Viewing house,' which Bentham had described in an article first published in 1782.⁶³ In connection with these plans,

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² NA Ref: MH83/300, 3 January 1848.

⁶³ Bentham, Jeremy, 'The Panopticon or Inspection house', in *The Works of Jeremy Bentham*, (ed. Bowring, Sir John), 1857, Vol. IV p. 39.

Bentham had suggested that 'intermittent observation,' where a person being watched, was aware that it was possible for them to be observed, whilst they were unaware of exactly when they were under observation, was a potent agent of 'behavioral change.' In the case of lunatics, it was believed that such intermittent observation would aid 'cure.' Thus, the architects at Powick Asylum claimed:

by our plan, the most extraordinary power is vested in the (Medical) Superintendent; he can be unseen watching the workings of the whole establishment, and when this power is known, and felt, we cannot help think that it would provide a salutary check, not only upon the patients themselves, but on those attendants, who might otherwise be inclined to slight their duties...(and if the) corridor is continued on the second story (sic)...(it will be) possible for patients here to get to Chapel, without passing other wards, or having to go down and up stairs.⁶⁴

Mr. Medland, the architect, also claimed that he had learned from the problems encountered with the similar 'corridor' at Derby Asylum, so that he had made amendments to the 'corridor of communication' to be provided at the new Powick Asylum.⁶⁵

All the galleries. in the new Powick Asylum. were designed to be twelve feet wide, with eight out of ten of them, having a direct southern aspect, so that a promenade, some 686 feet long, was available for patients to exercise in, during inclement weather.⁶⁶ In the sleeping rooms, it was thought that, 'small associations', amongst patients, would be created, which the Visitors, significantly, claimed was an idea developed and used by Mr. Tuke, of York Retreat, where the 'Moral Treatment' of insanity' had originated, and two of Samuel Tuke's acolytes, Drs. Jacobi and Contillis, had recommended this approach, which had proved highly successful.⁶⁷ The day rooms, at the new Powick Asylum, were intended to be spacious,⁶⁸ and it was thought that they 'might be constructed to form portions of the galleries,' so that patients needing constant supervision could pass their time there. It was also, unequivocally, stated that, the day rooms were not 'a simple compartment' for meals;⁶⁹ they were intended to be the centre of the 'Community of Patients,' in that part of the asylum. Each day room was, to overlook its own airing ground, to which it had direct access, via a door giving inmates some freedom of movement, within the confines of the area of the asylum, where they were incarcerated. Attendants at Powick Asylum would be resident, which meant they would seldom leave the institution, and they would live in rooms placed to, command a complete view; to allow supervision of the galleries, day rooms and airing grounds they were responsible for, without interfering with the light, or ventilation, of the patients' accommodation. This was an idea, believed to be 'approved of by Mr. Tuke of York,'⁷⁰ which facilitated the creation of a 'Community of the Patients,' and the asylum staff, who cared for them. In accepting this idea, the Powick Visitors were attempting to invoke the name and ideas of the man who had introduced 'Moral Treatment' of the insane,' into Britain, in support of their plans for Powick Asylum. Another development, at the new institution, was based on the premise that, mentally disturbed people were very vulnerable when bathing, and washing, so the bathrooms and lavatories, in the wards, at the new institution, were directly attached to the galleries, to ensure that inmates, at their ablutions, would be closely supervised, in using these facilities. However, where a gallery contained a larger number of patients than usual, with 'dirty habits', a larger bathroom was provided,⁷¹ whilst particularly violent, and maniacal patients, were to be accommodated, by placing them in 'strong rooms', that were to be placed adjacent to the galleries, with some of these small chambers, to be

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ The day-rooms at the Asylum were to be twenty five feet by fifteen feet.

⁶⁹ NA Ref: MH83/300, 3 January 1848.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

'padded rooms', to house patients liable to injure themselves, by falling about. Thus, it would be possible to place patients in 'seclusion,' without moving them to another gallery. Two, or three, rooms, for this purpose, were planned in each of the galleries, so that patients with symptoms, which required such treatment, could be retained in the asylum, where they had been allocated, on their committal to the institution.⁷² Infirmary wards: one for each gender, were also to be provided, to house physically sick pauper lunatics, and it was envisaged that these wards would be well ventilated, and commodious. This accommodation was also, to have galleries, which could then function in a comparable way to the other parts of the asylum. The patients in the hospital wards, were to be isolated from the rest of the patients, in the main asylum building, and these rooms were to be close enough to the Medical Officer's room, in case his attention was needed there, in an emergency. One female nurse was to be employed, in each of the infirmary wards, although it was intended that 'ordinary sickness;' not regarded as serious, should be treated in the patient's own gallery, thus reducing the disturbance caused by moving such patients elsewhere.⁷³

The original main buildings, planned for Powick Asylum, had just two storeys, which meant that the staircases, that were intended to keep the individual galleries as distinct as possible, would also allow the ward attendants to communicate with each other, in case of emergencies, such as when accidents, assaults or other incidents occurred. However, the Committee of Visitors now expressed their disapproval of a recent trend in some Pauper Lunatic Asylums, for groups of more than thirty patients to be cared for by just two attendants, because they believed that, this number of patients was too numerous to be managed in this way, particularly if the patients became too noisy. Thus, at the new Powick Asylum, it was hoped that more individual attention would be given to patients, to create a 'Family of Patients,' which was thought to be most 'desirable in a well-regulated Pauper Lunatic Asylum.' Immediately outside the main asylum buildings were the airing grounds, and beyond them the gardens, The Visitors expressed themselves:

convinced that in an asylum...(like Powick Asylum) the stronger features of insanity cannot fail to be much subdued...(so they) had not hesitated to allot the airing-ground of a gallery, as a space coexistent with the others, though, of course, it would not be desirable to introduce here the ornamental character of the first two airing-grounds, which had been laid out in walks, pleasure gardens, with everything calculated to administer to the comfort and enjoyment of patients'. The airing grounds were about ½ acre each in area.⁷⁴

An Asylum-Chapel was also planned, where Anglican Church Services,⁷⁵ would be held; a facility that was intended to be centrally situated, and not over the kitchens, because Chapels in some other Pauper Lunatic Asylums had, the 'odours of cooking' pervading them. The Chapel at the new Powick Asylum was to be thirty feet square, so that it would accommodate over half the patients in the asylum, at any one time. The central location of this building, would also, make it easily accessible from both the male and female sides of the asylum, without the need to go through the central asylum buildings.⁷⁶ From the outset, it was intended that Chapel Services, at the new asylum, should be attended by a mixture of male and female patients.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ As in workhouses, and in other Poor Law institutions, created under the New Poor Law, after 1834, Pauper Lunatics Asylums were to be dominated by the Anglican Church, as was the case in many workhouses. This was sometimes a problem. At Powick Asylum, where both the Roman Catholics, a Non Conformists, were apparently concerned about proselytism occurring among the pauper patients at the Asylum.

⁷⁶ NA Ref: MH83/300, 3 January 1848.

Within the new Powick Asylum grounds, the large central kitchens were to be built,⁷⁷ where most meals for both patients and staff would be prepared, so that it was thought essential that this facility should be easily accessible from all parts of the asylum, to allow food to be distributed to all the wards of the asylum, without being cold when they were consumed. The laundry was also in the centre of the asylum-grounds, and this was to have a washhouse, drying closets, and a drying ground. Thus, it was envisaged that the asylum's central kitchen, and laundry, would employ many of the female inmates of the asylum. Elsewhere, in the asylum-grounds, a brew-house was to be provided, equipped with ale and beer-cellars, where the beer made in the brewery was to be stored. Beer was to be consumed by the patients, and staff, because this drink was considered a safer option than the drinking the water available in the institution. A bakehouse was also to be provided, to make the institution as self-sufficient, in bread and pastries, as possible, and there were to be coal-stores, workshops for carpenters, and tailors, with extensive farm-buildings, and other buildings that would provide employment for many male patients in the asylum. All these facilities were to be in the most convenient positions possible, to provide for easy access from the wards, where the patients lived, when they were not at work, which would minimise the likelihood of escapes by patients, whilst they were at work, or on their way to their place of employment. It was also deemed essential that all parts of the asylum be designed, to ensure that male and female pauper lunatics were entirely segregated by gender, and initially by the diagnosed class of their mental affliction. Thus, the intention was that, inmates should permanently be kept in the place allotted to treat their specific 'needs', when they were originally committed to the asylum. Thus, they would be kept in accommodation that had been specifically designed to facilitate their individual treatment. Inevitably, attendance at Services in the Asylum-Chapel was the only time when inmates were to be in mixed gender groups.⁷⁸ Thus, it was now clear that the new Powick Asylum was to be a large institution, where the environment provided was to be as conducive as possible, so that warming and ventilating the building effectively was thought essential. However, the heating and ventilation system, to be adopted, had to be as economical as possible. For this reason, Haden's Patent Heating-System Apparatus, which had been used in several other asylums, and government buildings, was chosen to be fitted at the new Powick Asylum, with each side of the asylum-buildings provided with, heat from a single, shared, furnace, located in the basement of the main buildings, at the junction of two asylum wings, where a shaft from the heating system, vented at roof level.⁷⁹

The initial intention of the Asylum Visitors was that, the overall design for Powick Asylum, should be Gothic or Elizabethan, but the design eventually chosen was Italianate; principally because this design had proved cheaper to construct, and it was 'calculated to give an abundance of light and air...(that was considered an) essential requisite in lunatic asylums.⁸⁰ It was also claimed that in Gothic Architecture, 'picturesque, but narrow and confined windows' were normally used, which would have restricted the amount of light entering the asylum buildings. The Italianate design, chosen, for the new asylum, did not have any 'unnecessary ornaments...(or a) bold effect of a range of buildings.⁸¹ Indeed, the buildings were quite plain, and built of brick, which it was said would 'add to the economy of the construction, and provide the most durable construction' possible,⁸² and the building was to be fireproof, which was a necessity in any public building, which required insurance. Finally, the Architect's Report discussed, the possibility of future additions to the buildings, because future extensions to the building were regarded as inevitable, given the expected increase in pauper lunatic numbers nationally. The possibility of an additional storey, on top of the two storey buildings, already planned, was contemplated, although this development would then,

⁷⁷ The central-kitchen, at the asylum, was a room measuring thirty feet by twenty eight feet.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

inevitably, reduce the number of single rooms that would be available in the asylum buildings, as a proportion of the accommodation available, if the institution were enlarged. However, if this limitation were acceptable, additional accommodation could easily be provided, for an extra eighty patients, by constructing another storey on top of the existing two storey buildings. It was also thought that large separate associated sleeping rooms, could also be built to enlarge the asylum, and to provide accommodation for more Officers and servants. Such a development would then, allow considerable expansion, and might even allow Powick Asylum to double the number of patients it could accommodate.⁸³ Whilst the Architect's Report was comprehensive, it made no attempt to fix a cost on the construction of the asylum, because the Visitors objected to 'the gross advantage frequently taken in competitions,' by announcing the cost of a building, before it was designed. However, what the Visitors did give was an assurance about the need for rigid economy in the asylum building's construction, so that 'no superfluities, in ornament, or accommodation,' was contemplated.⁸⁴ In fact, what were to be created, within the new Powick Asylum, were at least ten, different 'environments,' in which individual inmates could be treated, in accordance with a 'Moral Treatment Régime,' specific to the needs of the diagnosed mental afflictions of the individuals being treated at the asylum. Thus, initially, the new asylum conformed exactly to Lynn Hollen Lees's ideas of 'treatment by classification,' as discussed in her book *The Solidarity of Strangers* (1998).⁸⁵

