Asylum and Community: Connections Between
the Athens Lunatic Asylum and
the Village of Athens
1867-1893

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This dissertation entitled

ASYLUM AND COMMUNITY: CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE ATHENS
LUNATIC ASYLUM AND THE VILLAGE OF ATHENS 1867-1893

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Abstract

The locus of care for mental illness in the United States has traditionally been described as either community based or centralized, asylum based. Most asylum case studies have focused on the inner workings of the institutions. None have studied in asylum in the context of its surrounding community.

This research explores the nature of the connections between asylum and community by way of a historical organizational case study of the Athens Lunatic Asylum from 1867 through 1893 as it relates to the Village of Athens, Ohio. Sources consulted include official documents (government reports and records, census data), personal documents (letters and manuscripts), and popular culture documents (newspapers, atlases, and photographs).

Between 1867 and 1893, the Asylum was connected with the Village of Athens in five areas: money economy, landscape, political and physical infrastructure, family, and social order. These connections were forged by the asylum’s need for goods and services and by the needs of the Athens community for jobs and cash. They were also sustained by community needs for recreation and entertainment, for humanitarian resources for those with mental illness, and at times for a means of social control. The political and physical infrastructure as well as the formal and informal networks that
controlled the commitment process served to make possible the connections that met the needs of both asylum and community.

This research documents three aspects of asylum-community affairs receiving attention from researchers. First, it identifies ways in which the Asylum functioned as customer and employer in the community. Second, it documents how the asylum grounds, as a permeable boundary between asylum and community, functioned as a community resource. Third, it shows how the Athens community used the state and local political infrastructure to advance its interests with regard to the Asylum; it also describes the ways in which the physical infrastructure connected Asylum and community.

This study describes an example of a community’s collaboration with an asylum at a time when care has been thought of as situated within the asylum. It suggests areas for constructing or renewing community connections for those with mental illness.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Background

The laying of the cornerstone of the Athens Lunatic Asylum in Athens, Ohio was celebrated on Thursday, November 5, 1868 with a parade of 1,000 Masons, a brass band, two church choirs, judges, the mayor, the village council, and hundreds of townsmen (Laying the cornerstone, 1868). Beginning uptown in Athens, Ohio on Washington Street at two o'clock in the afternoon, the assemblage of townspeople, dignitaries, and Masons marched down what is now Richland Avenue, across the Hocking River on the old South Bridge, and up the great hill to the Asylum grounds (Beatty & Stone, 1984).

A year earlier, the Ohio General Assembly had enacted legislation funding the construction of an asylum in Southeastern Ohio. The citizens of Athens had quickly raised money for the purchase of the 150 acre Arthur Coates farm, which they offered to the State of Ohio for the Asylum site. The State, prodded by Athens politicians, accepted the site and let contracts for construction of the asylum. The asylum was built to the sturdy and exacting specifications adopted in 1851 by the Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane (Kirkbride, 1973).

The Athens Lunatic Asylum opened on January 1, 1874, and within six years, it housed 633 patients. Historians of the period have described the Athens Lunatic Asylum as a significant contributor to the growth of Athens in the period 1870-1900 (Daniel, 1997). Clearly, asylum and community were linked in Athens in a variety of ways.

Community response to mental illness has varied across time and place. Foucault (1965) argued that madness as an identified social problem arose in Western Europe at the end of the Middle Ages, and mental illness or unreason acquired stigma. During the
Renaissance the insane were contained aboard ships ("ships of fools") and set afloat. The Poor Laws of the 17th century forced the indigent and mentally ill to work in state-run poor houses. The asylum movement began in the eighteenth century, with the establishment of facilities such as the Quaker Tuke's retreat at York in England and with actions such as Pinel's liberation of the insane inmates at the prison of Bicetre in Paris. (Shorter, 1997). The nineteenth century was a time of building asylums to the specifications of the prevailing psychiatric treatment theme of the age, moral treatment. Moral treatment, meaning compassionate and supportive treatment of those with mental illness, was the first effort made to provide systematic care for numbers of persons with mental illness (Bockoven, 1972). It placed great emphasis on the curative possibilities offered by the physical setting and social influences of the asylum.

The locus of care for mental illness in the United States has traditionally been described as either community-based or centralized, asylum-based. The conventional view of the history of the locus of care asserts that there have been three distinct eras of care. These eras are (a) community-based care in the 17th and 18th centuries, followed by (b) 150 years of asylum-based care, and (c) the period of deinstitutionalization beginning in the 1960's which moved the locus of care back to the community. However, in the last ten years, researchers have begun to examine and revise the conventional view of three distinct eras of care. It is now known, for example, that between the Revolutionary War and the advent of the asylum, citizens with mental illness were institutionalized in jails and almshouses (Grob, 1994, McCandless, 1996). It is also now well-established that, in the current era of deinstitutionalized care, many are treated in centralized institutions
such as general hospital and adult homes (Keisler & Sibulkin, 1987). Prisons now also play a role in housing those with mental illness (di Renzo, 2002).

Most studies of American asylums have focused on the inner workings of the institutions. For example, Tomes' (1994) study of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane focuses on superintendent, patients, and psychiatry. Sitton (1997) studied the staff and patients at the Texas State Lunatic Asylum, and Dowdall (1996), studied the workings of the Buffalo State Hospital in the context of the rise and fall of asylums as an organizational form.

Scholars have recently begun to address the relationship of asylum-based care to the community. Geographers have examined the relationship between geography/place and asylum and have found that spatial distance from an asylum is a deterrent to family use of asylums (Alderman, 1997) and that asylums served as a means for both spatial and social exclusion of persons with mental illness (Park and Radford, 1997). Other scholars have examined gender issues and families, particularly with regard to the commitment process (Wright, 1998; Nakamura, 1999; Levine-Clark, 2000).

Literature on the rise of asylumdom suggests ways in which asylum and community might interact. The Foucauldian (revisionist) line of research, later extended by Scull, Rothman, and others, explores the asylum as an institution of social control (Foucault, 1965; Scull, 1989, 1999; Rothman, 1970). Grob and others have described asylums as a humanitarian response to the needs of those with mental illness and thus a resource for those with mental illness and their families (Grob, 1973). Tomlinson (1996) suggests that employment (jobs) is another asylum-community dynamic.
Research Question

This study identifies and explores the nature of the connections between the Athens Lunatic Asylum and the Village of Athens from the founding of the asylum in 1867 through 1893. Specifically, the research question is: What is the nature of the connections between the Athens Lunatic Asylum and the Village of Athens, from 1867 to 1893? The starting point for exploration of these connections was five areas of community and asylum life: (a) social order, (b) family, (c) landscape, (d) infrastructure, and (e) money economy. Two of these areas coincide with categories of community in Daniel's (1997) history of Athens as expanded by descriptions of nineteenth century community life in Beatty and Stone (1984) and Cayton (2002) as well as descriptions of asylum life in Sitton (1999), and Grob (1983).

Using the above, 150 phenomena (events, activities, questions) were identified that related to Asylum-Village connections. The next step was prioritizing, combining, and eliminating phenomena. The five main areas listed above presented themselves and were the starting point for the field research.

Why study the Athens Lunatic Asylum?

Most of the studies of American asylums involve institutions located adjacent to such urban areas as Philadelphia, Austin, Boston, and Buffalo. It was not until 1910 that Athens even reached a population of 5,463, which qualified it under Ohio law to become a city. Athens' small size provides an opportunity to examine in detail the various connections and relationships between asylum and community. In a large metropolitan area such connections, embedded in denser and more complex systems, are more difficult to isolate and identify.
Few nineteenth century asylums remain intact in the United States. The Athens Lunatic Asylum complex, now owned and maintained by Ohio University, stands as a whole in relatively good repair. It is a visual, architectural record of over one hundred years of asylum history and as such one of few remaining complexes.

Athens' rural location offers a further opportunity. Even in the mid-nineteenth century, cities such as Philadelphia, Boston, and even Austin, Texas - where American asylums have been studied - were major metropolitan areas. With its 1870 population of 1,696 and its location in rural southeastern Ohio, by no stretch of the demographic imagination could Athens have been considered metropolitan. The study then offers an opportunity to examine asylum/community interactions in a rural area.

The Athens Lunatic Asylum was one of 35 American asylums built to the specifications of the Kirkbride Plan (Waite, 1999). Thomas Kirkbride designed and for forty years was head of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, considered at the time one of the outstanding mental hospitals in the U.S. (Tomes, 1994). The Kirkbride Plan was both a nineteenth century building design and psychiatric treatment philosophy reflecting moral treatment of mental illness, and a hospital built and managed to these specifications would have been considered exemplary (Kirkbride 1973). The Athens Lunatic Asylum offers an opportunity to study an institution built to these standards.

Significance

The question of how best to organize community-based and centralized facilities to provide mental health care continues to be discussed. "Scull's dilemma", which contends that neither traditional mental hospitals nor community-based care have provided optimal mental health care, describes for the most part the stark facts of mental
health care today (Scull, 1996). While the word asylum remains fraught with negative connotations, particularly in the United States, scholars and mental health practitioners are beginning to revisit the meaning of asylum as defined in the nineteenth century (Tomlinson, 1996). Asylum originally meant a place of refuge, shelter, and haven. If mental hospitals could provide services that included these features, then centralized care might offer a viable model of care for those in need of such sanctuary (Tomlinson & Carrier, 1996).

Communities are experimenting with new models of asylum in the community. For example, the Sanctuary project in London provides residential care for African Caribbean adults with mental illness who have also been victims of racism (Huka, 1996). Furlong (1996) documents the need for centralized care, or asylum, in outcome studies of patients identified to participate in the Haven project in London. The Haven was designed to be a small-scale (42 patients) community of medical and other support for persons with chronic, severe mental illness.

As asylum is revisited, it is important to understand its past more clearly. Disciplines outside history tend to view historical studies as mere compilations of names, events, and dates. Tuchman (1998) notes that social scientists need to appreciate history as more than a collections of facts to be memorized, and that the past has enduring importance for the present. Berger and Luckmann (1966) emphasize the importance of understanding the histories of institutions and communities in order to make sense of the present. By learning about the early connections between asylum and community in Athens, we may gain a better understanding of the forces and considerations involved in providing mental health care in the community today.
Parameters

Two parameters in the research question bear explaining: (a) time period selected (1868-1893), and (b) Village of Athens. The Ohio legislature authorized the construction of the Athens Lunatic Asylum in 1867, ground-breaking was in 1868, and it opened in January of 1874. The ending time period of 1893 was selected through a process of listing significant events, by date, related to the Village of Athens and the Asylum. The list was searched for patterns and for points involving changes, endings, and beginnings.

The years 1867 to 1893 were a time of growth, development, and differentiation, but in 1893 shifts occurred which changed the landscape of both village and asylum life. During these years Athens made the transition from an agriculture-based country village into the beginning of a modern town (Daniel, 1997). The period was characterized in Athens by the establishment of a money-based economy, an effort to build a physical infrastructure, and the formation of its major social institutions such as the Athens Lunatic Asylum. This momentum was halted by the Panic of 1893. While earlier national financial panics had not affected Athens, the Panic of 1893 did affect the Village, causing tax delinquencies and bankruptcies, and it was several years before the Village recovered.

The 1867-1893 period also marked a transition in psychiatry. The Athens Lunatic Asylum was built and operated in its early years according to the psychiatric model of moral treatment. The Athens Lunatic Asylum may have reached its peak in terms of its status as a community mental health resource in 1893, when photographs of it were exhibited at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893. By the 1880's the focus of psychiatry had
begun to shift from moral treatment to scientific research. State mental hospitals, with their focus on administrative and custodial work, had become a backwater of psychiatry and medicine (Grob, 1983; Grob, 1985; Mitchell, 1994). This shift was acknowledged at the fiftieth annual meeting of the American Medico-Psychological Association in 1894 by Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, who excoriated both public and private mental hospitals as "deadly to the insane" (Mitchell, 1994, p. 33). Mitchell particularly criticized asylum administrators, whom he felt as physicians had abandoned their profession to become hospital administrators.

The Village of Athens is the geopolitical entity created in 1811 via provisions of Ohio state law, which specified an elected council and several elected and appointed officials. This village government had the power to enact ordinances and impose taxes. In 1828 the village government reorganized itself into a council with nine men serving staggered, three-year terms (Daniel, 1997). This form of government remained until the early twentieth century, when Athens gained enough population to become designated a city. The Athens Lunatic Asylum was built adjacent Athens, just west of the Hocking River.

This study has several limitations. First, it is a study of a state mental hospital, rather than a private one. Both demographics of patients and methods of funding differed between public and private hospitals of the nineteenth century, and thus this is seen as a distinction in the history of asylumdom. Secondly, this study is not treatment-focused and as such it will not address as principal topics the history and effectiveness of treatment. Thirdly, while this study addresses asylum staff and structure, it is not a detailed analysis of the internal organization and administration of
the asylum. Finally, as a case study, this research confronts the inevitable tension between capturing the details of an individual situation (intrinsic case study) and serving the scientific call of generalizability (instrumental case study) (Stake, 2000). The intention here is to focus on the individual particulars of the connections between the Village of Athens and the Athens Lunatic Asylum, which may in the end provide some information toward generalization of asylum-community connections.
Chapter Two: Review of the Literature

Introduction

This review of the literature addresses five distinct yet interrelated areas of asylum-community connection. It draws on both the literature of asylum, and it also makes use of literature addressing various aspects of the history of the nineteenth century. The five areas addressed are: (a) social order and organization of a community; (b) family; (c) landscape; (d) development of infrastructure; and (e) development of a money-based economy. The review is based on the literature of asylum and psychiatry and on general history of the nineteenth century and of Athens in particular.

The literature of asylum is extensive and addresses more than three centuries of history. It includes work on the history of psychiatry, commitment law and patients’ rights, biography and autobiography of asylum figures (primarily superintendents and patients), and historical organizational case studies. Although none of these studies provide a complete picture of asylum-community connection, taken together they offer a great deal of information in some areas and less in others.

Asylum literature is rich in information on points of connection between asylum and community in terms of social order and organization of community as well as implications for family and patients. This review draws greatly if not wholly on this literature to address community social order and family. Asylum as place and part of the physical landscape of the community is an emerging topic, and so the few but valuable research studies in this area are used. These geographical descriptions of the ways in which landscape connects asylum and community are supplemented with a discussion of research on the history of landscape and its intersection with the Victorian psychiatric
conviction of the curative power of moral treatment. Finally, asylum in relation to local economy and infrastructure is essentially undocumented terrain, with the exception of references here and there in works on the history of psychiatry. These references are broadened by literature on the history of civil engineering, building materials and construction, and development of towns in the Midwest.

The literature in this review is mostly from the American experience of asylumdom. However, it is supplemented with that of the English experience to fill in details where needed. Scull’s (1979, 1989, 1992, 1996, 1999) work, for example, is almost totally devoted to English asylumdom, and many of the most recent historical case studies of nineteenth century mental illness and asylums are of locations in England.

Asylum and Community Social Order and Organization

The role of asylum in community social order has been addressed in two areas of research: (a) the humanitarian vs. control functions of asylum; and (b) asylum as a source of professional psychiatric power. The humanitarian vs. control discussion of the underpinnings of the rise of asylumdom permeates at least half a century of asylum literature. It is discussed in the next two sections. A discussion of the asylum as a source of professional psychiatric power follows.