The results of the competition, for the design of the new Powick Asylum, were known by November 1847. The second prize of £30 was then paid to Mr. Francis, and the third prize of £20 to Mr. Markham. However, then, as expected, Messrs. Hamilton and Medland's design was the winner, although payment of their premium of £50 was postponed until the building work was underway.⁸⁶ Inevitably, the winner's initial design, for the new asylum needed much work, before it could be built, and at this time the Committee of Visitors sought the advice of Mr. Stewart, the architect and surveyor, who had initially advised them on costing the building project. He was now asked to meet the Visitors, in early February 1848, to discuss implementing the architect's plans, for the new Powick Asylum, which was immediately after Sir John Somerset Pakington, had asked not to be reappointed Chairman of the Asylum Visitors, 'on account of his engagements in Parliament'.⁸⁷ Now, Mr. Curtler,⁸⁸ one of the City of Worcester's representatives, on the Committee, was appointed in Sir John Pakington's stead, and Mr. Curtler occupied the position of Chairperson of the Asylum Visitor's Committee for over twenty years, and in some senses, he became a 'perpetual Chairman.'⁸⁹ In preparation for his meeting with the Visitors, Mr. Stewart, the Consultant appointed to advise the Visitors on the new asylum building, met Mr. Medland, the architect, which inevitably led to several amendments being made to the asylum building plans. However, another outcome of this meeting was that Mr. Stewart sent the Visitors a Memorandum, suggesting that, 5% of the estimated cost of the new building, should be paid before the building work commenced, This amount was not to exceed £2,000, which included the cost of employing a resident clerk of works, for the new construction, until the building was complete,⁹⁰ which was an arrangement that Mr. Stewart regarded as essential. Another £1,000 would be necessary, to have 'block plans, and drawings' of the intended new asylum buildings, and estate, made, and then, another sum would be needed to cover the architect's travelling expenses.⁹¹ The specifications of the new Powick Asylum buildings were, by now, already quite detailed, so for instance, the sizes of timber, glass and ironwork

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Lees, Lynn Hollen, the *Solidarity of rangers*, CUP, 1998.

⁸⁶ VM 29 November 1847, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

⁸⁷ Sir John Pakington was increasing his influence in the House of Commons, where he was eventually appointed a Minister at the War and the Colonies Ministry, in February 1852.

⁸⁸ Mr. Curtler was Mayor of Worcester on several occasions.

⁸⁹ VM 2 February 1848, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

were included on the plans, as were details of the 'corridor of communication.'⁹² Indeed, this structure had already been altered, so that the supports and open iron work, in this passageway, were now to be 4 feet 6 inches wide, instead of the 7 feet width, which was originally intended. Details were also now given of other corridors, keeper's-rooms, and cellars in the asylum -buildings. The cellars were now specifically placed under the front part of the building, with the intention of not being under the kitchen, because of the possibility of ingress of water from the kitchens. At this time, it was also decided that the asylum-attendant's rooms should be larger than were originally planned.⁹³ Then, in April 1848, there was an important consultation, when the architect presented his plans, which were now almost complete, to the Committee of Visitors.⁹⁴ This led the Visitors to be anxious, as they wanted to send the completed plans of the intended new Powick Asylum to the Lunacy Commission, as soon as possible. This Consultation Meeting was also important, because it enabled the Visitors to rehearse the many questions, and answers, which were likely to arise in presenting the Asylum Plans to the Lunacy Commission. Eventually, it was decided to send the architect to, attend at, the Lunacy Commission, to answer any questions that arose regarding the asylum plans.⁹⁵

In April 1848, it was suggested that the new Powick Asylum buildings should be realigned, to face due south, by varying the axis of the building by about 30 degrees, and it was now also stated that the new buildings would cover 4,816 (square) yards, when completed, and that the central administration-block was now to have five storeys,⁹⁶ which was in contrast to most of the other accommodation blocks, that had two storeys. The planned infirmary-wards were now to be placed on top of the two storey blocks, one on each side of the asylum's central tower, thus ensuring separation by gender for the physically sick inmates was complete. There were also to be six airing-yards, each of half an acre, on each side of the asylum, and the institution's main buildings were now to be on the highest part of the asylum-site, to allow perfect drainage. This was in spite of the suggestion that 'great power...(would) be needed to raise water from Carey's Brook, to about 100 feet', to storage tanks on the roof of the main-buildings⁹⁷ The tabular presentation (Table 1.2 reproduced below) gives useful evidence of the way that inmates would be distributed within the asylum buildings.⁹⁸ However, by this stage of Powick Asylum's development, it was apparent that the intended asylum-buildings were not to be on the 'radiating principle', adopted at some other Pauper Lunatic Asylums, such as the Devon County Asylums, at Exminster, because Powick Asylum had been planned to accommodate patients in their 'proper classes', which at this juncture meant that inmates were to be separated into the classes, determined by the nature of the mental affliction, diagnosed when they were committed to the institution. Thus, there were wards on both the male and female sides of the asylum for; dements, idiots (and imbeciles), maniacs and melancholics, together with separate wards, intended for dirty patients. Other points about the new Asylum buildings that, still required attention, included:⁹⁹ the darkness inside the Asylum-building, where no direct light could enter, because of the central staircases, at the end of the passages through the wards, which blocked light

⁹² These 'corridors of communication', featured in Messrs. Hamilton a Medland's plans, and were referred to in their brochure for the new asylum building. This structure provided an opportunity for the Medical Superintendent to observe all parts of the asylum-buildings, without being visible to those he observed, including both patients and the staff of the institution.

⁹³ VM 2 February 1848, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i). In talking to Richard Tainton, who began work as an attendant at Powick Mental Hospital, as it was then called, in 1929, he remembered that the attendant's rooms were 'lean to structures' attached to the inside walls of the wards. They were bare and unheated, so that they were bitterly cold in the winter months.

⁹⁴ VM 1 April 1848, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ This five storey central administration-block was the only part of the main Powick Asylum buildings, to survive, into the twenty first century. It has been converted in to flats, which forms part of a late twentieth-century housing-estate, that now occupies the old Asylum-site. Ironically, this block is of exactly the same design as the reception-block of Pentonville- prison, which was completed in 1842, excepting that treadwheels; that were powered by prisoners, to raise water into the prison, that were located in the basement of the Pentonville-Prison block, were omitted in the Powick Asylum design.

⁹⁷ NA Ref: MH83/300, 11 April 1848

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

entering the wards. However, more importantly, than this, was the lack of a sufficient view of the galleries, from the attendant's-rooms, which would certainly hamper the management of patients in the wards; a serious fault that needed remedying, if this were possible. This problem was rectified, by moving the attendant's-rooms to the end of each of the galleries, although it was still important to note that nearly half of the galleries in the new main-building, of the new asylum, were in the shade, either because there no windows, or because they were obscured by other parts of the asylum buildings. This meant that many of the galleries were dark, which was a problem that also affected the entry of light into the attendant's-rooms, the day rooms, dormitories, and staircases in the central asylum buildings, which would cause severe problems for the patients, and the staff attending them, in these rooms. However, in a building as large as the new Powick Asylum, such problems were inevitable.

TABLE 1.2. A Table showing where patients were to be located on both sides of the asylum.¹⁰⁰

<u>Ground floor.</u>	Single beds	Dormitorie s	Female s	Males	Tota l
Ward A for tranquil curable and convalescent patients	5	16	21	21	42
Ward B for idiot, imbecile, and epileptic patients	8	8	16	16	32
Violent and dirty patients	14	8	22	22	44
<u>First floor</u>					
Tranquil curable and adolescent patients	5	16	21	21	42
Imbecile, idiot, and epileptic patients	8	8	16	16	32
<u>Second floor</u>					
Infirmary	2	4	6	6	12
		TOTAL.	102	102	204

The Lunacy Commission made several comments about aspects of the building-plans, of the new asylum that needed attention. The drying-closets, laundry, and other workshops were thought likely to be too wet, for the health and comfort of the staff, and patients, who worked there, and this problem required some resolution. These work-areas also needed, making 'more cheerful,' which could be achieved by ensuring that all the windows, in these rooms, faced south, instead of north. There were also problems, in other parts of the asylum buildings, with the relative positions of the dormitories, bathrooms, water-closets and lavatories, in the north- wing of the building, needing changing. It was also felt that the washhouses, and other offices, and workshops, in the asylum, should be moved further away, from the main-building, to give more space for the asylum's-offices, courts, storerooms, and workrooms, so there could be a separation between the inmates' living accommodation, and their places of work, which seemed a sensible, and 'attractive suggestion'. It was also recommended that the passages within the new asylum should have double-walls, to improve the sound insulation of the building, and to prevent heat-loss. Another criticism was of the accommodation provided for the Asylum Officers, which was

¹⁰⁰ NA Ref: MH83/300, 11 April 1848

said to be 'very inadequate.' It was planned that the Matron would have only one room, with a bedroom measuring twelve feet by ten feet, the Asylum Steward also only had one room, with a bedroom measuring twenty-two feet by eight feet six inches, whilst the Dispenser had similar accommodation to this, with a bedroom measuring sixteen feet by fourteen feet. However, the Lunacy Commission's recommendation, for each of these Officer's accommodation was that they should have a sitting-room, and a visitor's-room for their use. The basement, or 'underground-floor,' of the main-building, was also criticised, because there were no dimensions indicated on the plans, supplied to the Lunacy Commission. However, despite this, the Commission was 'relatively complimentary' about the elevation of the intended Powick Asylum buildings, which they described as 'pleasing,' although they still felt that the windows, in the main buildings were 'too large,' because the glass surfaces, in the windows, would chill the rooms inside the building. Whilst it was felt that these large apertures would provide ample light, the Commission did think that smaller windows would be sufficient to allow light to enter the building.¹⁰¹

In April 1848, after a letter was received by the Asylum Visitors, stating that the plans of the new asylum had been sent to a 'consulting-architect', who had suggested some other additional alteration that, he felt necessary, including the purchasing of an engine, or some other means of raising water, the 100 feet from Carey's Brook, to two tanks, one on each side of the asylum main-building roof, from where water would be distributed to the rest of the institution. This expert had also agreed that, the buildings should face south, a change that had already been implemented, but he also believed that the porches, on the outside entrances to the asylum's-rooms, were superfluous, and indeed 'objectionable', as they occupied spaces where windows ought to have been located, to allow more light to enter the galleries, at the front of the buildings. He also objected to the arrangement of rooms, in the front-galleries of the main-building, where he thought the accommodation was 'deficient of comfort,' and not suitable for the reception of the friends of patients. The expert also thought that the Matron's and the Steward's sitting-rooms would be better placed where the Dispensary, and its associated offices were located, on the asylum plan. Further to this, the consultant suggested that only one shared 'dead-room' was necessary, for both sides of the asylum, and that more workshops were necessary, to provide employment for extra male-patients, so that tailoring and shoemaking workshops, should also be provided. Finally, the consultant reported that the current asylum-plans did not show the equipment for warming and ventilating the asylum, which he thought a serious omission.¹⁰² However, despite these comments, by late June 1848, the Visitors had signed an agreement with the architect, which specified that the plans previously submitted, must comply with the Lunacy Commission's recommendations, of 18 May 1848.¹⁰³ However, the Visitors completely ignored the advice of the Consultant Architect, they had paid to give them advice. The Lunacy Commission's additional requirements for the new asylum building, were well known to the asylum's architect, because he had discussed these plans with the Lunacy Commission, at the time of his visit to the Commission's Headquarters, in London, so the Visitors were now insistent that, as construction of the new asylum, including changes to the detailed plans, demanded by the Lunacy Commission, should be commenced, Changes that the architect inevitably made, as the building work progressed, was then to be reported to Visitors.

By June 1848, the Visitors were clearly impatient, at the delay to the construction of the new asylum, which they saw as being caused by the Lunacy Commission's deliberations, about the plans of the new institution, so they wrote, 'urging dispatch' in dealing with the asylum-plans,¹⁰⁴ which led to a swift response from the Lunacy Commission, who returned the amended plans of the new asylum buildings to the Visitors, who then took over three months

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ VM 24 June 1848, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

to respond to the comments made by the Commission. However, in October 1848, the Visitors agreed to the demands made by the Commissioners in Lunacy, about the removal of the porches from the outside doors on the main building, and about the use of lighter upper-panels in the internal doors of the building, which were now to be filled with thick, rough glass, to illuminate the corridors inside the building more effectively. However, the Commissioner's suggestion that, the corridor to the Steward's, Matron's and Dispenser's bedrooms be provided with an additional window, to give more light there, was rejected. However, the Visitors did agree with the Lunacy Commissioners that, there should be only one 'dead-room,' to serve both male and female deceased-patients, which the Visitors believed should be placed amongst the outhouses, in the asylum-grounds, so that it was not too apparent, or obtrusive. They also agreed that no special kitchen should be provided for the Medical Superintendent, and his family,' because the Visitors presumed that the Medical Superintendent, and the other Asylum Officers, would share a general kitchen.

Despite making these changes, the Visitor's Committee refused to accede to all the Lunacy Commission's demands, so they resisted changing the attendant's-rooms attached to the wards, because they felt that such an alteration would fundamentally alter the building, without improving the view of the wards, and other parts of the patients'-accommodation, from these rooms. They also rejected the advice proffered, about the sitting and sleeping rooms for the Matron, the Steward, and the Dispenser, which had been criticised by the Commissioners, as 'inadequate,' because the Visitors believed that the accommodation provided was already 'abundant.' The Visitors also felt unable to agree to the removal of the 'projecting masses on the building', which the Lunacy Commissioners thought 'shaded the main building', and they refused to alter the size of window apertures in the wards, because they felt that 'the glare of light produced within the wards, by removing these architectural features of the building, would in some unspecified way be 'prejudicial to the patients'. These responses, to the advice given by the Lunacy Commissioners, now led the Visitors to make other observations about alterations to the architect's plans, which were required before these plans would be acceptable to the Lunacy Commission.¹⁰⁵ The basement-plans, of the main asylum-buildings, were now amended, at the behest of the Visitors, to show the exact position of the warm-air, and hot-water apparatus, to be used to power the heating and ventilating systems of the institution. These details had been omitted from the original plans of the asylum, which had been sent to the Lunacy Commission, although where this equipment was to be in the basement of the main buildings had been discussed earlier but was not included on the plans submitted to the Commission. These plans were now agreed by the Visitors, and were sent to the Lunacy Commission, at the end of December 1848.¹⁰⁶

The delay in building Powick Asylum was partly caused by the Committee of Visitor's deliberations, which lasted about eighteen months, but after this time, they were confident enough, to consider how they might pay for the new institution. Thus, in December 1848, the Visitors wrote to ask the Home Department, whether the Government would advance the 'necessary money for the erection of the new lunatic asylum, and for the purchase of the necessary land',¹⁰⁷ but they also asked on what terms an advance would be made, and the rate of interest, that would be charged. Then, in March 1849, the Committee of Visitors wrote again to the same Department, suggesting that, as their plans for the new Powick Asylum were so advanced, they were soon likely to be approved, and the Visitors would then hope to go ahead with the planned institution. However, the Visitors were now told that the state of funds, at the disposal of the Government Finance Board, meant that loans like the one sought by the Visitors, could no longer be advanced.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, Government Funds for building public institutions had been nearly completely depleted by this time, but despite this,

¹⁰⁵ VM 28 October 1848, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹⁰⁶ VM 30 December 1848, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ VM Minutes of meeting at the commencement of the Easter Session of the Committee of Magistrates 1849, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

the Visiting Committee's plans, and estimates, for the new Powick Asylum, were still sent to the Lunacy Commission, with the expectation of gaining the Secretary of State's approval for the new institution. Then, at the Worcestershire Easter Quarter Sessions, in 1849, the Visitors stated: 'We have to state to the Court that, the plans (for the asylum) are in such a state of forwardness, and so far, approved by the Commissioners in Lunacy, that they are likely soon to receive the approbation of the Secretary of State'.¹⁰⁹ Despite the negative comments about the state of Government Funds, an application to the Government Public Loans Office, to borrow the money, to create the new Powick Asylum, was still made, by the Worcestershire Justices. However, given the circumstances outlined earlier, this application was inevitably rejected.¹¹⁰ The Justices now sought an alternative approach to financing, and an arrangement not dissimilar to what today might be termed a 'Private Finance Initiative' (a P.F.I.) was sought. Thus, the County Justices were confident that they could raise the necessary funds to build the new institution, and they encouraged the Visitors to advertise for a loan of £4,000, from 'the City', in £500 tranches, using the County Rates as surety.¹¹¹ Then, by mid August 1849, an exploratory advertisement, for 'loan capital', from 'the city', was placed by the Visiting Committee of the intended Powick Asylum, which resulted in two loan offers being received, each for £5,000: one at 4½% per annum, the other at 5% per annum. However, having determined that such loans were available, the Visitors declined both offers,¹¹² and instead they determined to procure finance, for the new institution, from a 'Public Company.' Thus, the Clerk to the Visitors was authorised to write to various insurance companies, asking about loans of £4,000, with the intention that the residue of the funds needed, would be borrowed later. The Visitor's intention was to pay back these loans over a thirty-year period, by equal half yearly payments. In early September 1849, the Visitors received one offer of a loan, from the London Life Association, of King William Street, London, and another from the Alliance Assurance Company, both at 4½% per annum interest. These offers led the Visitors to resolve to complete the purchase of the site for the new Powick Asylum, with a loan of £4,000, and to start building the asylum, in the spring of 1850, using a further loan of £5,000.¹¹³ In early October 1849, the London Life Association agreed to advance the necessary loan, so that the building of the new asylum at Powick could be commenced.¹¹⁴

In October 1849, Messrs. Hamilton and Medland, the architect partnership, who had designed the new asylum, informed the Visitors that they had dissolved their partnership, but that Mr. Medland would continue with the contract for the new asylum-buildings. However, the Visitors, who were not pleased by this news, responded that they felt that the architects would both 'still be liable under their Agreement,' and that Mr. Medland's continuance, as the sole-architect, was a matter between him and his erstwhile partner. Then, Mr. Medland explained that considerable costs had been added to the estimates for building the asylum, by the Lunacy Commissioners, when they insisted that the whole asylum-buildings be made 'fireproof', which was surely a sensible requirement, but also one that led costs to rise. However, the fact that many of the asylum's-offices were now to be considerably enlarged, compared with the original plans, also drove costs upward.¹¹⁵ However, the architect did suggest that these increased costs would to some extent be counterbalanced by the adoption of Messrs. Fox and Barrett's 'iron and composition flooring,' and using 'molded brick arches,' which would save £2,000, over the original estimates.¹¹⁶ Mr. Medland also revealed that, some items had not been included in the original builder's estimates; sums that totaled over £3,044, with the most expensive of these omissions being the warming and

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² VM 18 August 1849, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹¹³ VM 8 September 1849, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹¹⁴ VM 3 October 1849, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

ventilating-system, which would cost an additional £1,914.¹¹⁷ Other items that were desirable, rather than essential additions to the new buildings, included an entrance-lodge, and gates, a gas-works, and alterations to the existing farm-buildings, to make them usable for the employment of as many pauper lunatic patients as possible, who were to be supervised there by 'instructors in farming'. The architect suggested that additional land would also aid the institution's efforts to be 'self-sufficient,' at an additional cost of £1,130.¹¹⁸ However, Mr. Medland recommended another development that, would save building costs. He had discovered what he described as 'good brick earth', on the site of the asylum,¹¹⁹ which he suggested should, with 'some urgency', be turned to let this clay 'weather', so that it could be made into bricks, as soon as it was required for building the asylum,¹²⁰ which was work that could be undertaken by male-patients. The Worcestershire Justices now suggested that the total sum required, to construct the new Powick Asylum, was likely to be £30,000, and they asked the London Life Association to advance that sum of money, on the surety of the County and City Rates. However, this amount was later revised downwards, to £26,666 13 -4d, to be borrowed at an interest rate of £4 ten -0 per cent per annum. Details of this loan were then placed in local newspapers, for fourteen days, for any objections to be lodged,¹²¹ and a Mortgage Agreement was then completed in December 1849, and this money was borrowed.¹²²

At about this time, the Lunacy Commission asked the Visitors whether, the alignment, and specification of the carriage road, through the asylum-site, had been altered by changing the workshop and office plans, as they believed this might prevent the Visitors from proceeding with building the new asylum, until the plans were approved by Secretary of State. However, the Lunacy Commission was then, careful to emphasise the importance of the asylum-building being 'swiftly expedited.'¹²³ Thus, Mr. Medland, the architect, soon agreed to provide amended plans for the outbuildings,¹²⁴ and the Lunacy Commission were informed that the outbuilding designs had been remodelled, to be similar in design to the other buildings, elsewhere on the asylum site. This meant that the design of these structures, did not affect the carriage-roads,¹²⁵ so that by January 1850, the asylum-architect had ensured the Committee of Visitors that, the plans conformed with the Lunacy Commission's wishes, but Mr. Medland was still clearly frustrated with the Lunacy Commissioners, and he asked, in a letter to them, 'will you have the goodness to make your remarks upon the (plans) and let me have them, at your earliest convenience...so that they can be forwarded, for signature, without further delay'.¹²⁶

In 1850, a tabular presentation, of information from other Pauper Lunatic Asylums, was sent to the Asylum Visitors, which itemised the number of patients in each asylum surveyed, and the salaries paid to the various Asylums' Officers, in those institutions.¹²⁷ This Table included, partial details, of fifteen Pauper Lunatic Asylums, but only six of these institutions revealed the number of inmates they contained, and of these six asylums; four were larger than the intended Powick Asylum. Lancaster had 785 inmates, Surrey 782, Somerset 319, and Suffolk 250, whilst of the smaller asylums; the joint Shropshire and Montgomery institution, and the Yorkshire East Riding Asylum, each had 195 patients. However, in all these cases, there was the same number of male and female patients incarcerated, and in five other institutions, it was the accommodation available that, was declared, rather than the number of patients currently resident in the institution. These statistics showed that some

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ NA Ref: MH83/300, 14 November 1849.