Nineteenth century community development.

In the United States, communities have a long history of supporting both prosperity and orderliness (Monti, 1999). Most of the major community institutions in American life today were invented in the nineteenth century, many of them to bring order to or meet social needs created by industrialization and urbanization of American life (Putnam 2000). Orphanages, libraries, schools, health clinics, parks, and hospitals for
those with mental illness were among the institutions developed by networks of community organizations to alleviate poor living conditions in nineteenth century American towns and cities.

In many instances it was middle class citizens, many of them women, who worked to reform communities and provide help for lower, poorer classes. Were these efforts an attempt to contain or control lower classes or were they a moral reform endeavor aimed at helping the unfortunate, the intemperate, and the exploited? Scott’s work on the history of women’s associations in American history suggests that this work was undertaken to help people become a part of the middle class rather than to keep them at a distance in their place (Scott, 1992). However, reforms emphasizing care for less fortunate others may have been more successful in urban settings, because of the diversity and number of citizens willing to work for improvements. Historical accounts suggest that middle class citizens in isolated rural areas may have offered resistance to civic participation and improvement in order to maintain control over old, self-serving social systems (Duncan, 2001).

The movement toward reform and community was active in Ohio. At mid-nineteenth century, groups of Ohioans sought to forge a culture of public concern through civic improvement (Cayton, 2002). Across the state, public schools were established, libraries were begun, institutions were founded to serve orphans and persons with physical disabilities, and state hospitals were established for those with mental illness.

While the first public psychiatric hospital in the United States, Eastern State Hospital, was established at Williamsburg in 1773, the nineteenth century was the era of asylum-building in America. During the second quarter of that century, responsibility for
those with mental illness shifted from family and private philanthropic hospitals to public hospitals supported by state governments, so that by 1860 most states had at least one mental hospital (Grob, 1973). The work of reformers such as Dorothea Dix (1802-1878) was instrumental in encouraging state governments to undertake asylum building. She sponsored a bill to use sale of federal lands to fund state asylums for the mentally ill which ultimately failed because of a veto by President Pierce in 1854. The lengthy debate in Congress highlighted the need to provide care for those with mental illness (Brown, 1998).

Waite (1999) has chronicled the history of the construction of state mental hospitals in Ohio. The first state mental hospital in Ohio was opened in Cincinnati in 1821 and closed because of poor conditions in 1838. In 1835 the legislature authorized the purchase of land for the Lunatic Asylum of Ohio in Columbus, which was opened in 1838. In 1852, the legislature authorized the Northern Ohio Lunatic Asylum near Cleveland as well as the Southern Ohio Lunatic Asylum, located at Dayton. The Athens Lunatic Asylum was the next hospital to be constructed.

_Humanitarian vs. control: the debate._

Through the first half of the twentieth century, writers on asylumdom, even while criticizing conditions within state mental hospitals, generally did not question their role and function in society. At mid-century, however, a debate began as to whether asylums were humanitarian institutions or agents for state control of the behavior of citizens. In 1961 Foucault began a revisionist critique of asylums with the publication in France of _Madness and Civilization_, in which he expressed his view of asylum as neither humanitarian nor scientific, but a repressive deprivation of individual liberty in the
service of control over the moral and social order of society (Foucault, 1965). In the United States in 1961, Szasz’s book *The Myth of Mental Illness* was published, in which he offered a revisionist critique of madness, portraying mental hospitals as agents of state control and comparing the patient/physician relationship to that of slave and master. Rothman (1971) weighed in with *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the Early Republic*, the premise of which is that asylums promoted stability in Jacksonian America at a time when stability was a political and economic need. Scull joined the revisionist critique in 1979 with *Museums of Madness*, which was a Marxist critique of the social organization of madness in nineteenth century England.

The revisionist critique of asylum by Foucault, Scull and others was challenged by Grob, who introduced three books on the American history of care for those with mental illness. These books chronicled the history of care for mental illness from the colonial period up through deinstitutionalization (Grob, 1973; 1983; 1991). Grob positioned the rise of asylums in the nineteenth century as humanitarian efforts designed to cope with the needs of individuals and families created by urbanization, industrialization, and immigration.

However, by the end of the 1980’s, the views of Grob and Scull, principal proponents of the humanitarian vs. control aspects of asylum, began to converge. Grob (1994) now maintains that the founding of state mental hospitals in the nineteenth century arose out of benevolence as well as fear about the spread of poverty, disease and crime. Scull’s position changed as well (personal communication, 2002). In 1989, he observed that in the nineteenth century, optimism about psychiatric treatment and a desire to mitigate inhumane conditions in which many with mental illness were living were the
source of energy behind the asylum movement; further, he believed that fear of the threat that insanity posed to property and social order was only a weak part of the drive to build asylums in the nineteenth century.

The question of the rise of asylum as a humanitarian movement vs. a mechanism for social control has yet to be resolved. Literature on reasons for the rise of asylums in the nineteenth century is described as “extraordinarily large and controversial” (Grob, 1996, p. 316). Recent research on this topic tends to be smaller, micro-research focusing on narrower topics and cases, rather than the earlier, sweeping, socio-historical analyses of Scull, Grob, and others (Scull, 1999). For example, Jackson’s (1997) detailed study of commitment records in her history of the Ngutsheni Lunatic Asylum in Southern Rhodesia examines the role and function of just one asylum in maintaining colonial social order in Africa.

Asylum, professional power, and psychiatry.

Another way to consider the connections between asylum in community in terms of social order is the role of asylum as a source of professional power in relation to psychiatry. This view is a fairly recent addition to literature on the history of asylum in relation to the community, mentioned by Dwyer in 1987 and expanded by Tomes (1994), Scull (1989), and Andrews & Scull (2001).

At the peak of the hierarchical structure of nineteenth century asylums were the superintendents, who controlled all of the decisions related to treatment and care of patients and as well as the business and administrative decisions related to the running of an asylum (Grob, 1883). Usually professionally trained as physicians specializing in psychiatry, asylum superintendents enjoyed considerable status, prestige, and power in
both their local communities and within the national arena of psychiatry (Dwyer, 1987). In the first half to three quarters of the nineteenth century, there was a great deal of public and professional optimism about the possibilities of psychiatric cure for mental illness. In the era of asylum-building, there was hope for the efficacy of psychiatry, and the job of asylum superintendent was a prestigious one (Tomes, 1994). Assistant physicians, who worked directly under the superintendents, also held prestigious jobs. Asylum physician was an attractive career path, especially compared to the uncertainty of private practice, and competition among young doctors for asylum positions was intense (Dwyer, 1987). Asylum superintendents and physicians developed close connections with families seeking help for their relatives, and they often became medical confidants to families with wealth and social standing (Andrews & Scull, 2001).

With their prestigious jobs and access to persons with wealth and social standing, asylum physicians often attained status and influence in the community. As such, they sometimes attained status and influence in the social, political, cultural and intellectual community (Andrews & Scull, 2001).

Summary: asylum and community social order.

In the nineteenth century in the U.S. a care-giving, humanitarian impulse gave rise to a desire to provide better care for those with mental illness. This impulse was consistent with community needs for order and prosperity. This benevolent energy was augmented by fears about the spread of poverty and disease. At a time when creation of institutions was the response of the day to social problems, asylums were established to care for those with mental illness. In 1867, when the Ohio legislature authorized the founding of the Athens Lunatic Asylum, asylums were thought of as the key to
psychiatric cure. Public and professional optimism about the efficacy of psychiatric care in asylums helped create status for asylum superintendents and physicians, which in turn gained for them access to the dominant social structures of their day.

Asylum and Family

Industrialization and urbanization.

In 1790 there were six cities in the U.S. with a population of 8,000 or more, and by 1850 there were 85 such cities (Grob, 1994). In 1790, the largest cities had no more than 50,000 residents, but by 1850 the city of New York, for example, had half a million persons. Cincinnati’s population grew from 16,230 in 1826 to 161,044 in 1860, when it was one of the major cities west of the east coast (Cayton, 2002). In the last decade or so, researchers have begun to examine how this period of growth, urbanization, and industrialization affected the interactions of families and institutions (Hareven, 1985). Sitton (1999), in her explanation of how urbanization contributed to the rise of asylumdom, noted that families who cared for mentally ill relatives on a farm, in a rural area, had fewer pressures from neighbors about behavior of those relatives. In urban areas where neighborhood population density was much higher, families were more likely to seek institutional care (Sitton).

Industrialization contributed to the rise of asylumdom by changing the location of the workplace. The change from a home-based artisan labor system to the centralization of workplaces in factories and commercial establishments separated home from the work (Grob, 1994). With families less able to care for their dependent members at home, the care-giving role of home and family, including care for those with mental illness, was increasingly transferred to institutions. The arrival of European immigrants in the
nineteenth century also created demand for community-based care. Many were poor and
came to the U.S. without spouses or, indeed, any family and therefore lacked a family-
based support network for care of mental, or other, illness.

Pre-asylum care.

In seventeenth and eighteenth century America, families were responsible for the
care of their mentally ill members (Grob, 1994). Families who were able and so inclined
arranged for special medical treatment for their relatives, which might include travel to
consult distant physicians, such as Benjamin Rush at Pennsylvania Hospital, or to take
curative waters, such as Niagara Falls (McCandless, 1996). Other families confined their
relatives at home in spaces that have been described as no better than cells or cages
(McCandless, 1996). In any case, families could have their relatives declared insane, or
found lunatic, via legal proceedings set up by the colonial governments (Grob, 1994;
McCandless, 1996). Such declarations allowed families to safeguard family property by
gaining control over the assets of the lunatic relative as well as to keep them from
harming others. The primary public goal of such proceedings was to set up some
mechanism to deal with the social and economic consequences of mental illness rather
than to assure medical treatment (Grob, 1973).

Declared lunatics with no family to provide care were sometimes boarded out to
foster homes that received local government funding. In eighteenth century South
Carolina, for instance, a family might receive anywhere from seven to 130 dollars per
year for taking in and providing care for a person with mental illness (McCandless,
1996). Mentally ill persons with no families to care for them (poor persons and slaves by
and large) were also sent to jails, poorhouses, or workhouses (Grob, 1994). There they
lived with criminals, paupers, ill persons, orphans, and others (McCandless, 1996). By the end of the eighteenth century, local governments began to arrange for the separation of lunatics from criminal and sick poor, thus marking the beginning of the age of institutionalization of those with mental illness.

*Family use of asylums: respite and remedy.*

The role of asylums in the nineteenth century as a source of both respite and remedy for families has been well documented, particularly with regard to women. Showalter (1985) argued that many forms of mental illness developed by nineteenth century middle-class women were a response to the narrow, confined domestic lives they were expected to lead, so in this sense asylums functioned as a place to escape restrictive family situations. Levine-Clark (2000) describes asylum commitment as a way for working class and poor women to escape pressures of poverty, adulterous husbands, domestic violence, and other family-based problems. Davies (1996) notes that nineteenth century asylums were used as resource and respite for both women and men experiencing family crises.

Asylums were a resource for families needing care-giving help with a dependent family member. Wright’s (1998) study of a nineteenth century English asylum for “idiot” children reveals that the Earlswood Asylum served as a resource for lower-middle class, working families needing help maintaining the balance between the family use of care-giving and production resources and reducing the number of dependents. Families who had migrated away from other relatives and who had few older children to help care for children with disabilities were most likely to confine their “idiot” children to asylums. Wright notes that boys were more likely than girls to be confined by their families to
asylums. Wright proposes that Earlswood was used by families as a sort of extended respite care for children, who were brought home by their families after some economic and care-giving stability was gained at home. Friedberger (1981) found the same dynamics in his study of an Iowa asylum for children with disabilities. Tomes (1994) found in her study of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane that nineteenth century families used the asylum as a last resort for care for their relatives with mental illness. She noted a desperate quality in the thousands of letters from families written to Pennsylvania Hospital Superintendent Thomas Kirkbride, as they sought care and treatment for their relatives.

*Family use of asylum: abuses.*

Because the commitment process in the nineteenth century made it easy for families to commit one of their members, the process was sometimes abused. Davies (1996) argues that asylums were used as a treatment for persons who were unwilling to contribute to family welfare; among those hospitalized were women who were unwilling to undertake domestic chores and men who were unwilling to work and earn money for the family. Tomes (1994), in her account of the life of Thomas Kirkbride and his role as superintendent and founder of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane in Philadelphia, notes that nineteenth century asylums were a “morally defensible means of ridding the household of an admittedly difficult resident (p. 118).” One of the most significant of the American false commitment cases was that of Mrs. Elizabeth Packard, who was hospitalized in the 1860’s by her husband, a minister, for disagreeing with his Calvinist religious beliefs. (Sapinsley, 1991). Mrs. Packard later successfully sued her husband and the asylum superintendent; she was also successful in lobbying the Illinois legislature to
pass a “personal liberty law” in 1867 which required a jury trial before a person could be institutionalized for mental illness (Caplan, 1969).

Family use of asylum: the journey.

In a study of nineteenth century use of the Georgia State Asylum, Alderman (1997) explores the nature of the family journey required to bring a relative to the asylum. When the asylum was full, families brought their relatives to be admitted anyway. Families were unwilling to return home with their mentally ill relatives, and administrative struggles developed. The superintendent at Georgia State Asylum lamented in his 1867-1868 annual report that patients often arrived near death, their conditions having been worsened by the long and often arduous journey to the asylum (Alderman).

Asylum as home for its employees.

In addition to serving as a resource for families, asylums became homes and functioned as families for many of the staff members who lived and/or worked there. Asylum has been examined in terms of the construct of “home” for its employees. Cornish’s (1991) study of the St. Lawrence Hospital, an asylum in the U.K., notes that its former employees recalled with affection their workplace as a home. Employees there spoke with nostalgia the social ties that once existed within the asylum between staff and patients. A study by Case Western Reserve (1978) about deinstitutionalization at Cleveland State Hospital cited regret and nostalgia from mid and low level staff members about the home-like atmosphere of the hospital. Literature on nineteenth century asylum staff is less specific, though we do know that at many asylums it was customary for staff, from superintendent on down, to live on-site at the hospital. (Sitton, 1997; Tomes, 1994).
Summary: asylum and family.

Population growth, urbanization, and the separation of home and workplace brought about by industrialization made institutionalized care for those with mental illness expedient for families and communities. Asylums seem to have served as a genuine resource for families as they sought to deal with mentally ill family members, though the family journey to the asylum was sometimes a barrier to hospitalization. Asylums served in the nineteenth century as a respite for women of all classes, though commitment was sometimes abused and used as a way to control or punish women.

The role of asylum as a metaphorical home or family for its employees has been described in twentieth century deinstitutionalization studies, and in the nineteenth century the asylum was literally home for its staff. With the exception of studies on asylum superintendents, there is little or no research addressing nineteenth century as home and family for its staff.

Asylum Landscape and Community

Introduction.