¹²¹ VM 1 December 1849, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹²² VM 31 January 1850, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹²³ NA Ref: MH83/300, 6 December 1849.

¹²⁴ NA Ref: MH83/300, 8 December 1849.

¹²⁵ NA Ref: MH83/300, 13 December 1849.

¹²⁶ NA Ref: MH83/300, 5 January 1850.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

asylums had between 100 and 420 places for patients, and the salaries paid to Medical Superintendents varied between £300 and £500, with board and lodgings included. However, the salary paid was not always dependent on the size of the inmate population of the institution. The salary paid for Medical Officers, sometimes called Assistant Medical Officers, varied from £80 to £300, with board and lodgings included.¹²⁸

The completed plans for the new Powick Asylum, which contained very fine detail of the new buildings, were approved by the Secretary of State, in January 1850, which enabled the Visitors to complete contracts with the architect, and the builders, although, at this time, the architect suggested that the appointment of a Medical Superintendent, for the new asylum, was essential, so that 'the buildings could be completed to his liking'.¹²⁹ At the Worcestershire Committee of Justices Meeting, held on 30 January 1850, it was announced that the contract to build the new Powick Asylum had been awarded to Thomas Haines, which was a decision immediately endorsed by the Secretary of State.¹³⁰ However, at this time, the Commissioners in Lunacy demanded more changes to the asylum plans, including the removal of the coal-store from the cellar, so that coal was no longer to be 'shot' directly into the cellars, causing dust in a place, where the central passage was already thought 'too dark', because it was only lit through glazed panels in the doors, which would easily become obscured, if coal deliveries were tipped there.¹³¹ The Lunacy Commission also suggested that lighting in the cellar should be improved in other ways if this was possible.

In January 1850, progress on the new Powick Asylum building was already apparent, and it was reported that the whole of the ward buildings would be roofed, and the Superintendent's-house 'carried up one storey', which was progress that was regarded as 'satisfactory'.¹³² There was also some other progress evident, such as an improvement in the quality of the bricks available on the asylum site,¹³³ but then, in line with contemporary philosophies, and practices, resulting from the 1845 Lunatic Asylums' Act¹³⁴ it was decided that inmates at the new institution would work, if possible. Thus, for male patients, employment was to include work on the farm, in the gardens, and in various 'industrial departments,' to be established at the asylum. Then, for female patients, the biggest number of inmates would be employed in the asylum laundry, although many other women would be involved in 'domestic-work,' cleaning the asylum-buildings, and working in the central kitchens. Such employment was seen as desirable, because it occupied the inmates' time, but also, importantly, because it trained them in skills that, were appropriate to their 'station in life', and this, it was believed would aid their recovery of 'normality'; the outcome that justified an individual's release from the asylum as 'improved'.¹³⁵ However, withdrawing patients during 'workhours,' also had the advantage of removing many patients from the asylum-wards, thus reducing the numbers of attendants required to supervise the inmates there, during the day. Thus, in the long term, this was a means of reducing the overall costs of treating, and caring, for insane paupers to a minimum. Facilities, to allow such employment, were thus considered essential, and were included in the plans for the new asylum. In March 1850, the Lunacy Commission approved details of the workshops, that were by then being constructed,¹³⁶ and the Visitors agreed to release £2,000 of the architect's fees; part of the £5,000 advanced by the London Life Association, to allow interim payments for some of the minor building- work, being undertaken. The same insurance

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ VM 30 January 1850, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ VM 15 December 1849, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹³² VM 30 January 1850, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹³³ NA Ref: MH83/300, 5 January 1850.

¹³⁴ 8 & 9 Vic. c. 126 (1845) Lunatic Asylums' Act.

¹³⁵ The word 'cured' was never used – Patients were said to be 'improved'.

¹³⁶ VM 30 March 1850, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

company was then asked for a further loan of £5,000, by the Asylum Visitors, in mid April 1850, this was agreed.¹³⁷

Interestingly, the Lunacy Commission was now unwilling to advise the Visiting Committee about heating and ventilating-devices that, might be used in the new Powick Asylum, because they claimed there were too many diverse types of this equipment in use, in various institutions, to make a realistic comparative evaluation possible. However, they did suggest that the use of open fireplaces, in the day rooms, and in some dormitories was essential, because such fires would provide both heat and ventilation. This advice led to a further suggestion, that any system of ventilation, requiring open windows, was questionable, as it was likely to be wasteful of heat.¹³⁸ This lack of advice, from the Lunacy Commissioners, led the Visitors to write to them, to ask whether the Visitors would be best advised to dispense with everything but open-fires, and closed windows, in the new asylum-buildings. They also asked the architect's advice, about this matter, and in the interim, the architect was sent a copy of Lunacy Commissioner's letter, and he was asked to attend a Visitor's Meeting, to provide examples of heating-systems. At this meeting, Mr. Medland clearly favoured 'Haden's Patent System', and when the question of whether day-rooms, and dormitories, in the new asylum, could be heated and ventilated by open-fires, was raised, he commented that the 'cost of fuel for Haden's Patent System would be cheaper, than any of the alternative forms of heating available'.¹³⁹ In his advocacy of Haden's System, the architect reported that, this system had been in use for 'upwards of twenty years,' in several other lunatic asylums, but that open-fires, and open windows, would be provided alongside this patent system of heating, but not for use in the winter-months. Mr. Medland now insisted that, a 'supply of congenial air...(was) essential for the patients,'¹⁴⁰ for health reasons, and a regular change of air in the buildings was also essential. However, Haden's System would ensure that this happened, both cheaply and more efficiently, than would open-fires.¹⁴¹ Testimonials were then provided, by Messrs Haden, the manufacturers of the warming and ventilation-system, providing evidence of the success of this apparatus in other lunatic asylums. Now, typically, the cost conscious Powick Asylum Visitors, insisted that any contract, drawn up by the builder, must specify that the equipment installed, would, 'answer the purposes proposed, and must be kept in perfect repair for three years', after it was installed.¹⁴² In October 1850, the Visitors were told that a decision was urgently required about the choice of heating and ventilating-system. Then, after the architect had reconfirmed that Haden's System was 'preferable to all the others' available,¹⁴³ the Visitors agreed to adopt this system at the new asylum. The cost of this heating equipment was now estimated to be £1,914, that included the ventilating and warming-apparatus, steam-pipes, to warm the Chapel, corridors, and other rooms, together with steam culinary-apparatus, boilers, pipes, cisterns, drying-closets, ironing-places, for the washhouse, and laundry, and a 'power-machine', for the washhouse. Other baths and boilers were also included, to provide hot water for the patient's ablutions.¹⁴⁴

The aspect of the construction work at Powick Asylum that most concerned to the Asylum Visitors, at this stage, was the poor quality of bricks made on the asylum-site, which were reported to be deficient, by the consultant architect, Mr. Stewart, who had been appointed at the outset of the planning phase of the asylum, to advise the Visitors on the construction of the new asylum. He regularly inspected the ongoing building-work, and his disquiet forced Mr. Medland, the architect, to give an assurance to the Visitors that some bricks that had already been made, would be scrapped, so that only 'good and sound bricks' would be used.

¹³⁷ VM 12 June 1850, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ However, rumours about the quality of bricks made on the asylum site persisted, and in July 1850, when work on the asylum-buildings was well advanced, it was suggested that the bricks made there were 'still bad', and that these 'bad bricks' were being used, despite being rejected by the architect. ¹⁴⁶ It now appeared that, such problems caused some of the Asylum Visitors to begin to lose faith in the architect's expertise, and when Mr. Medland recommended Fox and Barrell's Patent Fire Proof Construction, for floors and ceilings in the main asylum building, as a cheaper alternative to the original materials that were to be used there, to provide durable floors, which was a measure that had been suggested previously, the Visitors doubted the architect's advice. This, then exacerbated Mr. Medland's situation, particularly as he was now thought, 'rather forcing in (his advocacy of) this plan.' ¹⁴⁷ The Visitor's relationship with the architect had deteriorated, and their suspicions led them to send the proposals to use Fox and Barrell's Patent Flooring Material to the Lunacy Commission, for their opinions. However, although the architect now exhibited an 'open attitude', in dealing with the Visitors, by openly telling them that there would be 'sundry additional expenditure' incurred, in building the asylum; Mr. Curtler, the Chairman of the Visiting Committee, now demanded that the architect's statements, about the progress of the construction work, be presented 'in writing'. ¹⁴⁸ Despite this apparent lack of trust between the Visitors and the architect, constructing the new Powick Asylum, the Secretary of State now approved the whole plan for the new buildings, and by this time some of the draft contracts, drawn up by the architect, had already been approved. Time now healed this rift between Mr. Medland and the Committee employing him.

In October 1850, 'stage money' was still being borrowed, by instalments, from the London Life Association to make regular payments, to both the architect, and the building contractor ¹⁴⁹ Mr. Medland's Reports now recorded that the site had been completely levelled, with the approach roads built, and that the male wards and refractory ward, were being roofed. The epileptic and convalescent wards were also said to be in a 'forward state', and would, within a few days, be ready to receive iron joists, to support the floors. The female wards had brickwork five feet above ground level, and the offices, and cellars, of the main buildings, were now complete. Elsewhere, the stone plinth, on which the Medical Superintendent's house would be built, was set, ¹⁵⁰ and the builder appeared confident that by Christmas 1850, 'the whole of the ward buildings would be roofed, and the Superintendent's house would have been 'carried up one storey', so that providing the weather remained satisfactory, progress would be maintained. The quality of the bricks, made from 'brick earth' on the asylum site, had now also improved. ¹⁵¹ Then, in mid January 1851, the clerk of works reported that two refractory wards were now completely roofed, and slated, with the epileptic and convalescent buildings, for females, half roofed, boarded, and slated, such that these rooms would be complete in about ten days. However, some of the other asylum buildings were now only about half a storey high, but other parts of the building had roofs already framed, and they were ready to be boarded and slated. The central building, and Superintendent's house, were now up to one floor, with most stonework for the stairs and floors in the buildings, almost ready. Doors and sashes were also fitted, in some places in the buildings, and the doors for the wards were already made, and were ready to be fitted. Outside the asylum buildings, the site was completely levelled, with the airing grounds already created. ¹⁵² At this time, so advanced were the new buildings that the architect suggested that appointing a Medical Superintendent, to express his opinion on the new

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ VM 6 July 1850, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ VM 12 October 1850, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid.

asylum, was now essential.¹⁵³ However, this was still not an action that the Visitors wished to pursue immediately.

Understandably, the Asylum Visitors continually monitored progress on the new asylum buildings, and they sought a second opinion on the progress being made, from their consultant architect, Mr. Stewart, whenever this was thought necessary.¹⁵⁴ In March 1851, as the new asylum took shape, the gardens and grounds were laid out, as areas where 'trusted patients' would be sent for recreation. Then, inevitably, the demand for additional land for the asylum increased, as decisions were made to ensure that the asylum was even more 'self-sufficient for food,' than had originally been intended. A larger asylum farm was now planned, which was a development that meant that larger numbers of male patients would be employed on the land than had originally been planned. Thus, in March 1851, the Visitors decided to add sixteen acres two roods and twenty-four poles of land, to the asylum grounds, by purchasing land from the Earl Coventry's Trustees, Ironically, on this occasion this sale was agreed, despite his Lordship's previous refusal to sell land to the asylum authorities. The Visitors now also purchased land from General H.B. Lygons, another member of the Coventry Family, to extend the Asylum Farm still further.¹⁵⁵ In April 1851, the architect reported that the ward buildings were roofed, and slated, with their staircases, and doors, almost fixed, and the ceilings of the rooms nearly finished. The ventilating and warming apparatus, for the main asylum buildings, was now also being fixed, by Messrs. Haden, the heating contractors, using flues and brickwork already installed in the main asylum building, which was now complete. At this time, the Superintendent's house, and the central administration buildings were completely roofed, and the plastering and joinery in these buildings was proceeding well. Then, the central kitchens, with their adjoining offices, were expected to be completed within a few days, and the washhouse and laundry, were ready to be roofed.¹⁵⁶ Away from the main buildings, work on the male workshops, to be used in conjunction with the existing farm buildings, had been left in abeyance; deferred until a Medical Superintendent was appointed, who would have a valid opinion about how these facilities should be arranged, and used. However, at this time, the appointment of a Medical Superintendent was still being delayed by the Visitors; it was suggested until the asylum was virtually complete, although the reasons for delaying this appointment were apparently only known by the Committee of Visitors, who did not reveal them, which led the architect to wonder how he should proceed with completing the asylum buildings without the advice of the man who would manage the asylum; the Medical Superintendent.. Such uncertainty was also evident regarding a gas works, which led Mr. Medland to ask whether the Visitors intended to light the asylum buildings with gas, because if they did want this option, a larger gas works than was planned would be necessary. It was then decided that the gas works, farm buildings, and workshops, should be grouped together, although even this decision needed the Visitor's permission, and they were apparently unable to decide on these matters until a Medical Superintendent was appointed to give an opinion on these matters – a real 'catch twenty-two situation'.¹⁵⁷

Another important aspect of any large institution was its water supply, so that a large Pauper Lunatic Asylum could only exist where 'potable water' was available, and assurances that such a water supply was present at the White Chimney's Estate, at Powick, were made from the outset, which led the chosen site for the new asylum to be described as, 'very suitable' for the new Worcestershire County Asylum, and in January 1848, it was claimed that the chosen asylum site had 'a copious supply of water, from a brook...(which would) be conducted by hydraulic means to tanks, and cisterns, in convenient positions' on the roof of

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ VM 22 March 1851, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ VM, 6 April 1851, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i) including Mr. Medland's Report.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

the Asylum's main residential buildings.¹⁵⁸ However, in October 1849, it became clear from the items omitted from the planning documents, for the new Powick Asylum, that a hydraulic water ram, to convey brook water one hundred feet up to the roof of the Asylum buildings, was not included.¹⁵⁹ Then, in January 1850, the building contractor decided not to build a hydraulic water ram on Carey's Brook, to raise water to the top of the asylum buildings, under any circumstances, because the water supply in Carey's Brook had been found 'measurably insufficient for that purpose'. However, this decision was fortuitous, at this time, as the part of the brook, from which water would have been abstracted, was on the Earl of Coventry's land, and no permission had been negotiated, with his Lordship, to take water from this source.

The Visitors now suggested that water should be taken from a well, that had already been sunk, on the asylum site,¹⁶⁰ although this arrangement clearly caused concern to some of the Visitors, who were sceptical about whether this well would provide sufficient water. Then, in July 1850, the architect reported that the solution to the problem of supplying sufficient water to the new Powick Asylum would again be to take water from Carey's Brook, with a hydraulic ram, to be located on the perimeter of the asylum site in Blackwell's Meadow, on land the Asylum Visitors had purchased from Sir John Pakington. The intention was now to create a five-foot-high weir there; increasing the depth of the brook, to feed a hydraulic ram.¹⁶¹ Thus, it appeared possible that the notion of using water from a well, on the asylum site, had been a convenient prevarication, until a solution involving a hydraulic ram on Carey's Brook; could be organised, and it appeared that using a hydraulic ram had always been the preferred option to provide sufficient water for the new institution. However, unfortunately, in October 1850, the contractor, who had been employed to build the hydraulic ram, decided to abandon the project, because he believed that the water supply from Carey's Brook was indeed insufficient. This decision led the architect to again suggest taking water from the well, although to do this required additional plans, and estimates, to be drawn up.¹⁶² By December 1850, the existing well was deepened, to a depth of 130 feet, and a four-horsepower steam engine was suggested as a means of raising water into two cast iron tanks on the roofs of the two wings of the main asylum buildings, with each tank holding one day's supply of water for the side of the asylum. It was also decided to put a rainwater pump, near the washhouses, to collect rainwater in a specially constructed reservoir, for 'surface water' on the asylum site. Thus, the Asylum Visiting Committee had reverted to a 'cistern scheme,' that had originally been envisaged and then rejected.¹⁶³ However, whether even this additional source of water would be sufficient for the needs of an institution that was inevitably going to grow was questionable.

Table 1.3 Analytical results of Carey Brook water (W^m Herepath, Bristol 18/1/1851).

<u>Agent.</u>	<u>Quantity.</u>
Chloride of magnesium (bittern)	3.04g+3 grains.
Chloride of calcium (muriate of lime)	Trace only.
Nitrate of magnesia (cubic nitrate)	0.02 g + 0.02 grains.
Organic matter.	6.38 g + 6.33 grains.
Sulphate of magnesia (Epsom salts).	16.80g + 16.75 grains.
Sulphate of soda (Glauber's)	4.80 g + 4.75 grains.

¹⁵⁸ NA Ref: MH83/300, 3 January 1848.

¹⁵⁹ VM 3 October 1849, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹⁶⁰ NA Ref: MH83/300, 5 January 1850.

¹⁶¹ VM 6 July 1850, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹⁶² VM 12 October 1850, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹⁶³ From Mr. Medland, the Architects Report, 20 December 1850 in VM 30 December 1850, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

salts).	
Carbonate of lime.	17.92 g + 17.75 grains.
Sulphate of lime (gypsum).	13.76 g + 13.75 grains.
Silica.	0,32 g + 0.33 grains.
<u>Muriate of soda (co on salt).</u>	<u>8.00 g + 8 grains.</u>
TOTAL	1 71.04 G + 71 grains.

The quality of the water obtained from wells, on the asylum site, was again scrutinised, because it was well known that water in workhouses, taken from shallow wells, was liable to contamination by surface water, causing some outbreaks of disease, particularly of typhoid fever. Thus, the Poor Law Authorities, both nationally, and locally, were very wary of the purity of water used in all types institutions, including lunatic asylums. Well water, at Powick Asylum, was now analysed by William Herepath, of Bristol, in January 1851, at a cost of two guineas (See Table 1.3). This analysis revealed little problem with the content of Powick Asylum's water supply, apart from its 'organic matter' content, which varied in quantity and nature, according to the rainfall fluctuation, although it was thought probable that 'some organic matter' in the Powick Asylum water supply would cause some outbreaks of epidemic diseases. However, as with paupers in the workhouse, most patients in Pauper Lunatic Asylums came from areas where water contaminated with sewage was the norm, so they would have some 'natural resistance' to stomach upsets, that the water caused.

The need for water, at Powick Asylum, was now estimated, by the architect, to be forty gallons per patient per day, which was far more than what would be available from Carey's Brook, so the decision to continue to use well water was vindicated. The Visiting Committee remained circumspect about the use of well water, particularly because its use would require them to purchase a 'quite costly steam engine' to raise water from the well, which was now considered to be, the institution's main source of water. This led to a decision to re examine the practicalities providing an adequate water supply for the Powick institution. It was again thought that water should be taken from Carey's Brook, but this should be supplemented with rainwater, from the roofs of the asylum main building, which would be clad with lead sheeting, making galleys to drain the rainwater falling there. 'Soft water tanks' would then be constructed on the roofs of the main asylum buildings. However, the Visitor's were frustrated by the assertion, often repeated by the Lunacy Commission, that an adequate supply of 'good water...(was) of the greatest importance to the institution,' as an asylum could not function without such a water supply. ¹⁶⁴ Now, the Visitors again distrusted the asylum architect's opinion, and they demanded that Mr. Medland take a second opinion from Mr. Leader Williams; a leading water engineer, ¹⁶⁵ something that the architect only accepted with ill grace; and as a slight on his own expertise and abilities. Mr. William's Report, received, in February 1851, suggested the difficulty in determining the flow of Carey's Brook in the summer months. Whilst there was sufficient water, in the brook in the winter, to use a hydraulic ram, to raise water to tanks, the water in the brook in the summer months would certainly be insufficient for the institutions needs, even if rainwater from the asylum grounds was used to supplement the brook water. Mr. Williams guessed that the amount of water in the brook in the summer months, was only about half of that in the winter. Providing an adequate water supply to the new Powick Asylum still posed huge problems.

Mr. Medland's resentment of the Visitor's recourse to the opinion of Mr. Leader Williams, re emerged, in March 1851. He now claimed that he had never doubted the sufficiency of water in the brook, to allow the use of a water ram in the winter, but he too doubted whether the water flow would be sufficient in the summer, so that Mr. Williams had simply confirmed the architect's own opinion, In June 1851, Mr. Medland, wished to compile a daily record of the water flow in the brook', so as to know how and when the brook flooded. The architect now

¹⁶⁴ VM 18 January 1851, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

assured the Visitors that he would provide more evidence, on the water supply in Carey's Brook, by constructing a temporary weir, to demonstrate whether if the brook flooded for a week, it would prevent the hydraulic ram from working. He thus concluded that building and using a hydraulic ram would itself cause flooding, that would inundate the land, and properties, upstream of the asylum and significantly this included property owned by the Earl of Coventry; causing embarrassment and even threats of litigation; something the asylum authorities clearly wanted to avoid at all costs.¹⁶⁶ The brook water was now analysed again, and in March 1851. Mr. Herepath, reported almost exactly the same results as previously, although significantly, there was only about a third the quantity of organic matter in the water on this occasion. However, the Report did comment: 'It is a hard water, but will be palatable for drinking, and there is nothing injurious, or unpleasant, in it',¹⁶⁷ although the point was then made that this judgement may not be repeated if the analysis took place in the summer months.