As moral treatment moved remedy for mental illness to a less restrictive and less punitive approach, one of its features was an emphasis on development of the outdoor landscape of the asylum. Spending time outdoors on attractively landscaped asylum grounds was thought to serve a curative function. The work and ideas of Frederick Law Olmsted influenced the development of asylum grounds. At the time of the rise of moral treatment, landscape design was developing as a profession largely under the influence of Frederick Law Olmsted.
This section briefly reviews nineteenth century landscape design philosophy and its intersection with the moral treatment movement in psychiatry. In the United States the moral treatment movement took form in 1817, with the founding of the Friends’ Asylum in Pennsylvania for the purpose of providing moral treatment for those with mental illness. The movement lasted about 75 years. This section explains the role of Frederick Law Olmsted in nineteenth century landscape design philosophy. Olmsted’s influence is particularly important because the landscape designer for the Athens Lunatic Asylum, Herman Haerlin of Cincinnati, is thought to have been influenced greatly by Olmsted’s work. Finally, this section will describe the asylum landscape as a spatial boundary, and it will detail the functions of asylum landscape as mentioned in asylum literature.

Frederick Law Olmsted and nineteenth century landscape design.

Frederick Law Olmsted, by far the most influential American landscape designer of the nineteenth century, brought together competing visions of nature by way of his emphasis on the benefits of authentic natural landscape (Schama, 1995). Western culture has represented or constructed nature in terms of dualities since at least Hellenic times, and the basic dimensions of the duality are wildness vs. domesticity. Early Greek descriptions of Arcadia, or nature, conceived of the natural environment as unpredictable, sensual, and dangerous – in a word, wild (Schama, 1995). Later versions of Arcadia, described by Virgil, presented a tamed version of nature, complete with a domestic social order of farms and animals. Schama describes how these two competing visions of nature, wild and dangerous vs. domestic and orderly, appeared, disappeared, and reappeared in western art and landscape design for over 2000 years. It is now common for contemporary ecologists to examine the western constructions of the duality of nature.
and speak to a need to preserve rather than tame natural wildness. Berry (1999) writes about the life-giving, sacred aspects of wilderness and the need to approach it with both reverence and fear. Fox (1994) developed the idea of creation spirituality based on nature as a source of wonder, awe, and delight. But at mid-nineteenth century, typical English civic landscape design featured an orderly vision of nature with graded lawns, flower beds, mounds of imported rock, and glass conservatories. Frederick Law Olmsted described this landscape as conveying an effect of “insipid picturesqueness” (Sutton, 1997, p. 200). Olmsted’s first major work was New York’s Central Park in 1857, the first major park designed for an American city. His design was in essence a rejection of a dual view of nature and a celebration of the benefits of authentic natural landscape and preservation of original wilderness (Schama, 1995).

Olmsted also held convictions about the recuperative power of natural scenery and the physical and mental health benefits of contemplating nature and breathing fresh air (Rybczynski, 1999). His beliefs were in fact rooted in a long and continuing tradition of the restorative use of nature and gardens. Gerlach-Spriggs, Kaufman, & Warner (1998) have traced the use of gardens in the landscapes of places established for the care of the sick since the Middle Ages. Their research suggests that nature and gardens can serve as an adjunct to healing by providing a sense of being away yet connected with a comprehensible whole. Ulrich’s (1993) research suggests that natural landscapes support healing by relieving stress.

Olmsted and other nineteenth century landscape designers believed that intentional design of the landscape could be used to strengthen community ties, social integration, and even democracy (Ranney, 2000). Olmsted designed many projects
throughout the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century, including important parks in Cincinnati, Dayton, and Cleveland and the grounds of asylums in Massachusetts (Beveridge & Hoffman, 1987). Indeed, Olmsted pioneered the establishment of parks in America, and he was responsible for convincing Congress to create the first national park at Yosemite. His intent was to create natural outdoor settings for people to come together as a community for refreshment and renewal. He hoped to civilize Americans accustomed to a pioneer mentality of individualism by creating community and social integration among urban citizens in parks (Ranney, 2000).

*Moral treatment.*

Olmsted’s design philosophy corresponds with the psychiatric model of moral treatment. Moral treatment of mental illness developed in the late eighteenth century in England, France, and America as an alternative to the more aggressive tactics of curing mental illness involving restraint and punishment (Caplan, 1969). Or, simply put, kindness instead of coercion was believed to be curative (Sitton, 1999). Philippe Pinel, physician at the Bicetre asylum for men and Salpetriere asylum for women in Paris in the eighteenth century, removed the chains from his charges and undertook humane treatment of them. He called this *traitement moral*, meaning intellectual, mental, or psychological treatment. In the English translation, moral acquired a moralizing meaning unintended by Pinel, which tends to confuse somewhat the intent of the moral, or mental, treatment movement (Gerlach-Spriggs, Kaufman, & Warner, 1998).

Moral treatment dominated American asylum medicine in the nineteenth century (Tomes, 1994). Its features included the belief that mental illness was curable, that physical punishment should be abolished, that treatment of those with mental illness as
though they were capable of rational behavior was curative, and that a system of routines and diversions in a restful setting was therapeutic (Gerlach-Spriggs, Kaufman, & Warner, 1998). Asylum physicians believed that mental illness was brain-based and that proper habits and a regular, healthy life could alter and correct the brain (Caplan, 1969). In 1817, the first hospital founded in the U.S. for the purpose of providing moral treatment was Friends’ Asylum, built by Quakers in Pennsylvania (Bockoven, 1972). The moral treatment movement lasted about 75 years. In Europe by the 1890’s, psychotherapy was taking form as the dominant psychiatric treatment mode. In the United States, the cottage plan of treatment was proposed.

The architectural design of the asylum was considered central to the success of moral treatment; that is, change and cure of those with mental illness included attention to the built forms surrounding them. Indeed, the guidelines for construction of hospitals for the insane issued in 1851 by the Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane (AMSAII) gave careful attention to landscape as well as built forms. The guidelines suggested that hospitals should (a) be located in the country; (b) have at least fifty acres devoted to gardens and pleasure grounds for patients with at least an additional fifty acres for farm and other uses; and (c) have means for providing at least ten thousand gallons of water daily to all parts of the building (AMSAII, 1851). The AMSAII also gave detailed standards as to the number, type, and sizes of rooms and wards; optimal number of patients per building; the appropriate size and use of windows; building materials; basic building footprint; drainage; ventilation; heat; plumbing; and security. Patients were classified and geographically separated in wings leading out from
a central administrative section, with the most violently disturbed patients located in the far-most wings.

The asylum landscape was an important feature of moral treatment. For instance, gazing at attractive vistas was thought to be curative. (This idea has credence today; there is a body of research on the effect of windows on patient well-being in medical hospitals. For example, Ulrich’s (1984) study found that patients with a window view of nature had significantly shorter hospital stays, lower analgesic use, and fewer complaints during recovery.) Thomas Kirkbride paid close attention to the outdoor landscapes that his patients viewed from their windows (Sitton, 1999). Kirkbride cautioned against housing patients underground for this reason (Sitton). In his book of specifications for hospitals for the insane, Kirkbride called for groves of trees, attractive scenery, and “handsomely” cultivated land (Kirkbride, 1880).

Nineteenth century asylum superintendents considered the appearance of the landscape in their annual reports. The first superintendent of the Texas State Asylum described the grounds, the soil and the outdoor vistas: “…the natural growth properly trimmed will give cheerfulness to the view, and yield grateful protection from the sun.” (Sitton, 1999, p. 12). A few years later Superintendent Dr. Beriah Graham wrote that “upon the south and surrounding it is a beautiful grove of live oaks, and west is a range of mountains covered with evergreen, while north and east of it stretches the broad prairie.” (Sitton, 1999, p. 12). And writing in 1914, Superintendent John Preston described “a chain of hills which makes a beautiful purplish background for the intervening fields in various shades of green and gold.” (Sitton, 1999, p. 12).
The so-called pleasure grounds outside the asylum were also an aspect of moral treatment; outdoor airings and strolls on the grounds were thought to be therapeutic. At the Austin State Hospital, patients were taken on outings around the lakes and trees of the grounds and allowed to sit under the trees and enjoy the landscape (Sitton, 1999). The superintendent of the Texas State Lunatic Asylum, established in 1857, undertook improvements to the grounds in 1891 and added graveled drives, lakes, lily ponds, and decorative bridges. The Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane and the Utica Asylum in New York both had beautiful grounds on which patients took strolls (Dwyer, 1987).

Thomas Kirkbride took great pains to improve the pleasure ground of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane so that patients might enjoy walking there (Tomes, 1994).

The asylum landscape and grounds also served functions other than therapeutic. Kirkbride felt that luxurious, well-tended grounds reassured families and made the asylum inviting to patients. Kirkbride’s asylum accepted private pay patients from all over the eastern seaboard, as well as patients with little or no means to pay, so he was constantly undertaking improvements to attract wealthy families and patients. (Tomes, 1994). Beautifully manicured grounds ornamented with gardens, fountains, and walks also served to camouflage the custodial function and security measures of an asylum, making the asylum more appealing to families and patients (Tomes).

Grounds outside the pleasure ground were usually devoted to farming operations, so that soil quality was a consideration in site selection. In his blueprint for asylum design, Kirkbride wrote that soil needed to be easy to till so that the farm and gardens would produce food for patients (Tomes, 1999). Patients often worked in the gardens, and this employment was considered therapeutic. Dr. Beriah Graham of the Texas State
Asylum wrote in his 1866 annual report: “some additional facilities for the amusement of the patients should at least be added. Such useful employments as are calculated to exercise, and develop at once, the mental and physical powers, are of the highest advantage to the insane. Our vegetable and flower gardens afford us the only occupation of this kind…anything which can fix the attention of the mind, to the exclusion of morbid ideas, may be a means of its restoration to health” (Sitton, 1999, p.25).

The landscape of asylums also served as a boundary between asylum and community. To some extent, the grounds were a boundary of exclusion, dividing patients and community (Parks & Radford, 1997). The pleasure grounds and other acreage, usually farmland, served to protect the privacy and safety of patients from those outside the asylum community (Tomes, 1994). The grounds also served as an unobtrusive way to contain patients. Keeping patients from running away or getting lost was an important consideration for asylum superintendents (Tomes, 1994; Sitton, 1999). Lakes, rivers and other geographic features served as fences, and Kirkbride gave directions for building fences in ditches in the landscaped grounds so they could not be seen from asylum windows by patients and visitors. (Kirkbride, 1880).

While the asylum landscape was as a boundary of exclusion that kept patients in and unwanted visitors out, it was also a permeable boundary between asylum and community. Permeable boundaries in architectural systems can help create new social and institutional structures in cities and towns by promoting social healthy encounters as a result of arranging urban space so that it dissolves boundaries (Dovey & Dickson, 2002). Such dynamics were at work in nineteenth century asylums. For these asylum grounds often functioned as a park where patients and people from the community
mingled, or at least encountered each other. These asylum grounds, with their trees, lawns, lakes, walks, and drives, were preferred destinations for Sunday afternoon walks and drives (Sitton, 1999). Courting couples, children, family picnickers, and Sunday strollers might encounter asylum patients. One might envisage the irony of courting couples and happy families coming upon victims and perpetrators of domestic violence and patients with other assorted backgrounds and problems. It is this function of the asylum grounds as a permeable boundary between village and asylum that is of interest. Just as asylums functioned to centralize and isolate those with mental illness, their grounds provided a place for patients to experience connection with the community and vice versa.

**Summary: asylum landscape and community.**

To summarize, the nineteenth century asylum landscape played several roles. Asylum pleasure grounds and farms were a treatment site for patients, and they were also a permeable boundary between community and asylum. They served to contain patients and they also were meant to convey a favorable impression to visitors. The design of asylum landscapes, especially the pleasure grounds, was influenced by the intersection of moral treatment and nineteenth century landscape design. The work of Frederick Law Olmsted is thought to have directly influenced Herman Haerlin’s design for the landscape at the Athens Lunatic Asylum.

**Asylum and the development of community infrastructure**

*The industrial revolution.*

In the second half of the nineteenth century, American communities worked to establish and improve their physical infrastructures. The Industrial Revolution, now in
full swing in America, introduced mechanized production and labor so that machines could now do the heavy labor of animals and men. Paved streets, sidewalks, bridges, canals, railroads, and new ways of building were possible because of new technologies and new materials (Peters, 1996).

The infrastructure of the Village of Athens developed considerably between 1867 and 1893, as detailed by Daniel (1997). A thriving brick-making industry was established which provided materials for buildings, roads, and conduits. Iron blast furnaces and coal mines located in the county contributed materials and fuel to the construction of an infrastructure. Court Street was gradually transformed from a residential to a commercial street. New bridges were built across the Hocking River. The coming of the canal provided a means for transporting goods, and the railroad, which supplantled the canals, connected Athens with Marietta, Cincinnati, Columbus, and beyond. The struggle to pave Village roads and establish a municipal source of clean water and sewage disposal achieved some success toward the end of the century.

The Athens Lunatic Asylum was a significant addition to the community. It was one of the largest buildings of its kind anywhere when it opened in 1874, and it was certainly by far the largest structure in Athens County. Eighteen and a half million bricks were required for its construction, and they were provided by a local contractor (Beatty & Stone, 1984). With 663 patients by 1880, transportation of patients to and from the asylum was surely important, and without roads, railroads, and reliable bridges across the Hocking River, access would have been difficult. While asylum literature is silent on the role of asylums in the development of community infrastructure, it is conceivable that the
construction and operation of an asylum might impact the physical infrastructure of a community, especially in a small, rural community such as Athens.

_Construction materials and techniques._

Bricks were made in Athens as early as 1823, and a local brick-maker provided thousands of bricks for the construction of Cutler Hall, or College Edifice as it was called then (Daniel, 1997). By 1850, some 700,000 bricks were made each year in Athens. On the site of the Athens Lunatic Asylum, the millions of bricks needed were made out of clay dug nearby. In 1870 the first brickyard with a permanent kiln was established in Athens. Over the next two decades several brickyards were established in Athens, culminating with the Athens Brick Company which could produce 50,000 paving bricks a day (Daniel). Bricks were used in Athens for buildings as well as for paving streets, sidewalks, and water and sewer conduit (Beatty & Stone, 1984).

Made of clay and water and formed by hand or in wooden, iron, or steel molds, bricks can be sun-baked or fired in kilns for added strength and impermeability (Elliott, 1992). Brick-making traditions have changed slowly, so that the process used in ancient Roman communities resembled that used in Athens County at the beginning of the nineteenth century, where farmer and brick-molder collaborated on-site to hand-make bricks for individual projects (Elliott, Beatty & Stone, 1984). By the mid-nineteenth century, mechanical, centralized methods of brick-making had been developed in the U.S. Also, the dry-press process was invented, in which finely ground shale or hard clay was pressure-forced into molds and kiln dried without an intermediate weathering step (Elliott, 1992). The German ring kiln, which could fire bricks continuously and at
controllable temperatures, was introduced in Europe in 1862 but did not appear in the U.S. until after 1890 (Peters, 1996).

Iron – both cast and wrought – was used in the construction of the asylum at Athens. The asylum windows featured detailed grille work and bars thought to be manufactured by a contractor in Cincinnati (Waite, 1999). It was not until the 1870’s that blast furnaces were started in Athens County (Beatty & Stone, 1984).

*Transportation.*

Road building was a national activity in the nineteenth century. In 1794 the first American turnpike authorized by the Congress was completed from Philadelphia to Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Another national road, the Cumberland Road, was authorized by Congress, and by 1818 it reached the Ohio River at Wheeling, West Virginia from Cumberland, Maryland (Kirby, Withington, Darling, & Kilgour, 1957). A major gateway to the western lands, the Cumberland Road stretched into Ohio by the 1830’s. At mid-nineteenth century, Athens had two stagecoach roads. Travel by coach on these took time: the Pomeroy trip took six hours, and the ride to Lancaster took ten hours.

Canals served the state of Ohio as well as the village of Athens. The Erie Canal, connecting the Hudson River at Albany with Lake Erie at Buffalo, was begun in 1817 and completed in 1825. It provided an easy water route from the cities of the East to the western lands, including Ohio (Peters, 1996). In 1832 the State of Ohio connected the Ohio River and Lake Erie with a canal running from Cleveland to Portsmouth. In 1835 Athens businessman Calvary Morris secured the construction of a canal to connect Athens with the Lancaster canal, which in turn was connected with the Ohio-Erie route.
This canal, which reached Athens in 1843, provided a means for transporting Athens County products to markets.

The relative ease, speed, and year-round access of the railroads quickly made the canal systems obsolete. Railroads were a major part of the emerging infrastructure of Ohio. In 1840 Ohio had 30 miles of railroad track, but by 1861 it led the nation in track, with 2,946 miles (Grant, 1996). By 1900 Ohio’s railroad network reached nearly 9,000 miles of track (Peters, 1996). The Marietta and Cincinnati Railroad reached Athens in 1857. Passengers could now reach Athens from Marietta in three hours. The Hocking Valley Railroad reached south to Athens in 1870, connecting the village with Columbus (Daniel, 1997).

Sanitary engineering.

The need for clean drinking water and sanitary disposal of sewage spurred new inventions and systems in Europe and the United States (Kirby, Withington, Darling, & Kilgour, 1956). In 1829 the first public municipal water system was built in the United States, in New York City. In 1849, physician John Snow discovered that cholera was spread in London through municipal water pumps in, and in 1857 Pasteur discovered the role of bacteria in the spread of disease. The first public sewage flushing and disposal system was built in the U.S. in Chicago in 1855. In 1872, the State Insane Asylum at Augusta, Maine, experimented with a sewage farm, but it was not until 1891 that the practice of drying sludge in beds was successfully undertaken. In 1894, trickling filter systems were used for the first time. Through the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Athens village council struggled to provide a municipal water and sewer system for citizens. This was finally accomplished in the 1890’s (Daniel, 1997).
Summary: asylum and community infrastructure.

The Athens Lunatic Asylum was constructed with over 18.5 million bricks a time when the village brick industry was in a fledgling state, and iron was required for its many window grilles. With its many patients and employees, transportation was important, as were other aspects of the infrastructure such as networks of public utilities as well as sanitary engineering. It is possible that relationships and influences existed between the asylum and Athens in terms of creation of a local infrastructure.

Asylum and transition to a money economy

Barter and trade.

The Ohio and Mississippi River valleys were settled by men and women inspired by the possibilities for trade, commerce, and land speculation (Mahoney, 1990). New settlers focused on making their towns centers for trade, for to make a town a success was to increase the success of the townspeople. Unlike most other towns in the Ohio River Valley, Athens was established, according to the terms of the sale of land to the Ohio Company of Associates, as a township to be used to support a university (Daniel, 1997). However, a mercantile community quickly sprang up, as well as manufacturing interests such as mills, brick-making, and furniture-making.

The development of cash economies was an important step in the development of towns and urban centers. From the earliest pioneer times in the eighteenth century on into the nineteenth century, Midwesterners depended upon barter and credit to keep commerce going (Lingeman, 1980). In Ohio, ginseng, furs, grains, pork, butter, corn whiskey, wheat, wool, hemp, and corn were all bartered for goods and products. Merchants would typically accept these products as payment for their goods; the
merchants were then required to undertake trading trips back East or to trading centers at New Orleans, Cincinnati, or St. Louis to sell these goods. Trade with the East was required to bring in cash, and in 1825, when the Erie Canal opened up the eastern markets to Ohio and beyond, cash economies were stimulated.

In Athens, barter transactions were the norm through the Civil War. It was not until after the Civil War that the village of Athens even began to convert to a cash economy. As late as 1859, Athens merchants were accepting wool as payment for products and goods in their stores, but by the 1870’s the economy of the village had turned toward cash (Daniel, 1997).

*Asylums as customer and employer.*

Asylums participated in local economies as both customer and employer, though these roles are largely unexplored in asylum literature. Sitton (1997) makes a brief reference to the problem of cheating by those who did business with the Texas State Asylum, but she offers no details. Tomlinson (1996) refers to the vested interest which twentieth century mental hospital employees had in their employment and notes that unions were formed.

Asylums needed food, clothing, furnishings, maintenance items, and many other things for their patients and staff, and they had cash to purchase them. Indeed, by 1893 the Athens Lunatic Asylum received an annual sum from the State for operating expenses in the amount of $96,800, compared with the Ohio University subsidy that year of $12,750 (Daniel, 1997). As supervisors of all asylum functions, nineteenth century superintendents were occupied with overseeing purchasing, hiring, payroll, and
bookkeeping details (Mitchell, 1994). In a town the size of Athens, the asylum and its managers likely played some role in the local conversion to a cash economy.

*Summary: asylum and a money economy*

Many Ohio River valley towns were engaged in a barter economy until after the Civil War. Until then, commerce was based on an intensive system of travel and trade. As towns became connected with large cities and enters of commerce with ready cash, they were able to access money and convert to cash-based economies. By the 1870’s, the Village of Athens began to be based on cash rather than barter. As a significant customer and employer, the Athens Lunatic Asylum likely played a role in this conversion.

*Literature Review to Methodology: Goals and Intentions*

This review addresses five areas of asylum-community connection: (a) social order and organization of a community; (b) family; (c) landscape; (d) development of infrastructure; and (e) development of a money-based economy. It draws on both the literature of asylum and the literature addressing various aspects of the history of the nineteenth century. It is argued here that all five areas were vital to the establishment and early years of the Athens Lunatic Asylum.

Asylum and community social order are connected by the benevolent functions of asylums, the ability of asylums to contribute to social order and control, and the rise of psychiatry as a source of professional and personal power. Asylum and family are connected by the care-giving resource that asylums provided; asylums were also used by families as a place to put troublesome or unproductive family members. Asylums themselves can be viewed in terms of a construct of home and family for their employees.
The asylum landscape, which functioned as a treatment ground, also created a permeable boundary between asylum and community. As a place for both patients and community members to come for refreshment and renewal, asylums provided connections for patients back out into the community and encouraged familiarity with the asylum in the community. Well-tended, beautiful grounds that disguised the custodial function and security measures of an asylum also made the asylum more appealing to families and patients. While the grounds were an important part of patient treatment and a source of connection to the community, literature addresses asylum landscape only tangentially.

In the last third of the nineteenth century, communities worked to establish and improve their physical infrastructures. Paved streets and sidewalks, bridges, canals, railroads, and new construction methods were possible because of new technologies and new materials. Asylums were large structures requiring transportation, clean water, sanitary disposal of sewage, and other services. While asylum literature does not address this point, it seems likely that their construction and maintenance may have contributed to the development of infrastructure in their communities.

As communities in the nineteenth century made use of new manufacturing, industrial, and engineering processes, their barter-based economies shifted to a cash base. Asylums participated in local economies as both customers and employers. In Athens, the shift to a cash economy did not begin until after the Civil War. The Athens Lunatic Asylum, with its payroll, its purchasing functions, and its state-supplied operating subsidy, played a role in the creation of a cash-based economy in the Village.
This research explores the relationship of community to asylum-based care of those with mental illness. It does so by means of a historical case study of the nature of the connections between the Athens Lunatic Asylum and the Village of Athens, from the time of the founding of the asylum in 1867 through 1893. The connections are explored in five areas of community and asylum life: (a) social order, (b) family, (c) landscape, (d) infrastructure, and (e) money economy.

With regard to social order, this research identifies ways in which the dynamics of humanitarianism and social control existed between asylum and community. Concerning family, the dynamics of commitment of patients from the Athens area reveals information about the links between asylum and community. This study reports information about asylum staff, the extent to which staff members came from Athens, and how the Asylum functioned as a work place.

With regard to landscape, this study identifies the ways in which the Athens Lunatic Asylum grounds functioned as an aspect of the patient treatment regimen as well as the ways in which it functioned as a resource for the community. The study also gives some understanding of the nature of the physical boundaries between town and asylum and their impermeable nature.

With regard to the infrastructure of the Village of Athens, this study explores the extent to which the construction and maintenance of the Athens Lunatic Asylum affected or influenced the development of community infrastructure in terms of transportation, utilities, and sanitation. Also, the research gives some understanding of whether the construction of the asylum, which required 18.5 million bricks, played a role in the development of the brick industry in Athens.
Finally, with regard to the shift in the Village of Athens from a barter-based to a cash-based economy, this study documents the role of the asylum as both customer and employer. It also addressed the ways in which the asylum contributed to the development of a money economy in Athens.
Chapter Three: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter describes the framework for the collection and analysis of empirical materials for this research project. Several sources were helpful in crafting this framework. Bogdan and Biklen (1998), Lincoln and Guba (2000), and Denzin and Lincoln (2000) were valuable resources on the theoretical landscape of qualitative research. Huberman and Miles (1998), Miles and Huberman (1994), and Stake (1995, 2000) provided an array of tools for organizing and analyzing empirical materials.

Constructivist approach

This exploration of asylum-community connections relies on the constructivist perspective within the qualitative research tradition. Constructivism is rooted in the phenomenological tradition that emerged in the 1960’s (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). The aim of research undertaken from a constructivist position is to reconstruct meaning and gain understanding (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Constructivists believe that knowledge is made up of multiple interpretations rather than a single, objective, and external reality, and that the role of the researcher is to gather interpretations (Stake, 1995).

The constructivist position is well-matched with the task of creating an understanding of nineteenth century community-asylum connections in the Village of Athens, because of its emphasis on gaining understanding by reconstruction of local realities. Its accent on the researcher, or inquirer, as a facilitator of multivoiced reconstructions also has application (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Where appropriate, this research incorporates direct quotes from Asylum superintendents, the Asylum Board of Trustees and other government organizations. Also incorporated where possible are the
voices of others: a poem written by an Asylum patient, the letters of an Asylum staff member, letters written by Athenians, and the notes and assessments of physicians with regard to commitment and care of patients. While this primary resource material lengthens both Chapter Four and the Appendix, it adds to the richness and authenticity of the results.

Moving along Lincoln and Guba’s taxonomy of qualitative research theoretical perspectives, a participatory research stance has been a secondary support for this inquiry. Participatory studies are mostly thought of in terms of “here and now” research such as ethnography (Chambers, 2000). However, the participatory emphasis also relies on researcher self-reflection and self-awareness. As described in Chapter Six, reflective work was planned and carried out throughout the course of the study, including over six hundred pages of reflective materials in the form of research journals, reflective field notes, and art-based journals. This work has been important in the research design, data collection, analysis, and writing tasks.

Case study method

A case study is a “detailed examination of one setting, or a single subject, a single depository of documents, or a particular event” (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p.54). Setting aside the case study as a teaching tool (as used in business education, counselor education, and other disciplines), Bogdan and Biklen distinguish among historical organizational case studies, observational case studies set in present-time, and life history. Stake (1995) refers not to types of case studies but to the tasks of case researchers: (a) teaching, (b) advocacy, (c) evaluation, (d) biography, and (e) interpretation. This project is a historical case study focusing on an institution within a
community. Of Stake’s five tasks, interpretation has been the primary task of this research.

Case studies are of value for refining theory and for suggesting further investigation (Stake, 1995). The utility of case studies lies in their ability to represent not the world but the case. There are three types of case studies: intrinsic case studies, instrumental case studies, and collective case studies. The intrinsic case study is research undertaken to understand a particular case and, in the view of Stake (2000) is the most appropriate use of single case studies. Instrumental case studies are those that are chosen for their potential to contribute to generalization and are undertaken with that primary goal. Collective case studies, studies of multiple sites or cases, are even less intrinsically focused and are more appropriate for the task of generalization. However, Stake notes that even intrinsic case studies can serve as small steps toward generalization, so that ultimately they do contribute in some way toward a general understanding of a phenomenon. This study is intrinsically situated. It focuses on gaining a local understanding of asylum-community connections in Athens. As such, the results have implications for viewing the role of community participation in mental health care. The results show that the Athens community interpreted the Asylum in multiple ways, and that likewise the Asylum relied upon the community in a variety of ways.

Procedures

The constant comparative method, a research design that combines data collection and analysis as an on-going process, has guided this project from the beginning. With this method, data collection does not end before analysis begins. That is, analysis of materials
can raise questions and identify other areas that need to be explored, thus prompting other rounds of data collection.

The basic steps of this method, as outlined in Bogdan and Biklen (1998) are as follows:

1. Data collection begins.
2. Researcher looks for categories in issues, events and activities.
3. Researcher collects data that provides multiple examples of the categories.
4. Researcher begins to write about the categories.
5. Basic social processes and relationships are discovered.
6. More data collection, coding, and writing advance the analysis of the basic categories.

In this project, steps one through six were followed for both the creation of the research proposal and the proposal itself. Steps one and two were completed in order to define the five categories of connection between the Athens Lunatic Asylum and the Village of Athens. A code sheet was used for taking notes on phenomena in order to build up the original five areas of connection. The form and an example are in Appendix A. Step three was collection of data from a wide variety of sources. In this phase, where possible documents were photocopied and filed in notebooks. Other documents, such as letters from manuscript collections, could not be easily photocopied, so they were transcribed, printed, and filed in notebooks. The process of writing about the materials collected revealed new information which required expansion of the five areas of connection. Namely, the infrastructure category was expanded to accommodate political and administrative infrastructure. Steps five and six were then completed.
Data collection

Documents were the primary sources of information in the collection of data for this study. A variety of documents from an array of people, institutions, organizations, and groups were used. Bogdan and Biklen’s (1998) taxonomy of documents was used to sort this information. This taxonomy includes (1) personal documents such as letters, diaries, and photographs; (2) official documents such as organization and government records, census information, and photographs; and (3) popular culture documents such as newspapers, advertisements, and photographs. Secondary data sources were also used, such as books and atlases from the period as well as histories of Southeastern Ohio and the State of Ohio. These primary and secondary sources were available in archives and government depositories in libraries in both Athens and Columbus, Ohio.

The materials generated in this research were for the most part photocopies of existing archival documents. Photographs used for illustration purposes in the Appendix were electronically scanned. They are maintained in my data files in digital format.

Analysis

Materials retained.

Huberman and Miles (1998) note that little is written about qualitative data management. They observe that a good storage and retrieval system is necessary to keep track of materials, to facilitate easy and reliable use of materials, and to document the analyses made. Following Huberman and Miles’ recommendations, in this study a variety of materials have been retained. Raw materials such as copies of documents, photographs, journals, and field notes were filed in notebooks. Partially processed materials such as marked up documents and notes were stored in files. All materials that
were coded were saved, in addition to the codes themselves. All displays of data used to organize, compress, and analyze materials were retained.