The Committee of Visitors was clearly still not satisfied with these conclusions about the asylum's water supply. In April 1851, Mr. Leader Williams reconfirmed his opinion on the Powick Asylum water supply, stating that there was potentially 89,620 cu. ft. per minute flowing in Carey's Brook in the winter, making a hydraulic ram delivering 8,000 gallons to the institution, every day practical, but an adequate water supply for the institution in the summer would take 100% of the water in the brook, which would indeed deprive the properties downstream from the asylum of all their water supply from the brook. Thus, water would have to be taken from the deep well on the asylum site. Mr. Leader Williams was concerned about the quality of the water that would be available during the summer months from this source. A further analysis of the brook water, at the lowest rate of flow, in the summer months, was now made, to ascertain whether the quality of water, at this state of flow, was still 'adequate'.¹⁶⁸ However, by this time the hydraulic ram and water tanks were almost finished, as were the rain water gulleys to drain into soft water tanks on the roof.¹⁶⁹ Now, rather than being outraged that his opinions were being ignored, Mr. Medland, the architect expressed his delight that Mr. Williams had, again, 'confirmed his (Mr. Medland's) own opinions on the asylum water supply'.¹⁷⁰ In mid June 1851, the Asylum Visitors suspended their decision on the asylum's water supply, until August 1851, for further investigations to be made about Carey's Brook. At this juncture, the Visitors expressed their own confidence that a hydraulic ram, at the brook, and a hand engine at the well, to raise water there, would provide sufficient water for the asylum's use. Then, in July 1851, the Visitors agreed that another analysis of the water from the brook, at its lowest level, be procured.¹⁷¹ Mr. Herepath's new Analysis, in September 1851, showed that an imperial gallon of the brook water contained substantial amounts of magnesium salts, (23 grains per gallon), which would give a laxative effect,¹⁷² but otherwise this new analysis confirmed the information that the Asylum Visitors had already received.

Expert opinion was still that the hydraulic ram was impractical because the water flow in the brook was insufficient in the summer months, although more worryingly, the analysis of the brook water, at its lowest flow level, showed that it was unsuitable for drinking purposes anyway, but it was suitable for bathing and washing. At the Michaelmas Quarter Sessions of the Worcestershire Justice, in October 1851, the decision to abandon using a hydraulic ram to provide a water supply at the asylum was confirmed and instead, a four-horsepower steam engine was to be employed, to raise water from the main asylum well into the

¹⁶⁶ VM 22 March 1851, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i) quoting Mr. Medland's Report of 8 March 1851.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid

¹⁶⁸ VM 6 April 1851, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i) including Mr. Leader Williams's Report.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. including Mr. Medland's Report.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ VM, 19 July 1851, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹⁷² VM 6 September 1851, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

institution's buildings.¹⁷³ Thus, the architect advertised for tenders to supply such a steam engine, complete with the necessary equipment to raise water from the Carey's Brook to the storage tanks on the roof of the asylum buildings.¹⁷⁴ In December 1851, Messrs. Haden, Cox, and Wilson's tender to provide a steam engine, at a cost of £580, was accepted.¹⁷⁵ However, in January 1852, with the asylum buildings nearing completion, the water supply in the main asylum kitchens was augmented, by a hand capstan, on a well head, in the courtyard, outside the kitchen. Water from this well was used exclusively for cooking purposes.¹⁷⁶ However, the problems of providing sufficient water to the new Powick Asylum were, as severe as ever and the Visitors were required to accept many compromises before they arrived at a resolution. However, with hindsight, the unsatisfactory outcome arrived at, re emphasised the importance of ensuring that any site for a large new institution, must have an adequate supply of water, before the site for the institution was even purchased, let alone built on.

Another important matter for Powick Asylum was the issue of needing a dependable fuel to heat, and light, the asylum, and to use for cooking purposes. These issues were debated by the Visitors, and their advisers, in July 1851, when providing a gas works for the institution, was first discussed, although the Visitors were particularly concerned that such a plant might be a nuisance, because of smoke, and the odour of coal gas pervading the atmosphere in the area where the asylum was situated. These problems led the Visitors to contemplate purchasing gas from an outside gas supplier,¹⁷⁷ but when the architect made inquiries about purchasing such gas, from a local wholesale supplier, who would pipe coal gas from the Worcester City Gas Works, the couple of miles to the asylum, this option was shown to be too costly, and not practicable. The Visitors now asked the architect, if steam could be used for cooking purposes, with solid fuel used for heating the asylum, and oil lamps for lighting the buildings, However, Mr. Medland felt that steam pipes were not an appropriate means of heating for culinary purposes, and his advice led the Visitors to decide to use gas lights in the asylum, as well as for cooking meals, which was a decision that meant that the coal gas, necessary to do this, would have to be supplied, either from a gas works on the asylum site, or from a coal gas plant immediately adjacent to the asylum site. The Visitors now decided to erect a gas works five hundred feet from the asylum buildings, to the southeast, in the direction of the prevailing wind, so that any smoke, and odours from the gas plant, would blow across uninhabited rural land. However, by 1851 it was clear that gas manufacture now caused less effluvia than it had done.¹⁷⁸ The planned gas works were to cost £650, to build, with £350 more to be spent on installing pipe work, and lights, in the asylum buildings. It was also planned to screen the asylum buildings, from the gas works, using a thickly planted orchard, which already existed.¹⁷⁹ Once installed, the cost per year for gas produced in the new manufacturing plant would be, around £200, inclusive of interest and the maintenance costs. This meant that the coal gas produced, on asylum site, would cost 4/- per 1,000 cubic feet, with coal to make the gas delivered to the asylum for 4/- per ton, by the new Worcester to Hereford railway. However, Mr. Medland had also investigated a patent apparatus to make gas from either oil, or from resin, with both fuels said to produce gas of greater 'brilliancy, purity and cheapness', than coal, and this gas was also said to cost less than coal gas. In spite of this advice, the Visitors decided to defer a decision on the fuel to be used in the gas works, although they did see that it would be necessary to fit the same gas fittings in the asylum buildings, whatever the fuel used to make the gas, so that a

¹⁷³ VM 4 October 1851 WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(l). Including the Minutes of the Meeting at the commencement of the Michaelmas Sessions of the Worcestershire Committee of Justices,

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ VM 25 October 1851, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹⁷⁶ VM 24 January 1852, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹⁷⁷ VM 19 July 1851, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹⁷⁸ VM, 6 September 1851, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

contract was immediately drawn up, to fit pipe work, and lights, in the asylum buildings, before the type of gas to be burned was known. ¹⁸⁰

In October 1851, the failure of the supplier of gas stoves, to the asylum, to provide details of costs of cooking by gas, which had been requested and promised, meant that no decision about how to fit out the asylum kitchens could be made. This led the Visitors to send the contractor, who was building the asylum to visit Rainhill Asylum, at Liverpool, to investigate the system of cooking used there. However, in the meantime, the Visiting Committee asked the advice of nine other Pauper Lunatic Asylums about cooking, and lighting the institution's buildings, with gas, and the responses to this request unequivocally demonstrated that gas would be the most satisfactory fuel to be used for cooking, at Powick Asylum. Thus, Messrs. Rogers and Masey, of Gloucester, who had tendered 20% less than other contractors, to provide the tubing and fittings for the gas supply, at the asylum, were awarded a contract to provide, and fit, the gas piping in the Powick Asylum buildings, although they were expected to give an assurance, to the Visitors, of the good quality of their fittings, and the workmanship used in installing this piping. ¹⁸¹ In October 1851, once the gas pipes were installed, the contractor employed to fit out the kitchens, attended the Visitor's Meeting, and suggested that the 'cost of cooking with gas would add little to the expense of the asylum's construction'. ¹⁸² Then, at the Michaelmas Quarter Sessions, in 1851, the Committee of Justices endorsed the decision to light the asylum buildings, using gas, manufactured in a purpose-built gas works, on the asylum site, using coal as the source of the gas. ¹⁸³ By March 1852, Dr. Grahamsley, the Medical Superintendent elect, of the new Powick Asylum, had agreed that the gas works should be proceeded with immediately. ¹⁸⁴

In April 1851, the Asylum Visitors had commented that: 'In a majority of modern asylums, a recreation hall was provided, where patients, of both sexes, could meet together, or separately, for the purpose of amusement, musical, recreation, dancing & c.' (sic) ¹⁸⁵ However, at Powick Asylum there were no plans for such a facility to be provided, but procuring such a room, as cheaply and as soon as possible, was considered by the Visitors. They now decided that the Chapel, that had already been included in the asylum plans, might perform a dual function; for both religious devotion, and for entertainments; an arrangement that the Lunacy Commissioners thought practicable, and one which had been adopted in some other Pauper Lunatic Asylums. The Commissioners found the planned Chapel, at Powick Asylum, 'admirably suited for this purpose, because it was central, spacious and in all points desirable...(and it was described as a) detached building...(of) simple ecclesiastical style...(which would provide) a pleasing feature in the scenery, and at the same time keep up the idea...(of the patients) "going to Church".' ¹⁸⁶ In most other Pauper Lunatic Asylums, Religious Services were held two, or three times, a week, in a building similar to the one planned for Powick Asylum. However, in some other asylums entertainments were also held in the institution's Chapel, and the Powick Asylum Visitors suggested that the cost of altering the planned Chapel, so that it could also serve as a recreation hall, was estimated to be £600, ¹⁸⁷ which appeared to the Lunacy Commissioners to be a price worth paying for the additional facilities provided by such a recreation hall. However, in July 1851, the Visitors were adamant that the Asylum Chapel, should not be converted for the dual purpose of worship and entertainment, and they were absolutely obdurate about this matter. However, why they were now so opposed to the idea, that they

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ VM 4 October 1851 including the Minutes of meeting at the commencement of the Michaelmas Sessions of the Worcestershire Juices, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹⁸² VM 25 October 1851, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹⁸³ VM 4 October 1851 including the Minutes of meeting at the commencement of the Michaelmas Sessions of the Worcestershire Juices, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹⁸⁴ VM 13 March 1852, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹⁸⁵ VM 6 April 1851, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i) including Mr. Medland's Report.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

had originally openly discussed, was not clear, although it was possible that pressure from some religious group had been exerted, because the dual use of the Chapel was described as 'sacrilegious'. At this same time, the architect suggested that the planned Chapel should have a deal wood floor, but this idea was also immediately rejected by the Visitors, who preferred to adhere to the original contract, and have a tiled floor, which they appeared to regard as more fitting to a religious building.¹⁸⁸ The decision not to convert the Chapel for a dual purpose was confirmed in December 1851.¹⁸⁹

In June 1851, the Asylum Visitors thought it prudent to acquire more land for the asylum, because when the site was levelled, it was five feet higher than the adjacent land, belonging to Lord Coventry; compromising the privacy of adjacent properties. The solution to this problem was to purchase additional 'marginal land,' for £1,650; with the cost of this additional land per acre, determined by the amount previously paid for Sir John Pakington's land.¹⁹⁰ This action led, in October 1851, to a decision taken at the Michaelmas Quarter Sessions, to have the whole asylum grounds relevelled, and to have all fences made secure; work that was to be paid for by a further £10,000 loan, raised in a comparable way to previous loans.¹⁹¹ In June 1851, the construction of the new workshops, to employ male inmates, had not yet started, probably because decisions about the asylum farm were still pending, although it was also likely that the Visitors wanted a Medical Superintendent to be appointed first, who would then be able to express his opinion about the employment of patients at the asylum, before a decision about the workshops was made. However, it was also clear that the Visitors did not wait for a Medical Superintendent to be appointed, before these changes were made to the asylum farm, because, in July 1851, the Visitors felt that the old farmhouse, on the asylum site, was not close enough to the main building, to be easily used, in conjunction with the new workshops, so instead the Visitors decided to use the existing farm buildings to enable the estate to be farmed efficiently. To do this, the farm buildings were enlarged, which then meant that it was inevitable that more land should be added to the Asylum Estate, to make the institution as self sufficient as possible, in terms of foodstuffs. However, this decision also meant that the farm would then provide more employment for asylum inmates, and the quality of the food provided for the 'Asylum Community,' from the farm, would also be 'enhanced.' However, this decision also meant that the new workshops would have to be constructed nearer to the main asylum building, and the architect was told to consult the Lunacy Commission about this arrangement. He was also asked to produce amended plans for the farm buildings,¹⁹² where it had now been agreed, as much of the asylum's food as possible would be produced.