Coding and searching for patterns

The search for patterns and linkages is the key interpretive task in case study research (Stake, 2000). Patterns can be discerned directly by reading and looking through empirical materials (direct interpretation), and they can be discerned through a coding process (categorical interpretation). Codes can be developed before as well as during data analysis.

Much of the data analysis involved coding the materials and combining information by code, reconstructing events and processes of nineteenth century Athens and the Asylum, checking the events against census and other primary source data, and then re-organizing the information to create the narrative in Chapter Four.

In this research, the first step was reading through all the manuscripts and documents that had been collected to search directly for patterns, making notes on and keeping a running list of ideas about patterns. Next, a coding process was undertaken. First, paper copies of empirical materials in notebooks were filed according to type of document (personal, organizational, and popular culture). The provisional, or starting, codes included the areas of connection between asylum and village: (a) social order, (b) family, (c) landscape, (d) infrastructure, and (e) money economy. The infrastructure category was expanded to include political infrastructure. All the materials were then coded in terms of the revised five areas.

Codes and other key words were marked on materials as they were examined and then re-examined. All codes and other key words were entered in a log that shows their
location (e.g. notebook and page number). The form devised for this purpose and an example is shown in Appendix B.

Data display as a support to interpretation

Data displays that allow viewing of data sets in terms of the research questions at hand are helpful (Miles & Huberman 1994). A variety of ways to display matrices of data to assist with analysis are available (Huberman & Miles, 1998). For this project, large displays were used that showed on single sheets decades of information and complex interconnections. Large (24” x 36”) sheets of tag board were used to create two kinds of visual displays, as shown in Appendix C. One set, its template shown in reduced size in Appendix C, is a series of annual summary charts showing events, people, and Asylum statistics for each year 1867-1893. This particular set of charts was a useful context in defining patterns and connections; it was referred to throughout the study to check for the sequence of events, the relationship of Asylum statistics to other events, and people who were responsible for things at certain times. Another display, infrastructure background, showed various aspects of physical infrastructure and was used to compare how Athens fits with a historical perspective on the development of technology. Appendix C shows examples of both kinds of these researcher generated charts.

Reader and researcher interpretation

Stake (2000) notes that the interpretive process is relevant to the reader as well as to the researcher, and he notes the transformation that occurs as the researcher’s understanding of a case study is read by someone. He suggests, for intrinsic case studies, thick description to help the case stand on its own. Toward that end, the results section and the Appendix include text, words, and images directly from primary resources. As for
researcher-generated interpretation, the process was guided by the literature review, the
data, data displays, and a process of reflection, examination of patterns, challenges to
explanations, and re-interpretation (Stake, 1995). This process was also assisted by
immersion in the actual site of the Asylum through weekly walks and hikes on the
grounds and a series of guided tours of the buildings, which are now owned and
maintained by Ohio University.

Validity

Validity in qualitative research is built up throughout a study in the process of
research design, data collection, analysis, and interpretation. Validity in qualitative
studies can be defined in terms of the trustworthiness and authenticity of the findings
(Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Data collection in this study has contributed to overall validity,
or trustworthiness, by the use of a variety of sources and perspectives and a variety of
types of documents. Materials were collected representing different types of data for each
of the five areas of focus. Much of the information that was collected, particularly
anecdotes published in nineteenth century histories and almanacs, was cross-checked
with census and other official data. Where possible, information about persons listed by
the asylum as employees, vendors, and patients was also cross-checked.

This study used Hodder’s (1998) criteria for assessing interpretive validity in studies
using historical materials. Hodder argues that interpretive validity can be assessed by the
extent to which findings demonstrate both coherence and correspondence. Internal
coherence rests on a judgment that interpretations do not contradict each other and that
conclusions follow logically from premises. Hopefully, the reader finds that the
conclusions reached in Chapter Five follow logically from the narrative of Chapter Four.
External coherence is present to the degree to which the interpretation fits themes and theories identified within and without a discipline. As explained in the Conclusions, this study documents how some of the dynamics of asylum-community connection already identified in the literature played out in Athens, especially social organization and family use of the asylum. In addition, the dynamics of several connections mentioned only in passing in the literature (money economy, infrastructure, and landscape) have been explored and documented in this research. Correspondence between theory and data depend not only upon exactness of fit but also on what Hodder calls fruitfulness, or the extent to which new directions and new lines of inquiry are opened up. Chapter Five presents several suggestions for new research lines with regard to both the asylum and to community mental health.

A historical context for a study provides valuable background for interpretation and so contributes to trustworthiness, or validity (Punch, 1998; Stake, 2000). The literature review for this study provides a context into both the local history and the nineteenth century in terms of the focus of the study. This review was expanded in Chapter Four, which describes in greater detail local and state historical details.

**Reflexivity**

Researcher reflexivity contributes to validity (Gergen and Gergen, 2000). That is, a researcher should document such things as her historical and geographic circumstances and placement, personal interests in the research, personal biases, surprises encountered throughout the research process, and ways she may have avoided or supported certain points of view. Researcher reflexivity is addressed in Chapter Six: Reflections. Notebooks of both reflective and expressive field notes were maintained throughout the
course of the study to support the reflexive process. These notebooks and their function are explained in Chapter Six.

**Ethical considerations**

Validity as an ethical relationship is emphasized by Lincoln and Guba (2000). Their criteria include making the text polyvocal (including a variety of voices beyond that of the researcher) and engaging in reflexivity. They suggest that the future of ethics as a contributor to validity includes reflection on how research is shaped by researcher history and gender. This research represents where possible a variety of voices; included are the few patient and staff written materials that were available. With regard to voice, patient commitment documents were summarized in Chapter Four. Also included in their entirety in the Appendix are physician-generated medical certificates for patients, in order to provide the reader access to the original material. With regard to researcher history, Chapter Six addresses personal history and geography.

An obvious ethical consideration involves patient records. This study was approved as a “no-funds” project by the Ohio Department of Mental Health (ODMH). ODMH gave permission for access to confidential patient records from the nineteenth century. All patient names have been redacted from the electronically scanned patient records that are in the Appendix. Patient names have not been disclosed in this research.
Chapter 4

Connections: Asylum and Community

Introduction

This chapter details the ways in which money economy, landscape, political and physical infrastructure, family, and social order connected the Athens Lunatic Asylum with the Village of Athens. This introduction to the chapter first gives a framework for these connections by providing background on the development of the asylum over the twenty-six year period of this study. The introduction then presents a brief overview of the chapter contents with regard to asylum-community connections.

Growth of the Asylum Over Three Periods

Asylum-village connections between 1867 and 1873 developed in three periods: first, from 1867 to 1873, when the asylum took form; second, from 1874 to 1888 when village-asylum connections multiplied and the asylum endeavored to care for its patients through the system of moral treatment; and third, from 1889 to 1893 when moral treatment philosophy began to be abandoned in favor of a combination of custodial care in the asylum, research-based psychiatric care delivered by a professionally trained staff in the asylum, and community care. During this latter transition, superintendents began asking for facilities which they eventually received in the twentieth century: a nursing school, a pathology lab, and a hospital for the care of “curable” cases. Superintendents also began to experiment with community-based care.

1867-1873: the Asylum takes form

In 1867, an act of the Ohio legislature established funds for an asylum in southeastern Ohio. Thirty towns vied with each other to be selected by the legislature for
the location of the Asylum. None worked harder than the citizens of Athens, who were successful in securing the asylum’s location for their town. In 1868, bids were let and construction began. Across the Hocking River, Athens villagers watched the asylum take form on the hillside and participated by providing land, laborers, and contractors.

Designed by Cleveland architect Levi T. Scofield according to the Kirkbride Plan, the building was four stories in height and 853 feet in length. Dr. Richard Gundry, the first superintendent, described the layout of the Administration Building in his report to the Governor (Board of Trustees of the Athens Lunatic Asylum, 1873). Appendix D shows the drawings of the design of the building submitted with Gundry’s report.

The central administration section of the building had an entrance hall sixteen feet wide and fifty-five feet long. The first floor of the central section contained offices for the superintendent, assistant physicians and steward, as well as a reception room for visitors. The second story of this area contained the apartments of the medical superintendent, who lived on-site with the rest of the staff. The third and fourth stories had apartments for other officers of the building: assistant physicians, steward, and storekeeper. To the rear of these quarters, in the basement of the central area, were cellars, and above these were kitchens and other domestic rooms. On the first floor were the officers’ kitchens and dining rooms. An amusement hall occupied both the second and third floors of the central area, and above this, in the fourth story, a chapel. The rear of the administration building contained a series of connected buildings for laundry, boiler-house, laundry, bakery, workshops, and rooms for staff.

Two three-story wings for patients extended from each end of the central Administration Building, forming ten wards on each side. The wing to the east was for
men, and the western wing was occupied by women. Two hundred eighty-two rooms were designated as single rooms, and 61 dormitory rooms were intended to house 290 persons. Asylum capacity was thus designed for 572 patients.

1874-1888: Community connections multiply

The Asylum began to extend its connections more deeply into the community of Athens when it opened for business, admitting its first patients on January 9, 1874. From this point, connections between asylum and community multiplied and became solid; sidewalks and roads were built that connected the two, business contracts were drawn up, families brought patients, and care under the moral treatment model was undertaken.

In nineteenth century Ohio, patients could come into state insane asylums in three ways: (1) a judgment of insanity by an inquest of lunacy hearing at a probate court, (2) voluntary commitment with the orders of a physician, or (3) by local law enforcement emergency. In all three cases, the county probate court prepared the documents leading to admission (Coffing, 1999). Patients had to be residents of Ohio for at least one year before admission, unless special provision was made by the state legislature. Asylum care was free to patients, except for clothing. Family, friends, or the government of the county from which the patient came were required to bear the cost of clothing (Coffing, 1997).

After a smooth administrative beginning, troubles emerged at the Athens Asylum between 1878 and 1880. High staff turnover marked the period, and superintendents were

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1 The original geographic area served by the Asylum comprised thirty-two counties in southeastern Ohio (Hurd, 1916). In 1888 the area was reduced to these twenty counties: Adams, Athens, Clinton, Fairfield, Gallia, Highland, Hocking, Jackson, Lawrence, Meigs, Monroe, Morgan, Noble, Perry, Pickaway, Pike, Ross, Scioto, Vinton and Washington (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1890).
accused of patient abuse, drug and alcohol abuse, and general mismanagement. This period is examined later in this chapter in the discussion of the political infrastructure. With the appointment of Dr. H.C. Rutter in 1880, who served only ten months before moving on to the superintendency of the new state asylum at Columbus, the turmoil ended. Rutter had been superintendent from 1877 to 1878.

Upon Dr. Rutter’s departure for the Columbus Asylum, Dr. A. B. Richardson, who had served as an assistant physician at the Athens Asylum from 1876-1878, was appointed superintendent. Richardson served for eight years, assisted by steward R.E. Hamblin, who served for twelve years. This near-decade of administrative stability allowed Richardson to introduce innovations at the Athens Asylum. In 1881, he hired Dr. Agnes P. Johnson, the first female assistant physician at an Ohio asylum. Richardson also developed a system of centralized dining new to American asylumdom, and he devised a system of night watches which reduced the soiling of beds and relieved pressure on laundry operations.

Richardson’s first innovation was the hiring of Dr. Johnson. The asylum had opened with two assistant physicians, and in 1881 Dr. A.B. Richardson added Dr. Johnson as the third assistant physician. He referred to her appointment as “a slight departure from the methods of Asylum management in Ohio” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1884, p. 826). That is to say, female asylum physicians were rare. Johnson was hired to provide improved care to female patients. Reasoned Richardson in the annual report: “I believe the treatment of the female insane can be

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2 Dr. P.H. Clarke and then Dr. W.H. Holden were superintendents from 1878-1880. Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1894).
more successfully accomplished by female physicians than by males.” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1884, p. 826).

Dr. Richardson’s second innovation was construction of a congregate dining facility, which the legislature funded in 1887 (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1888). Until then, in most state asylums patients took their meals in their wards. Richardson had congregate dining rooms – one for men and one for women – built for each of the two main wings. See Appendix E for photographs of the dining rooms. Above them were added wards which increased the total patient capacity to 644 patients. The following year, in 1888, Richardson implemented a system of night supervision of patients by staff. This procedure significantly reduced the number of nightly soiled beds and laundry and cleaning tasks (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1889).

Other additions were made to the asylum building from 1874 to 1888, and Athens men assisted in their design and construction. Superintendents and Trustees added stables, a carriage house, a coal house, a storehouse, a roof overhaul, a new stone floor for the basement, a new ice house, a slaughterhouse, and greenhouse renovations.

Asylum staffing during the period of this study consisted of the officers, all of whom were appointed by the Board of Trustees; attendants; and other staff. The officers consisted of the superintendent, assistant physicians, a steward, a storekeeper, and the matron, who was the wife of the superintendent. It was the job of the steward to act as purchasing agent and accountant; he kept an accounting of all money spent and made the many needed purchases of goods and services. The storekeeper attended to maintenance of the asylum supplies and foodstuffs.
Attendants and their supervisors provided direct care and attention to patients. A variety of other employees provided support services, such as cooks, bakers, engineers, telegraph and telephone operators, firemen, hostlers, laundresses, ironing room attendants, dining room attendants, a florist, a butcher, and a landscape gardener.

The patient population grew steadily. At the end of 1874, the first year of operation of the Asylum, an average of 425 patients lived in the institution at any given time. By the next year, the average daily count had reached 597. The patient population steadily grew so that by 1886 it reached 672, exceeding its intended capacity by 100 patients. The Asylum continued to admit more patients. In 1887, the asylum population grew to 780 patients, or 136 patients over capacity. In 1888, a change in asylum district composition resulted in a decrease of the patient population to 742 patients. Patients quickly filled these empty beds, however, and the asylum continued to grow, so that by 1889 the average daily number of patients was 813 (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1894).

While the patient population of the Asylum grew, the ratio of direct-care staff to patients remained at one staff to every thirteen or fourteen patients. In 1876 the asylum employed 45 attendants, supervisors, and night watch staff, or one to every fourteen patients. By 1888, fifty-six staff were employed to provide direct care for 742 patients, for a ratio of one staff to every thirteen patients. In 1893, the average daily patient count remained at 813. Sixty-one attendants were employed in 1893, for a ratio of one to every thirteen patients.

The name of the asylum changed several times. The 1868 trustees report to the governor referred to the asylum as the Southeastern Lunatic Asylum of Ohio. When the
decision was made that year to locate the asylum in Athens, the asylum became known as the Athens Lunatic Asylum. In 1876, the legislature renamed the hospital the Athens Hospital for the Insane and then in 1878 changed it to the Athens Asylum for the Insane, which name it retained for sixteen years (Waite, 1999).

1889-1893: transition out of moral treatment era

By 1889 the transition from moral treatment to custodial care at the Asylum had clearly begun. In that year Dr. Richardson lamented in his annual report to the governor that most of the work of the asylum had become custodial rather than curative because of the sheer number of patients as well as the growing proportion of the “helpless, demented and incurable, as well as uninterested class, and fewer for whom curative treatment is of avail” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1890). Richardson acknowledged that the current method of care “does not admit of the attainment of the best results, either for the patient himself and the cause of science in general” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1890).

In the prevailing, hierarchical treatment method of the time, the asylum superintendent sought to personally oversee all treatment, which became an impossible task.

With from 600 to 1,000 patients under the care of one man, personal attention from the chief becomes of necessity superficial…thoroughness in the record of cases, the careful daily record of symptoms and the complete and frequent examination of the of the patient, is scarcely possible, as asylums are ordinarily manned…the methods of work and the forms of labor are such as to preclude the attainment of the highest and most thorough scientific endeavor in the investigation of diseased processes (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1888).

3 In 1894 the name was changed to Athens State Hospital, which name it kept until well into the twentieth century.
Richardson asked the governor for a hospital devoted to the care of not more than 200 patients for the “treatment of acute and presumably curable cases alone” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1888). His request was not granted.

Dr. Richardson must have seen some political handwriting on the wall, because in 1889 he criticized reorganization in his annual report. Reorganization was the systematic replacement of executive staff at state charitable institutions after gubernatorial elections. In his annual report that year, Richardson also called for the “absolute exclusion of political influence from the control of asylums for the insane” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1890).

His recommendation notwithstanding, both Richardson and Steward R.E. Hamblin were removed the following year after the election of Democrat James E. Campbell as governor. The next two superintendents, Dr. Crumbacker and Dr. Dunlap, continued to provide custodial care at the Asylum while experimenting with community-based care. They moved patients back out to the community on trial visits home, and they placed some patients as workers in the homes of residents in the Asylum neighborhood. Like Dr. Richardson, they also asked for research-based facilities. For example, in 1891 Dr. Crumbacker asked the governor for a pathology lab to study insanity and the brain (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1892). In 1893, in a step toward professionalization of the staff, Dr. Dunlap asked the governor for a nurses training school for Athens, just as the state asylums at Cleveland and Columbus had (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1894)⁴

⁴ The Asylum at Athens received a nursing school in 1911.
In summary, 1889-1893 was a transition period out of moral treatment therapy. Just when the Asylum’s physical plant, built to the specifications of moral treatment, was completed, moral treatment was no longer the prevailing model for psychiatric treatment at the Asylum. By 1893, the Asylum’s connections with the community were firmly in place. While custodial care became the norm, new models of patient care were also emerging, based on a professional staff, research-based treatment, and community care.

*Areas of Connection*

*Overview*

Between 1867 and 1893, Asylum and Village were connected by five central phenomena: money economy, landscape, political and physical infrastructure, family, and social order. These connections were sustained by the Asylum’s need for goods and services, by the permeable nature of the Asylum landscape, by both political and physical infrastructure, by the role of the Asylum in the social organization of Athens, and by the use of the Asylum as a resource by families of patients.

*Money-based economy*

The money-based economy of Athens was stimulated and nurtured by the Asylum. The asylum contributed to the development of a money-based economy in Athens as both customer and employer (Daniel, 1997). The Ohio Board of State Charities, established by the legislature in 1867 to report to the Legislature on the conditions of state institutions, described the role of state institutions as trading partners with their surrounding communities: “Communities where institutions are located come to think of them as public institutions out of which all the profit of trade that may be,
should be had” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1881). Whether or not this represented the thinking of Athenians, Village merchants, tradesmen, and farmers made money from their transactions with the Asylum.

Residents of Athens were among those employed as staff, engaged for day labor, and contracted with for services. Village farms furnished produce, local merchants supplied a prodigious variety of products, and service businesses prospered because of contracts with the asylum. Certainly, Village merchants must also have profited from the asylum’s annual payroll that grew from $25,608.68 in 1876 to $40,470.07 in 1893 (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1894). The asylum functioned as an important source of jobs in the community. For some it provided a second chance for employment after a misfortune, and it launched the careers of others.

_Landscape_

The asylum landscape was a permeable boundary between asylum and village. It was a community resource, serving as a park and public garden where patients and community members sometimes mingled. Indeed, the site is said to have been paid for by residents of Athens, and day labor from the community and patients worked alongside each other to grade and plant the pleasure drives and gardens.

_Infrastructure_

Both political and physical infrastructure connected the Asylum with the Village of Athens. The political infrastructure at both the state and local levels linked village and asylum. In fact, the political infrastructure permeated and played a role in many of the processes of the asylum. Local leaders worked the state political system and engaged the community to secure the Asylum’s location in Athens. For a quarter century, Athens was
represented on the Asylum Board of Trustees by a “local trustee” who had an implicit charge to serve both asylum and community. Political processes dominated asylum staffing through reorganization that followed elections. Funding for asylum projects was undoubtedly influenced by politics. Locally, politics played a role in the physical infrastructure, such as in the asylum’s gas contract and in the building of roads. Politics was also involved in the commitment process, insofar as probate judges held elected offices.

The physical infrastructure of both asylum and community were closely connected. The asylum was an important customer for the local gas and electric company. Roads, walkways, and bridges were built by the Asylum and the Village of Athens to connect the asylum with the village. The Asylum built a road in Athens that provided improved access to the train depot. The first telephone line in Athens was a connection between the asylum and a local drug store, and the pollution of the Hocking River by Asylum sewers became a point of contention between asylum and local government officials in the 1890’s.

*Community social organization*

The social organization of Athens included connections with the Asylum. The Asylum appeared to have served both humanitarian and control purposes in the community. Its staff, especially the officers, were sometimes socially connected with the community. Certain villagers, notably probate judges and physicians, served as gatekeepers to the asylum via the commitment process.
Family use of the asylum

Local families used the asylum as a resource for patients. Men and women from all walks of Village life were committed to the asylum by family or friends for a variety of reasons. Asylum administrators were critical of care that families provided for their mentally ill relatives. In the 1890’s, superintendents placed patients with Athens households as a way to foster patient independence and ease crowded wards.

The remainder of this chapter examines in detail the connections between the Athens Lunatic Asylum and the Village of Athens. First, the role of the Asylum as both employer and customer is explored. Second, the Asylum landscape as a site for community connection and then third, the nature of the political and physical infrastructure connections between village and Asylum are documented. Fourth, the relationship of the Asylum to the Athens social order is dealt with, including both the humanitarian and control role of the commitment process. Finally, the role of Athenians as Asylum patients is documented, and the Asylum view and use of families is described.

Of Places and Purchases: The Asylum as Employer and Customer

The Asylum contributed to the development of a money-based economy in the Village of Athens by bringing cash in from the treasury of the State of Ohio and spending it in the community. In the words of the Board of State Charities in its report for 1880, a state charitable institution offered a community “places (jobs) in the institution” and “purchasing for it” (Board of State Charities, 1881). Cash flowed to Athens individuals and companies through construction contracts; land purchases; contracts for meat, milk, coal, and natural gas; purchase of goods and services; and wages and salaries for asylum employees and day labor. Cash also flowed into the Village from the expenditures of
families and officials bringing patients to Asylum. This section details the Asylum’s connections with the community in terms of construction contracts, goods and services purchased by the Asylum, goods sold in Athens by the Asylum, wages paid to Asylum staff, and expenditures by families and others bringing and visiting patients.

Construction Contracts

Most of the major initial construction contracts for the Asylum went to firms outside Athens. Companies in Cincinnati, Dayton, and other Ohio cities provided these services and materials. As construction neared completion and thereafter, contracts for additions and renovations to the building went almost exclusively to local, Athens businesses.

Construction of the asylum was overseen by a three-man Board of Trustees appointed by the governor. In 1868, its first year of work, the Board sought bids and awarded construction contracts. The 1868 Asylum Annual Report detailing bills and estimates for that year lists payment to just one person from Athens: John Ackley, who was paid $536 for surveying the site.

Cincinnati-based firms received many of the initial contracts, including those for iron work, cut-stone work, pine flooring, and wrought iron. However, these contracts no doubt generated work for Athens workers. For example, the non-local firm of McAboy,

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5 The original Board consisted of William E. Davis of Cincinnati, D.E. Gardner of Toledo, and Dr. O.C. McDermont of Dayton. Dr. McDermont died in 1876, and the governor replaced him with Eliakim H. Moore, of Athens. (Waite, 1997).

6 Ackley was a civil engineer and served as Athens County Surveyor (Lake, 1875). Ackley went on to serve on the Asylum Board of Trustees in 1884 and 1885 (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1885 and 1886).
Stanley, & Co., awarded a contract for stonework and excavation, placed an advertisement in the Athens Messenger recruiting “fifty stone cutters and masons” and “from fifty to seventy-five quarriers and common laborers” (New Advertisements, 1869).

A few Athens men were awarded contracts: T.M.D. Pilcher received a contract for timbers and flooring, W.W. Love performed cast-iron work, and George Gould built the cistern, boiler house, and step foundations (Waite, 1997). The firm of McCoy and O’Bleness, located in Belpre on the Ohio River thirty miles east of Athens, received a contract to construct the woodwork for the building (Inter-State Publishing, 1883).

Construction contracts soon moved to the local community. Improvements to the building were awarded to local, Athens-based firms, especially to Henry O’Bleness. Born in Marietta in 1842, O’Bleness was a carpenter and joiner and associated with his partner McCoy for their Asylum construction job. In 1871, the O’Bleness firm received additional contracts for carpentry, including construction of the towers, for over $10,000 (Board of Trustees of the Athens Lunatic Asylum, 1872). When this work was complete, in late 1873, Henry O’Bleness remained in Athens where his reputation and wealth as a contractor grew, having received his start at the Asylum construction site.

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7 McCoy and O’Bleness’s ledger contains an entry from 1868 listing “expenses on Asylum” of $8.68 (O’Bleness Family Collection, 1868).

8 Henry O’Bleness later received contracts for several construction projects at the asylum, including a contract for stonework and for building a new ice house in 1877 ($1217.68), a new storehouse in 1881 ($4,000) and the new dining rooms in 1885 for $26,500 (Board of Trustess of the Athens Hospital for the Insane, 1877; Board of Trustees of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1882 and 1886). O’Bleness won other contracts in Athens. Among other buildings he built were the Athens Town Hall (1874), the Athens County Courthouse, buildings at Ohio University, and private homes. (Daniel, 1997).
Other Athens builders won contracts for additions and repairs. Athenian J.F. Weidman was paid $4,593 for constructing four brick corridors in 1886 (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1887), and in 1877 Athens resident C.H. Valentine received $1,026.66 for plastering the ceiling of the basement (Board of Trustees of the Athens Hospital for the Insane, 1878).

When the building was completed, Athens businesses won contracts to provide the furnishings. A.S. Troup provided beds, washstands, and bureaus. The Ballard mercantile family of Athens received a contract for the bedding, as did Athenian Issac Half (Daniel, 1997).

*Goods and Services Purchased for Asylum Operations*

The Asylum needed an extensive array of goods and services to support its operations. For example, the steward’s 1876 annual report to the superintendent listed 104 different categories of expense. Purchases for these operations fell in three major categories: contract purchases as awarded by the Board of Trustees, the steward’s purchases of goods and services, and wages paid to staff.

*Contract purchases for asylum operations*

In contrast to the sporadic nature of construction projects, the Asylum required a daily supply of coal, milk, meat, and natural gas. The Asylum purchased these items through contracts negotiated by the Board of Trustees. All of these contracts, except for coal, went to Athens firms or to farmers who lived very near Athens. Even the coal contract sometimes went to Athenians. As the Asylum and its operations grew, however, it began to take some of its contracts in-house.
The men who received the contract for providing coal to heat the Asylum varied from year to year. Coal was purchased on the basis of lowest bid, and the Asylum advertised for this contract every year. A coal contract with the Asylum was worth anywhere from $6,200 to over $9,000 per year. Athenians received annual coal contracts during two periods. Athens resident George T. Gould received the coal contract for the first few years of the operation of the Asylum (Board of Trustees of the Athens Hospital for the Insane, 1877, 1878). From 1878 to 1893, companies from Nelsonville and Wellston provided coal, with the exception of 1888, when C.N. Welch from Athens received a coal contract worth $9,100 Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1879-1894).

The Asylum’s contract for milk provided a steady source of income for Athens County farmer James C. Bowers, who lived in Carthage township just outside Athens. He received a one year contract in 1877 for providing milk at twelve cents a gallon, earning him $2,744 that year (Board of Trustees of the Athens Hospital for the Insane, 1878). The next year his price went to thirteen cents per gallon, where it remained through 1895. The value of Bowers’ milk contract, however, increased each year to a high of $7,273 in 1890 (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1879-1896). In contrast to coal contracts, which were negotiated annually, Bowers had several five year contracts with the Asylum. Mr. Bowers provided a variety of other services to the Asylum which, though small, helped the institution with its daily operations. The Steward’s records
suggest that Bowers delivered milk to the asylum on a regular basis and occasionally remained to repair things and deliver items made in his blacksmith shop.  

In contrast to its acquisition of milk, which was purchased on a contract basis through the nineteenth century, the Asylum took part of its acquisition of beef “in house” in 1882. Meat was one of the largest line items each year in the Asylum budget. For example, in 1876, at $16,144.35, it was second only to the payroll (Board of Trustees of the Athens Hospital for the Insane, 1877). Athens meat market proprietor John Ring had the meat contract with the Asylum from at least 1878 through 1881.

In 1882, the Asylum trustees decided to reduce the meat budget by bringing the butchering tasks in-house. Wrote the trustees in their report to the Governor that year, “…it was decided that we make the experiment of doing our own butchering”. The enterprise was pronounced a success with regard to the beef quality and cost: “…the plan is thus far a decided success. The grade of beef is improved, and under the management of our Steward, as purchasing agent of our cattle, the cost is very considerably lessened.

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9 In 1881, for example, not only did Bowers do $3,337.46 of milk business with the Asylum, he also repaired its coffee roaster, for which he was paid $.75, repaired the oven damper ($.80), and set two wagon tires ($1.00). Bowers provided blacksmithing services as well. In 1881 he sold horseshoes, reset old horseshoes, and made three four foot long bolts as well as two rods for the Asylum slop cart (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1882).

10 Providing beef, pork, veal, and mutton, Ring’s prices were based upon the Baltimore meat market prices, earning him payment from the Asylum of about six dollars per one hundred pounds of meat, or anywhere from $11,000 to $16,000 per year (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1879-1881). Mr. Ring also ran a meat market on Court Street in downtown Athens, which was open from 4:00-7:00 p.m. every Monday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday in the Winter (Lake, 1875).
below the price of last year” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1883). The Asylum continued providing its beef in this way.\footnote{The annual reports do not show from whom the thrifty steward purchased the cattle. John Ring raised livestock, so it may be that Ring provided the cattle to the Asylum (Daniel, 1997).}

The Asylum was lighted with natural gas provided by the Athens Gas Light Company. The relationship between the Asylum and the Gas Light Company is a study of how the Athens company managed to retain its contract with the Asylum despite repeated efforts by Asylum management to secure state funding for an Asylum gas plant. Organized in 1872, the Athens Gas Light Company was controlled by an Athens-based board of directors (Daniel, 1997).