Detailed alterations, to the asylum buildings, were inevitably made, as the building's construction progressed, so that deal flooring was now placed on the fireproof metal floors, which had been used, as a substitute for cement; a decision that had been supported by Messrs. Fox and Barrell, the flooring contractors. The cost of this alteration was £350, and this additional expenditure was justified, in a letter, stating that the flooring contractors could provide, whatever surface the Visitors felt necessary. However, at this time, most Asylum Medical Superintendents preferred wooden boards.¹⁹³ Thus, Wiltshire Asylum, at Devizes, had recently switched to wooden floors, in its corridors, whilst at Buckinghamshire Asylum, at Aylesbury, and at Claybury Asylum, in Essex, wood had replaced the asphalt, which had originally used for floors in building that asylum. However, it was then suggested, that only in the dormitories, for 'dirty patients,' would wooden floors be inadvisable. At Colney Hatch Asylum, in Middlesex, where the same flooring contractors, being employed at the new

¹⁸⁸ VM 19 July 1851, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹⁸⁹ VM Min, 6 December 1851, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹⁹⁰ VM 26 June 1851, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i) includes the Minutes of the meeting at the commencement of the Easter 1851 Quarter Sessions.

¹⁹¹ VM 4 October 1851 including the Minutes of meeting at the commencement of the Michaelmas Sessions of the Worcestershire Juices, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

¹⁹² VM 26 June 1851, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i) including Mr. Stewart's Report.

¹⁹³ VM 6 April 1851, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i) including Mr. Medland's Report.

Powick Asylum, had installed wooden boarding floors everywhere, except where 'dirty patients' were housed. The same decision had been made at the North and East Riding of Yorkshire Asylum, at Clifton Green, near York, where wooden boards were used in the dining rooms, and day rooms. However, these 'facts' did not persuade the Powick Asylum Visitors to make more extensive use of wooden floors at their new asylum. In April 1851, Mr. Medland reported that the main asylum buildings at Powick, would be ready for occupation by Christmas 1851,¹⁹⁴ and Mr. Stewart, who was still employed by the Asylum Visitors to scrutinise Mr. Medland's work, reported on the general survey that he had conducted, when he had found no settlement of the foundations of the buildings, which he found surprising given the extent of the buildings. He also noted that the fireproof floors had already been partly fitted, but he then expressed the hope, and belief, that the Visitors would, when the new asylum was complete, 'have a building, (that was) well adapted for its purpose, and creditable to all parties concerned.'¹⁹⁵ Mr. Medland also reported on, 'satisfactory progress on all the wards, except the infirmary wards. All wards were now roofed, and two ventilation shafts, from the furnaces in the cellar, to above the roofline, had been completed, so that they vented smoke, and fumes, from the furnaces that heated the asylum buildings. The fireproof floors, and ceilings, considered essential if the building was to be insured, were also nearing completion, and the doors were all in place. The main building, and the Superintendent's house, were now also ready to have the joists fitted to them, on three floors, with the joiner's work 'well advanced.' These buildings were now expected to be roofed, within the month, and the kitchens, and offices, were already being slated. The work on the washhouse, and laundry, was now about to begin, and the ground for the airing courts, was being levelled, and the walls around these areas, where inmates would spend their leisure hours, were being built and laid out.'¹⁹⁶

In June 1851, at the time of the Midsummer Quarter Sessions, the Powick Asylum Visitor's Building Sub Committee, suggested that progress on the asylum building, reflected credit on the architects, and contractors¹⁹⁷ although Mr. Stewart, their adviser on the progress of the building work, did suggest that he had problems completing his detailed Report, because it had proved very time consuming to write. However, he did suggest that as the joinery for the asylum buildings was prepared at Cheltenham, and brought to the asylum site, great care was necessary to inspect it, when it arrived at the asylum site. Indeed, when he did this, he found that some of the skylights, delivered to the asylum site, were not up to the 'best standards' although he did think this was a 'trifling matter'.¹⁹⁸ At the next Quarter Sessions Meeting, in October 1851, it was agreed that an additional payment would be made, to construct roads, on the asylum site, which would be paid for from a further £10,000 loan, which had been used to purchase additional marginal land, to ensure the privacy of the asylum site. It was also confirmed that the new asylum would be open by mid summer 1852, and that a Medical Superintendent would be appointed, as soon as the Visitors had taken advice from the Lunacy Commissioners, about this appointment, and then, the many 'other necessary asylum officers', would be appointed.¹⁹⁹ However, it was also reported that the building contractor, constructing the new asylum, had died, but his executors had assured the Visitors that they would ensure that the building contract, for the construction of the asylum, would be completed. However, so seriously did the Committee of Visitors regard this matter that they decided to hold discussion of this matter over until a Special Convened Meeting was held, on 16 December 1851, because the matter of the completion of the building contract, was thought likely to have serious implications for the institution.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁴ Ibid including Mr. Leader Williams's Report.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid including Mr. Medland's Report.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ VM 26 June 1851 including the Minutes of meeting at the commencement of the Midsummer Sessions of the Worcestershire Justices in 1851, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i)

¹⁹⁸ Ibid including Mr. Stewart's Report.

¹⁹⁹ VM 4 October 1851 including the Minutes of meeting at the commencement of the Michaelmas Sessions of the Worcestershire Justices, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

²⁰⁰ VM 25 October 1851, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

However, the reconvened meeting, accepted the building contractor's executor's assurances, and shortly after this, the Birmingham, the Norwich, and the Sun Insurance Companies, were all asked to quote to insure Powick Asylum's buildings for £10,000.²⁰¹

In November 1851, the Asylum Visitors decided to advertise for a Medical Superintendent, for the new Powick Asylum; for a residential post, with furnished living accommodation provided, for the person appointed. However, there was no board, or other living expenses, included in the salary, apart from coals, candles and clothes washing. The salary offered for this post was, £350 per year, for a 'man qualified, both as a surgeon, and as an apothecary'.²⁰² A university degree was not considered essential for this post, but preference was to be given to 'gentlemen accustomed to the care and treatment of lunatics'. It was left to the Asylum Visitors Clerk, to produce an advertisement, to be placed, twice, in the local Worcester newspapers, in *The Times* and in the *Midland Counties Herald*, with applications, and testimonials, to be submitted, by 1 December 1851. The advertisement also specified that no applications were to be made directly to members of the Asylum Visiting Committee, which was the normal practice in such appointments, to prevent 'canvassing'.²⁰³ By December 1851, fifty seven applications had been received for the Powick Asylum Medical Superintendent's post, and Messrs. Curtler, Temple and Bedford, were asked to form an 'Appointments Sub Committee', of the Committee of Visitors, to investigate these applicants, and their testimonials. This Sub Committee made recommendations as to which applicants should be interviewed, although as the original advertisement had not asked the applicants their age, marital status, or whether they had dependent relatives, it was necessary for a circular letter to be sent to each applicant, to obtain this missing information.²⁰⁴ On December 15 1851, a short list of five candidates was drawn up, who were to be called for interview.²⁰⁵ It was then reported, on 23 December 1851, that Dr. Alexander Grahamsley, of the Royal Asylum, Edinburgh, had been unanimously elected, as Medical Superintendent of the new Powick Asylum, subject to stipulations he had agreed. The Chairman of the Visitors, in late December 1851, now wrote to Dr. Grahamsley asking him to visit Powick Asylum to meet the Committee of Visitors.²⁰⁶

In December 1851, another matter, thought potentially to have implications for Powick Asylum, was reported. A Bill was soon to be placed before Parliament to establish the Worcester and Hereford Railway Company,²⁰⁷ and it was suggested that the railway line, to be constructed by this company, would pass through the asylum grounds. However, whilst this would facilitate the transport of goods and passengers to, and from the asylum, which the Visitors had already discussed, for the delivery of coal and other goods, the proposal for the line to pass through the asylum site had its dangers, which led the Asylum Visitors to refuse permission for the railway line to come close to the asylum.²⁰⁸ In March 1852, the yet to be incorporated Railway Company, was informed that they should not construct their track, to 'come nearer than the line on the existing map, about a mile from the asylum, although a siding, for the delivery of coal and other goods to the asylum, together with an arch under the embankment, would be required, together with a road to the asylum land, that would be cut off by the railway line.'²⁰⁹ The Visitors also demanded that 'a proper fence' be

²⁰¹ VM 23 December 1851, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

²⁰² VM 6 December 1851, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ The short list consisted of Dr. Campbell, Mr. Grahamsley, Mr. Morison, Dr. Ramsey and Dr. Jamieson.

²⁰⁶ VM 23 December 1851, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

²⁰⁷ A few years before this the Visitors had hoped that the Worcester to Hereford Railway, that was being planned in the early 1850s, would provide a siding for the delivery of goods, including coal, to the asylum. However, the Worcester and Hereford Railway Company was not incorporated until 1853, and the line eventually opened in 1859. However, by the time it opened, the original plans to route the railway adjacent to the asylum were altered, mainly because of protests from the Visitors, about the possibility of escapes by lunatic patients onto the line, which was then routed at least a mile to the east of the asylum, with a siding planned to serve the asylum site.

²⁰⁸ VM 23 December 1851, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

²⁰⁹ VM 13 March 1852. WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

provided, along the railway line, to prevent the escape of patients.²¹⁰ A month after this decision, it was obvious that the Railway Company's intended siding on the edge of the asylum site would indeed enable coal, to fire the asylum's steam engine, to be delivered to the coal cellar constructed to store the fuel, and to deliver supplies to the asylum gas works.

In January 1852, Dr. Grahamsley's appointment was ratified, according to the agreed terms, on six months notice. He was to commence his duties on, 1 March 1852, by which time he must be resident in Powick.²¹¹ In preparation for their first meeting with Dr. Grahamsley, the Visitors wrote to the Lunacy Commission about the Rules of a Pauper Lunatic Asylum, and they also asked advice on the number of other Officers, thought necessary, at the new Powick Asylum, but they also wondered about the weekly cost per patient, likely to be charged, and whether there was to be any difference in costs, between male and female patients. The Visitors also enquired about, the form of accounts to be kept by the new institution. In response, to these questions, the Lunacy Commission sent 'Model Rules and Regulations for Pauper Lunatic Asylums, together with the 'forms of accounts', to be used in the new institution. They also suggested that the weekly charge for pauper lunatics would vary according to the locality the lunatic asylum served, so that the advice given was of little use to Powick Asylum Visitors, because they had no knowledge about how the locality of their asylum compared with other similar institutions elsewhere. Logically, the Visitors decided to fix maintenance charges, at Powick Asylum, at a level that they believed would defray the costs incurred in running the new asylum, including the cost of clothing the inmates. However, inevitably, in spite of the clear instructions provided by the Lunacy Commission, the Visitors were still perturbed about these administrative matters. It was now clear that the Visitors had to amass an 'adequate stock of all necessary materials', before they could open the new asylum. as required by an Act of Parliament, passed in 1846,²¹² but they were inevitably uncertain how to tackle the multitude of task they were faced with. The Asylum Visitors now decided to estimate the weekly charges they would make for the care of pauper lunatics, on the basis of what was inadequate evidence, which meant that the initial maintenance charges they set, were inevitably set higher than was actually necessary. Thus, it was assumed that the asylum maintenance fees charged, when the asylum first opened, would be an 'over estimate', and that these fees would then inevitably be reduced, as the number of patients at Powick Asylum increased, particularly as the numbers of Officers, and their salaries, were adjusted. However, the advice given by the Lunacy Commission, to the Visitors, had also suggested that they look at how Derby Asylum, and fifteen other asylums, had coped with estimating maintenance costs when they first opened.

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In January 1852, before Dr. Grahamsley had met the Committee of Visitors, they had made a tour of inspection of the new asylum buildings, with the architect, and they had concluded that an additional water closet was necessary in each ward, and that there should be a lavatory in the laundry, for the patients who worked there. They also believed that a fire grate was needed, in each of the the infirmary wards, and that the windows in the refractory wards needed shutters, but also that more doors ought to be created to allow free access to the airing ground allotted to the class of inmate occupying each ward, where no door was already provided.²¹⁴ However, once Dr. Grahamsley was in residence, at Powick, he would give advice to the Visitors on other matters about the buildings, and the way they were equipped. For instance, the new Medical Superintendent felt that it was regrettable that there were no sculleries in the wards, so that he suggested that the storerooms, adjacent to the wards, should be converted into sculleries. However, he agreed with the Visitors that workshops to employ male patients, should be constructed immediately, and that the surface

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² 9 a 10 Vic. C. 84 s. 10 (1846).

²¹³ NA Ref: MH83/300, 18 January 1852.

²¹⁴ VM 10 January 1852, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i)

drains in the asylum grounds needed excavating, to prevent localised flooding of the asylum site. He also believed that an 'inspection window' was necessary in all dormitory doors as a safety measure.²¹⁵

At the time of his first meeting with the Committee of Visitors, in early 1852, Dr. Grahamsley was unable to provide a Report on his first impressions of the new asylum building, because he had 'found difficulty in gaining access to the asylum site'. However, even before he took up his appointment, in March 1852, the new Medical Superintendent had set about appointing the other staff of the Asylum. Mr. James Smith, of Morningside Asylum, Edinburgh, was engaged as house Steward, at a salary of £120 per annum, whilst his wife was to take charge of the dairy and poultry. This man had been given a testimonial by Dr. Skae, who was already well known to the Powick Asylum Visitors. However, the Visitors now recommended postponing appointing other officers, until Dr. Grahamsley was in residence at Powick.²¹⁶ Once he had moved, Dr. Grahamsley attended his first Visitor's Meeting, as 'Medical Superintendent of the Asylum,'²¹⁷ and he was now given permission to appoint a Matron, and servants, as soon as possible.²¹⁸ On a more mundane level, the new Medical Superintendent's first meeting with the Visitors, also agreed that an external porch should be provided on the laundry entrance, to prevent male and female attendants mixing there. Mrs. Peagit²¹⁹ was appointed Matron, in May 1852, at a salary of £60, on the strong recommendation of Dr. Grahamsley, with Mary Anne Pargeter, appointed as cook, at a salary of £14 a year, whilst the other servants were then to be appointed by Dr. Grahamsley, who was then to supply the Visitors, with a list of names and salaries, for the people he had appointed. However, the election of an assistant house steward was left in abeyance, as Dr. Grahamsley wanted to further investigate the applicants for this post.²²⁰ Subsequently, Mr. James C. Hulme was appointed to this post, at a salary of £100. He was to take charge of the farm and gardens, and his wife was employed, to be responsible for the dairy once cows were kept at the asylum. House, coal, gas, vegetables, and milk were included, as part of the contract for these joint posts.²²¹ Six tons of coal, to heat the asylum buildings, was now also ordered.

It was now reported that the room where the Visitors were to hold their regular meetings was now complete, and ready for use. Then, Dr. Alexander Grahamsley, the newly appointed Medical Superintendent, was asked about the levelling of the asylum site, the numbers of Officers, and servants, to be employed in the institution, the location of the gas works, and for his estimate of when the asylum was likely to be ready for occupation. It was at this juncture that Mr. Helm, the Visitor's Clerk, began to collect information about 'Chargeable Lunatics', from Worcestershire Poor Law Unions, who would be eligible to be sent to the new Powick Asylum.²²² It was clear that at this stage, the intention was to open the new asylum in June 1852. Then, in March 1852, the decision to make the asylum as self sufficient as possible, was reaffirmed, which led to farming being commenced at the asylum, when the land for growing crops was prepared. At this time, a decision was also made, on the exact site of the asylum's gas works,²²³ in the hope that these works could be completed a couple of months early, before the asylum opened, to allow this gas plant to be commissioned, and operative.²²⁴ However, in May 1852, the decision to defer building the workshops, until the asylum was occupied was rescinded,²²⁵ after Dr. Grahamsley had been appointed as the

²¹⁵ VM 13 March 1852, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ VM 13 March 1852. WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

²¹⁸ VM Minutes of meeting at the commencement of the Easter Sessions of the Worcestershire Justices 5 April 1852, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

²¹⁹ The Matron's name was spelt Piaget elsewhere.

²²⁰ VM 8 May 1852, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

²²¹ VM1 June 1852, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

²²² VM 10 January 1852, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i)

²²³ VM 13 March 1852. WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

²²⁴ VM 8 June 1852, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

²²⁵ VM 19 July 1851, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

Medical Superintendent, and he had agreed that the asylum's workshops should be erected, on an appropriate site. However, this meant that the workshops would still be under construction when the asylum opened.²²⁶ In April 1852, the Visitors were sufficiently satisfied with the new asylum, that they agreed to pay the late contractors' executors, for the work completed on the asylum buildings, and they also agreed that six cells, in the refractory ward, should be provided with boarded floors, instead of cement ones that had already been laid. Two additional 'padded rooms,' for very restive patients, who were liable to injure themselves by falling about, were also to be provided.²²⁷ At this same time, Dr. Grahamsley was asked to draw up a list of furniture, required for the asylum, and to advertise tenders for the supply of the items he chose,²²⁸ which was a matter dealt with at the next County Justices Meeting, at the Easter Quarter Sessions, in April 1852, when it was reported that a further £10,000 loan had to be obtained, to add even more land to the asylum site, using money borrowed from the County Infirmary, which was to be paid back by instalments, from the Poor Rates, at an interest rate of 4.5%.²²⁹ At this time, the asylum farmhouse was put into 'a proper order,' so that it could be occupied by the Asylum Clerk and Steward, from 1 May 1852.²³⁰ Then, when, in May 1852, tenders were received for furnishing the Medical Superintendent's house, for £567, this offer was accepted, by the Visitors, providing the 'goods supplied were of an acceptable quality'. The same furnishers, who tendered to equip the Medical Superintendent's house, also quoted the lowest amount for equipping the Matron's room, and the asylum offices, at a cost of £183 fifteen -6, and this tender was also accepted. Dr. Grahamsley now selected all the ironmongery, china, glass, and earthenware required for his house, and this equipment was also paid for by the Visitors.²³¹

In June 1852, Messrs. Webb and Lewis were appointed as a 'Sub Committee of the Committee of Visitors', to superintend the purchase of articles of furniture, clothing and the like, for the whole asylum, when it opened.²³² However, immediately before the new asylum was due to open, Mr. Medland, the architect, reported that the coverings of the floors, in some of the asylum corridors, had cracked, because the whole structure of these floors was found to be defective; because improper materials had been used in their construction, by a specialist contractor. However, the architect believed that had the proper materials been used in constructing these floors, no problems would have arisen. In fact, by this time, these floors had been laid for about a year, and the defects in these surfaces should have been noticed previously. The only solution to this problem available, was to replace all the defective floors, with the costs paid by the builder. However, inevitably, the contractors executor's counter claimed that the 'principle' on which the floor was based was at fault, and that if they relaid these floors, the defect would recur. Despite this, the contractor's executors were ordered to relay the floors, for £700, less the allowance for cement, of £150, so that the contractors would pay £550. It was then stipulated that this work be completed by 24th June, otherwise a further £5 a day would be forfeited, which was an arrangement that was agreed, although it was clear that there were then implications for the agreed opening date of the asylum.²³³ This meant that Martin Ricketts and Charles Hastings, the proprietors at Droitwich Lunatic Asylum, and the keepers of private asylums used by other Worcestershire Poor Law Unions, to house their insane paupers, were asked to keep the pauper patients to be transferred to the new Powick Asylum, at their institutions for an additional six weeks. The Powick Asylum opening was then rescheduled, to 11th August 1852, and Dr. Grahamsley was asked to make the best arrangements he could, about the asylum servants, who he had

²²⁶ VM 8 April 1852, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

²²⁷ VM Minutes of meeting at the commencement of the Easter Sessions of the Worcestershire Justices 5 April 1852, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

²²⁸ VM 8 April 1852, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

²²⁹ VM at the commencement of the Easter Sessions of the Worcestershire Justices, 5 April 1852, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

²³¹ VM, 8 May 1852, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

²³² VM 1 June 1852, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

²³³ VM 8 June 1852, WCRO Ref: b. 125, Acc. No. 710, Par 1(i).

already appointed, until the institution opened.²³⁴ Despite the delay in opening the new asylum, the day-to-day administration of the institution began, with the food to be consumed, between the opening of the asylum and Christmas, already tendered for, and ordered. Tenders were also advertised to supply books chosen by the asylum Chaplain elect, to be read by patients²³⁵

Clearly, by the time that Powick Asylum opened, in August 1852, a large sum of money had been raised, and expended, at the behest of the Worcestershire Committee of Justices, on creating an institution specially designed for the treatment of insane paupers, from the thirteen Poor Law Unions of Worcestershire. The new asylum contained four sorts of environment, specifically designed to ameliorate the mental affliction, that had led to an individual pauper's incarceration, in the asylum, in the first place; with an additional ward of each side of the institution, for dirty patients, who were difficult to keep clean in ordinary wards. However, whilst the new asylum had been created according to the precepts of the Poor Law Board, that were applied to any institution dealing with paupers, the Lunacy Commission the body set up, by the 1845 Lunatics' Act,²³⁶ to oversee the condition and treatment of the insane in lunatic asylums, had much influenced the nature of the institution created at Powick. However, it was also obvious that in the seven years, after the passing of this legislation, and before the Worcestershire County Lunatic Asylum could be opened, the mode of treatment in some Pauper Lunatic Asylums had developed, and practices in these institutions had evolved. However, the Powick Asylum Committee of Visitors then opened an institution that at least initially, would treat the insane paupers of Worcestershire, according to the orthodoxies of the Poor Law Board; using, 'treatment by classification'.

As insane paupers committed to the new Powick Asylum would be ascribed to individual wards, according to their diagnosed mental affliction, on their committal to the asylum; suffering from dementia, idiocy, imbecility, mania and melancholia.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ 8 & 9 Vic. c. 100 (1845) Lunatics' Act.