The Asylum consistently negotiated lower and lower prices for gas from the Athens Gas Light Company, but Trustees and superintendents found fault with the service.\footnote{The earliest records available show that the Asylum paid the Gas Light Company $2.50 per thousand feet of gas in 1878, or $5,650.75. The following year, in 1879, the price was reduced to $1.75, for a total cost of $5004.37 (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1879, 1880).} In 1879, the Trustees lamented that the gas supply was at times insufficient and erratic. In their report to the governor they noted that “the supply, at times, is insufficient for the wants of the building, and on some occasions it is entirely cut off, owing to the supply pipe leading from the works to the building passing over low ground, which is over-flowed by freshets in the Hocking River” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1880). Both the trustees and Superintendent Clarke asked the governor in 1879 for $9,000 to build a gas-works at the Asylum, arguing that “the works are needed to secure, good, never failing, and cheap light (and) as a matter of economy…would save...
a large amount annually to the State” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the
Insane, 1880). These funds were not forthcoming, and in 1880, the trustees negotiated a
one year verbal contract with Athens Gas Light and recommended that Asylum
investigate manufacturing its own gas (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the
Insane, 1881).

At the end of 1880, new Superintendent A. B. Richardson and a newly constituted
Board of Trustees put an end to discussion of the Asylum generating its own gas by
signing a ten year contract with the Athens Gas Light Company at a decreased rate of
$1.12 per thousand feet ((Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1882).
In 1890, this contract was renewed for five years. In 1893 the trustees recommended the
Asylum construct its own electric lighting plant for the Asylum when the contract expired
in 1896 (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1894).

Payment for Supplies and Services for Asylum Operations

Athens businesses were among those who supplied the Asylum with a variety of
goods and services. Many purchases were routinely made from companies outside
Athens County. Other purchases were made from outside the state of Ohio. The
Asylum also made many purchases from businesses in the Athens community.

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13 In annual reports for years 1877 to 1881, the steward recorded the names of individuals
and merchants to whom payments were made for goods and services supplied to the
asylum. The asylum began reporting purchases only by category for year 1882, without
the names from whom purchases were made. However, the records of these five years
make it possible to construct a view of the role of the Athens community in supplying
goods and services to the Asylum.

14 For example, in 1881 the Asylum paid $150.68 for three thousand pounds of soap from
the Procter and Gamble Company in Cincinnati (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum
for the Insane, 1882).
Athens merchants sell supplies to asylum

A variety of merchants lined Court and Union Streets in downtown Athens, across the Hocking River from the Asylum. The Asylum’s purchases from these merchants were documented in the Asylum’s annual reports for years 1877 through 1881. Grocers A.L. Roach and Son, Davis & Son, E.G. Silvies, Hiram Bingham, J.H. Vorhes & Brothers, and W.H. Brown & Co. sold the Asylum flour, fruit, garden seed, eggs, butter, beans, poultry, coffee, ham, vinegar, apples, oysters, tea, sugar, tobacco, fuses and powder, soap, and cinnamon. C.H. Warden & Brothers sold butter and eggs, sometimes in quantities as great as 339 dozen eggs. The Athens Water-Wheel and Machine Company manufactured and provided steam and water supply equipment and parts for the asylum in 1880. Stranathan & Co. provided a variety of products in the five years for which purchasing specifics are available, such as 48 dozen pairs of underwear, a hogshead of New Orleans sugar, barrels of rice and dried corn, soap, tea, whiskey, undershirts, and 1,500 yards of printed fabric. Merchant W.R. Calkins & Brothers furnished jelly cake pans, cook pans, and dish pans. W.H. Potter provided cigars, fish, kraut, onions, and potatoes. The establishment of Van Vorhes & Bartlett kept the asylum in coal oil and provided various hardware items. D. Zenner & Sons, a premiere Athens clothing establishment, provided dry goods, notions, and lengths of fabric as did M. Selig & Co (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1878-1882).

For example, in 1881, the Asylum paid $30.07 plus $.25 drayage (shipping) for 262 pounds of New York cheese from Ulrick, Bell & Co. Subscriptions to medical journals, such as Gallard’s Medical Journal, may also have been from out-of-state vendors (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1882).
Of the four firms providing drugs and medicines for the work of the Asylum physicians, three, E.R. Lash, F.E. Waterman & Co., and John A. Slattery, were in Athens (Lake, 1875). The Athens establishment of Kurtz & Norris supplied stationery to the Asylum, and D.C. Cornwell sold the asylum new clocks and repaired their old ones. Herrold’s Mill, near the Asylum at the western edge of town, provided flour for the Asylum bakers, and Laird & Josten repaired the asylum’s buggies. Edward Berry sold the asylum barrels of oysters. Cisterns, extra coal, feathers, glassware, honing razors, sawdust, straw, hay, lime, popcorn, salt, farm tools, sewing machine supplies, shoemaker supplies, and violin strings were all purchased from Athens-based businesses (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1878-1882).

The Asylum purchased items from local farmers, day laborers, tradesmen, and craftsmen. For the five years (1877-1881) for which details are available, a total of 184 individuals from Athens Township sold goods and services to the Asylum (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1878-1882). Most of these vendors were farmers. Some were large-scale operations that regularly provided a high volume of products, especially butter, eggs and poultry, such as Athens farmers R.E. Brannon and James Walsh. Brannon provided poultry and produce on a monthly basis. He also sold the asylum dressed chickens and eggs, and in the summer fresh fruit such as peaches and melons. Each month from 1878 through 1882 Athens farmer James Walsh sold the Asylum one hundred pounds or more of butter as well as dozens of eggs. The Asylum

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16 In January of 1880, for example, Brannon was paid $187 for 1,087 pounds of dressed turkey, 58 bushels of potatoes, 5 barrels of apples, and 559 pounds of dried fruit. In February he sold 373 pounds of dressed turkey to the Asylum, and in March 255 pounds of turkey Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1881).
also purchased small quantities from farmers, such as five gallons of apple butter, a few
dozens eggs, a few pounds of butter. Livestock, straw, manure and hay were furnished by
Athens farmers (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1878-1882).

The agricultural cycle of the local farmers is revealed in the farm products bought
by the Asylum. In the summer, Athens farmers sold the Asylum a multitude of fresh
fruits and vegetables, such as potatoes, plums, blackberries, rhubarb, melons, peaches,
peppers, quinces, and sweet potatoes. In the fall the Asylum bought turkeys, apples,
cider, dried apples, geese, and hogs from local farmers. In the winter, dressed turkeys and
a Christmas tree provided by Athens farmers rounded out the year.

Most Athens farmers who did business with the Asylum were men, but a few
Athens women sold to the Asylum. Mrs. William Coates sold buttermilk and cream a few
gallons at a time, and Mrs. Mary Rice sold her farm’s hay to the Asylum in 1880. The
year before, a Mrs. Blackstone sold the Asylum “one plant” for five dollars.\(^\text{17}\) (Board of
Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1881).

In 1877, the Asylum began a kitchen garden. The superintendent noted in his
annual report the success of that venture: “…the farm and garden have been made to
yield under the supervision of Mr. Hamblin” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Hospital
for the Insane, 1878). In 1878, the garden was extended, and in 1885 the steward began
listing garden products harvested for the year in his annual reports.\(^\text{18}\)

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\(^{17}\) She may well have been the wife of Athenian Dr. Thomas Blackstone, an assistant
physician 1876-1877 (Board of Trustees of the Athens Hospital for the Insane, 1878).

\(^{18}\) The report of “Garden Products for the Year” grown by the Asylum indicated that the
kitchen gardens yielded 11,000 heads of cauliflower, 544 bunches of asparagus, 92 dozen
onions, 1,070 pumpkins, 254 bushels of tomatoes, 133 ¾ bushels of string beans, 10
Eventually, vegetables and fruits were produced in quantities that reduced the need for purchasing from local farmers. In 1893, the farm’s continued success, with the assistance of patient labor, was noted by the superintendent in his annual report.

The results of the farming and gardening operations have been successful beyond our expectations. There has been little purchased in the way of these products, except potatoes. We also have an abundance of canned tomatoes, cabbage, saurkraut, pickles and onions, all of which were raised, principally, by our patients’ labor, stored for winter use.19

*Athens-Based Craftsmen and Professionals Sell Services to the Asylum*

Athens craftsmen, farmers, preachers, and day laborers were among those paid by the Asylum to provide services. Tinner Frank Schloss produced items for the asylum, and local blacksmiths made products to order. Athens men with teams of work horses hired out their services for asylum hauling and grading jobs. The Annual Reports from 1877-1880 document that Athens craftsmen sold the Asylum bricks, coffins and burial robes, lumber, and furniture. Athens harness maker Cyrus Rose repaired the Asylum’s harnesses. And a Jennie C. Patterson, of Athens, was paid by the Asylum for doing some sewing for a patient. Athens townsman H.A. Crippen received $75 to provide telephone operator services in 1882; he was also paid for several years in a row for providing music at the asylum on Christmas and other occasions. (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1878-1882).

bushels of carrots, and 14 bushels of gooseberries. (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1886).

19 The steward’s records indicate that rather more than potatoes were purchased that year, including lima beans, beets, corn, horseradish, lettuce, additional pumpkins, and 3,837 bushels of Irish potatoes. $2,524.07 was spent on vegetables in 1893. During the previous ten years (1882-1892), the annual amount spent on vegetables ranged from $1065.02 to $3389.42 (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1883-1894).
Athens ministers were paid to preside over Asylum religious services, which were held on Sunday mornings or evenings. In 1876 four Athens ministers (Mssr. Scott, Nave, Nourse, and Lee) took turns leading Sunday services (Board of Trustees of the Athens Hospital for the Insane, 1877). In 1880, Superintendent H.C. Rutter thanked Revs. Nourse and Evans for their very acceptable and prompt work, but he recommended hiring the services of a full-time in-house chaplain who could “devote his entire time to the interests of the patients, visiting them frequently, and holding daily services in the chapel and wards” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1881). Rutter reasoned that an in-house a chaplain could give a “powerful impetus to the moral treatment adopted in the Asylum and…prove himself an invaluable ally to the physician in the cure of mental disease” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1881). This was not to be. Athens clergymen continued each year to share the annual chaplaincy budget of $160.

Amusements and entertainments for Asylum patients and staff were furnished by Athenians. Each year the Asylum purchased tickets to the County Fair from the Athens County Agricultural Association. Both the Fair and the Association were located in Athens. The Athens Dramatic Company provided “evening entertainment” in 1879 (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1880).

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20 Rutter noted that, because of the potential of religious activities to both calm and quiet patients as well as to induce turmoil in the case of an “officious or overzealous preacher”, an in-house chaplain should be placed under the direct supervision of the Superintendent, as recommended by the Association of North American Superintendents (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1881).

21 For example, in 1893 Athens Rev. W.A. Powell was paid $72 for thirteen sermons, and Rev. H.B. Westervelt was paid $88 for twenty-two sermons (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1894).
Goods Sold by the Asylum

In addition to buying supplies and services from the Athens community, the Asylum also sold products to the community. Each year the Asylum sold a few, presumably surplus, items to farmers and tradesman in the area. Mr. James C. Bowers and Mr. John Ring purchased Asylum hogs from time to time. Others purchased grease and rags. Such purchases generally amounted to no more than one or two percent of the Asylum receipts each year (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1877-1893).

Asylum Staff: Jobs, Wages, Professionalization

The Asylum’s officers came from outside Athens, except for assistant physician Dr. Thomas Blackstone. However, a number of the non-officer staff members were from Athens. Over the years, the number of staff members, and hence the total payroll, grew. And, as the concept of a professionally trained staff began to take hold, the Asylum began to become not only a resource for general employment but also a place to receive training for professional employment.

The Asylum hired staff to fill a wide array of jobs. While it is not possible to conclude the exact number of asylum staff from Athens Township from 1867 to 1893, the 1880 census documents eight women and twenty men who were residents of Athens township before they became Asylum staff (U.S. Census Bureau, 1880).

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22 In 1879, for example, Bowers bought nearly 25,000 pounds of hogs from the Asylum. In 1880, John Ring, the Asylum beef supplier, purchased 2450 pounds of hogs from the Asylum (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1880, 1881).

23 Of the eight women from Athens Township employed as staff at the Asylum between 1876 and 1880, three were attendants, four were cooks, and one was a dining room...
Women worked as attendants, cooks, laundresses, chambermaids, dining room attendants, ironing-room workers, and seamstresses. There were also supervisoresses for the attendants. Men worked as attendants, night watch staff, firemen, a baker, dining room attendants, attendant supervisors, a florist, a butcher, an engineer, and (later) a telegraph operator.

Most of the Asylum staff came from Ohio. Of the fifty women employed in 1880, 36 were born in Ohio, two (both of them cooks) were from Ireland, and the rest were from other states such as New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois. Of the 49 men employed, 38 were born in Ohio, one was from Canada, one from Germany, one from Ireland, and the rest from states such as Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Indiana (U.S. Census Bureau, 1880). Turnover in the general staff was not unusual, and superintendents gave thanks in their annual reports for years of low turnover.

Most of the Asylum staff lived on-site at the Asylum and were paid wages in addition to room and board. Wages made up twenty to thirty percent of the Asylum budget each year, with a low of $100,381.70 in 1881 to a high of $136,726.93 in 1890 (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1882-1891). With room and board supplied by the Asylum, staff had income to spend on clothing and other items (Connett, L. Pickett, 1874). It is likely that staff shopped in Athens for personal or other items.

Of the twenty men from Athens township, there were six attendants, two supervisors of attendants, the supervisor of the kitchens and basement, two coal wheelers (a father-son pair), the telegraph operator, the telephone manager, a painter, a bricklayer, the assistant engineer, a white washer, a hostler, an upholsterer, and a carpenter.(Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1877-1879).
For some of the staff, the Asylum served as a place to get a second start in life, as illustrated by the life of Lucinda Pickett Connett. Lucinda began working at the Asylum as an attendant early in 1874, and she left soon after to marry an Athens County man. Two letters written to her mother give a picture of her life at the Asylum and how it changed for her with marriage and departure from her Asylum job. The letters indicate that something had befallen the family and, as head of the household, Lucinda then needed a way to make a living. Dispatching her two children to live with family and friends, she went to the Asylum to work as an attendant. Her letter to her mother, headed Lunatic Asylum and dated April 23, 1874, gives details of her life as an attendant (Connett, L. Pickett, 1874).

My verry (sic) Dear Mother,

I must tell you something about how I am getting along. My health is good but I get awful tired being on my feet so much. I am in the No. 7, the worst ward in the house. We have thirty-five Patients. I have just finished combing their heads. You better believe I had a time getting them combed I had to fight some of them to get them to sit still…my wages here will be fifteen dollars per month. I can save the most of that it don’t cost me any thing to live here only my Clothes. I can do better here than I could do sewing…and I get plenty of sleep and plenty to eat and that is good enough for any body. I hope you will look over (overlook?) all (writing) mistakes there is so much confusion here I can’t write worth a cent…

Soon Lucinda left the Asylum, when she married on June 9, 1874 George Connett, a man of property from Salina, a settlement eight miles from Athens. (Fletcher & Schumacher, 1980). In 1876 Lucinda wrote her mother of her life at her new household, about her recovery from an illness and how happy she was with Mr. Connett.

I am feeling some better today, more like getting well than I have any time yet I have been verry sick. Indeed I think for several days my life was suspended on a verry slender thread…I have had plenty of medical aid; three doctors have been to see me…I have not much time (to write) as Minnie is getting ready to go to the office. You need not worry about me I think I have the best care ever was. Mr.
Connett is the best man I ever saw I think. He is so kind and tender, I don’t want for anything that can be bought for money…(Connett, L. Pickett, 1876).

Men received a second start at the Asylum as well. Athens County resident Frank P. McVey established and ran a successful general store in the Athens area. When a fire entirely destroyed his business in the 1870’s, with no insurance and his business a complete loss, he took a job as an attendant at the Asylum. McVey was possibly encouraged by Asylum officers, for in three years he left to attend medical school in Cincinnati. He graduated and eventually returned to Athens as a physician. (Bush, 1975).

The Asylum staff gradually became professionalized. Superintendents began recognizing and acknowledging the general staff beginning with the 1878 annual report. In the 1880’s, superintendents addressed issues of staff turnover, staff training, and professionalization were mentioned. By the early twentieth century, a training school for nurses was established at the Asylum.

At first, superintendents rarely mentioned the non-officer staff in their annual reports. The first notice of the staff came in the 1878 report, in which the Superintendent referred to the “faithful, patient, and unremitting vigilance of those to whose care these unfortunates have been entrusted when it was not possible for professional aid to be near them” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1879).

In 1884, Superintendent A. B. Richardson thanked the general staff for their valuable, cheerful, and faithful service, and he again praised them in 1886. In 1887 the Trustees also begin thanking the staff, acknowledging their “most commendable desire to perform their duties to our entire satisfaction” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1888). In 1887, Superintendent A.B. Richardson discusses the good
fortune of low staff turnover in that year and for the first time refers to a 6-12 month training period required for asylum employees (Ohio Executive Documents, 1887). In 1888 Dr. Richardson brings the attention of the Governor to the matter of professionalization of asylum employees, noting that an attendant has “a difficult job requiring intelligence and a command of temper. It is a specialty and really should rank as a profession” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1887-1889).

In 1892, in a nod toward professionalization, the asylum adopted uniforms for both male and female attendants. Men wore blue suits with brass buttons and women wore a uniformly “neat attire” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1893). In the late 1880’s superintendents began calling for a nursing school at the Asylum, and it was established in 1911. The Asylum eventually became not only a community resource for general employment, but also a place for women to receive training for professional employment.

Expenditures Made Bringing Patients to the Asylum

Families, friends, and officials incurred expenses as they brought patients to the Asylum. Expenses would have included transportation, lodging, and meals, and some of these expenditures were made in Athens. Athens’ stables may have cared for the horses and wagons of visitors, local hotels would have provided meals, and patient caretakers would have sought lodging at Athens hotels. Case notes written about a patient brought to the Asylum in 1874 say that she was brought by a probate judge who arrived on a night train, and both patient and judge stayed at a hotel in town until the next morning (Athens Lunatic Asylum Casebook: Female Patients, 1874).
Local citizens were paid for finding and returning patients who had run away or “eloped” from the Asylum. Six different Athens township residents from 1877 to 1881 received money for “returning patients” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1818-1882) 24

Of Beautiful and Varied Scenery:

Asylum Landscape as a Site for Community Connection

The Land as a Resource for the Asylum

The Asylum grounds were a resource for the Asylum, furnishing the clay for its brick construction, space for a kitchen garden, water, and outdoor work for patients. The beauty of the grounds was a source of pride to Asylum officials, who also felt it important to create lovely views that would be curative to patients and pleasing to the public eye. See Appendix F for photographs taken of the Asylum grounds in 1893.

The site, which eventually encompassed over a thousand acres, began with 150 acres on a bluff across the Hocking River from Athens. Dr. Richard Gundry described the geography of the site in his report on the year of 1872 to the Board of Trustees. 25

It is situated upon a high plateau of land about a mile distant from the town of Athens, the river Hockhocking winding in its circuitous course through the valley between the asylum and the town. The farm belonging to it comprises about one hundred and fifty acres, broken in its surface, somewhat wooded…(Board of Trustees of the Athens Lunatic Asylum, 1873, p.11).

24 In 1881, for example, Athens resident A.G. Reeves was paid $1.50 to return an escaped patient. In 1880 Athenian George A. Shaffer was paid $42.30 for “returning patients”. He must have returned quite a few patients, or possibly he retrieved patients from a long distance. Athens County resident James Love returned a male “escaped patient” from Chillicothe in 1881 and received $5.00 for his work ((Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1881, 1882)

25 Superintendent of the Southern Asylum at Dayton, Gundry was hired by the board of trustees as the first Superintendent at Athens.
The topography was rugged; even today some of the slopes on the site remain precipitous. Dr. Gundry described the extensive grading necessary to render the site accessible. “At present the work has necessarily been confined to grading in front of the building and constructing the principal approach, which, from the steepness of the hill on which the asylum stands, has involved great labor and expense.” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Lunatic Asylum, 1873, p.11).

This land furnished the clay with which eighteen and half million bricks were made on site for constructing the building (Grounds of state hospital most beautiful of middle west, 1955, May 3, The Athens Messenger). The Asylum grounds also provided space for gardening and farming. Beginning with a small vegetable garden in 1874 which was flooded away by the Hocking River, the gardening operations supplied the asylum with a portion of the fruit and vegetables required for patients and staff. By 1882, both a piggery and a beef cattle operation had been added and furnished much of the meat. By 1890, the farm and gardens began to yield enough to warrant record-keeping, and the steward began to keep records of Asylum farm and garden products (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1877, 1883, 1891).

Gardens and pleasure grounds were considered essential to patient treatment according to moral treatment theory.26 The Athens grounds were designed by Herman Haerlin, a Cincinnati landscape gardener and greenhouse proprietor (L. Bailey, personal

26 Both Haerlin and Cleveland architect Levi T. Schofield prepared plans for the grounds and building according to the Kirkbride Plan, the model for mental hospitals officially endorsed by the Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane. The AMSAII eventually became the American Psychiatric Association (Waite, 1997).
correspondence, February 11, 2003). Haerlin’s site plan, shown in Appendix G, included space for patient airing courts, gardens, pleasure drives, and a series of lakes.

Cincinnati gardener George Link moved to Athens and implemented the plans prepared by Haerlin. Link spent the rest of his life (nearly thirty years) supervising the design and planting of the asylum grounds. Mr. Haerlin traveled periodically to Athens to supervise the plantings. Noted Superintendent Clarke in 1878, “Under the direction of Mr. Haerlin, the transplanting of ornamental trees and shrubs to the space filled up by the grading of the previous season has taken place.” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1879).

Much work was required to implement Haerlin’s plans, and grading the rugged hills, creating roads and lakes, and planting trees and shrubs required the work of many men. Patients assisted with this work, and their labor was considered curative. Noted the Superintendent in his annual report of 1867:

…a large part of the out-door work has been done by patients, under the supervision of their attendants and others. They have helped extensively in farming, in gardening, in grading, and to a less extent in the occupations in the shops.” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Hospital for the Insane, 1877, p. 716).

Superintendent Clarke described the benefits of outdoor work to both patients and Asylum in 1878.

The extension of the garden by grading, filling, and the addition of more ground, is a matter calling for your serious consideration. It will involve a large outlay in the beginning, but the returns from it will be profitable and permanent. It is here, the form of work being light, much of the labor of the institution can be profitably utilized, and to many of the unfortunates such employment will prove advantageous as a healthful exercise for the body, and, at the same time, as a means of interrupting the monotonous routine of ward life. (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1879, p.412).
In 1881 Dr. Richardson described the need to keep patients occupied with a variety healthy activities and noted the benefits of digging outdoors.

The chief problem is to furnish employment of a suitable kind, and in sufficient variety. One of the most healthful of occupations is the digging and shoveling of fresh earth. A large force of men has been kept busy during the season for outdoor work in grading the grounds around the Asylum… (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1882, p.9).

The trustees eagerly looked forward to completion of the grounds, and their pride was reflected in their annual reports. In 1876 they wrote that “when these plans shall be completed, no more beautiful and varied scenery can be met with in the same limited space that these grounds will present” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Hospital for the Insane, 1877, p. 700). In 1878, the trustees asked the governor for eight thousand dollars to continue the great amount of grading and planting required to complete the landscaping. They again affirmed that “when (the work) is completed according to the plans and specifications prepared, we have no hesitance in asserting that the grounds surrounding this Asylum will be second to none in the State for beauty of design or magnificence in scenery” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1879, p.405).

The grounds provided for patients open-air exercise courts as well as beautiful views, both of which were considered curative under moral treatment theory. An enclosed airing court for the women was completed in short order. Noted the trustees, “During the past year a beautifully arranged airing-court has been furnished for the exercise of the more excited female patients, enabling them to enjoy the open air from which they were comparatively shut off before.” (Board of Trustees of the Athens
An airing court for men was completed the following year. For the first few years of the Asylum’s operation, superintendents kept detailed notes on the number of hours men and women spent in the airing courts. Some patients were allowed unsupervised walks across the grounds; in 1881 Dr. Richardson noted that long strolls in unenclosed spaces were preferable to the walled airing courts.

Walled outdoor courts are not good because attendants grow slack and patients endure humiliation. It is better that patients should have an afternoon spent in a long stroll over the hills for miles in the country. They will return contented and quiet and will then enjoy food and bed. (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1883, p.823).

Dr. A.B. Richardson noted in his 1881 report that an extension of the lawn, for which the legislature appropriated one thousand dollars, would improve the view and serve a curative function. “When completed, the view from that part of the building will be very fine, and will assist much to render the life of the patients more pleasant, and to increase the prospects for their recovery. Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1882, p.11).”

Likewise, Superintendent Holden in 1879 noted the need for landscape beautification to create better views and improved places for patients to take exercise.

Outside of the drive in front, east and south of the male wards, the grounds make a very ragged and repulsive appearance and present a deplorable contrast with the finished grounds in front of the female wards. They destroy, or at least greatly mar, the beauty and symmetry of the portion which has been completed…this improvement will transform a repulsive looking spot to a place of beauty, that our poor unfortunates who are necessarily confined in the wards, may look out upon with pleasure and delight, while those who are able to take their daily walks and rambles may have a much greater area over which to roam, have less monotony of scenery, and find it an agreeable resort for recreation. (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1880, p.412).
Superintendents considered the appearance of the grounds important to both patients and the public. Dr. Clarke noted in his 1878 report that the unfinished front grounds presented an unattractive appearance to both the public and to patients.

The slope in front of the eastern division of the building, in which are the female wards, remains untouched, and presents a forbidding appearance. It should be brought to harmonize with the gracefully finished lawn lying in front of the western division as early as practicable, not only for the purpose of pleasing the public eye, which it is always well to do, but, for stronger reasons, to present to the view of those who look out for relief a landscape marked by no violation of the laws of harmony. For surely no agency contributes more potently to the relief of a mind disturbed than strictly harmonious sensorial impressions. (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1879, p.412).

A problem came with the benefits provided by the Asylum grounds. They were a potential site for patient suicides. The possibility of patient suicide was an ever-present worry for Asylum staff, and the annual number of suicides was reported in the superintendent’s report. Some years had no suicides and others had two or three. In 1883, Dr. Richardson noted that a long-time female patient suffering from epilepsy drowned herself outdoors, presumably in one of the lakes on the Asylum grounds.

One suicide by drowning marks the one sad accident of the year. It was in the person of a female patient, an epileptic, who for many years had been allowed to take her daily walks about the grounds. Among that class of patients, suicide is infrequent, and there was no thought of such a determination in her case. (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1884p. 732)

In 1893 both of the suicides noted by Dr. Dunlap that year took place on the grounds of the institution (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1894).
Buying and Selling Land

Athenians provided the original 150 acre site for the Asylum, and as the Asylum expanded it bought adjacent land from Athens citizens. The original 150 acres was expanded to eventually, in the twentieth century, over 1,000 acres. This expansion began in 1883 when Athens dairy farmer J.C. Bowers sold twenty-seven acres to the asylum for $1,200 (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane). In 1893, Mr. Bowers sold an additional four acres to the Asylum for $1,500 (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1894).  

While the additions to the asylum land were straightforward contract purchases, the process of the state’s acquisition of the original 150 acres is less clear. Historical lore has it that the citizens of Athens took up a subscription for purchase of the 150 acre Coates farm and donated the land to the state. However, the actual deed shows that the State of Ohio purchased the original 150 acres (Athens County Recorder, 1867).

27 The twenty-seven acres lay adjacent to the southwest edge of the asylum property. The asylum enclosed this new property with a picket fence and used it for its slaughter-house and pig-pens. (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1884). The 1893 annual report notes that the additional four acres lay to the northeast of the Asylum premises and was considered by the trustees a “valuable addition to our gardening facilities” (Ohio Executive Documents, 1893 p.617)

28 A subscription was a sort of community sign-up sheet of pledges for contributions of money for a project. A letter from Athens merchant John Ballard to his son details how the community subscription process worked in Athens, in his description of affairs of the local Presbyterian church. “Two subscription papers were sent around, one to see what proportion of the church would subscribe for hiring a house and furnishing it (for the minister), the other for building or buying a Parsonage. It was presented to me when there was only one name on it.” (Ballard, John, 1869).
Manuscripts from the era suggest that people in the Athens community collected money and donated the money to the state for land purchase.\textsuperscript{29}

\textit{A Permeable Boundary}

The asylum landscape was a permeable boundary between the institution and the community. Situated on a bluff high above the Hocking River, the asylum was easily seen by the residents of Athens, and this view created a visual connection. Both patients and townsmen mingled as they worked on the grounds, and citizens and patients both used the newly landscaped grounds as a recreation resource. At times, the permeable nature of the landscape created security problems for the Asylum.

\textit{An imposing appearance: a visual connection}

The physical presence of the asylum and its grounds figured in the life of the Village of Athens, and the view of the asylum created a visual connection between asylum and community. From Court Street, the commercial center of town, Villagers had a clear view of the Asylum and grounds. Likewise, the asylum’s location on the top of a hill above the Hocking River, facing the Village of Athens, afforded an excellent view of the Athens. The asylum’s location was described in the 1883 \textit{History of the Hocking Valley} as “a magnificent site, overlooking the Hocking Valley and presenting a fine view of the city on the opposite hill” (Inter-State Publishing, 1883).

\textsuperscript{29} For example, a document handwritten by E.H. Moore details a transaction between himself and Silas Pruden. Moore loaned Silas Pruden $150 on Pruden’s pledge of a canal lot, with $100 of the $150 applied to the asylum subscription and $50 cash paid to Pruden (Pruden, Samuel Baldwin Collection.) It would seem that E. H. Moore and possibly others went about the community soliciting money to purchase the Coates farm, which was then given to the State of Ohio for purchase of the asylum site.
Athens residents watched the Asylum take shape across the river. Merchant John Ballard wrote to his son in January of 1869 of the progress of the construction of the Asylum. As the building became visible, Ballard noted the altered landscape. “The New Lunatic Assylum (sic) will make quite an imposing appearance from this Village. The Sycamore Grove just over the river is all demolished” (Ballard, 1869). He wrote again in July, noting the fine appearance of the building and again calling attention to the altered landscape. “The work on the Assylum (sic) is progressing with great rapidity. It will look splendidly from various points in our town. The forest the other side of the river is all cut down” (Ballard, 1869).

Illustrations of Athens from the era featured prominent views of the Asylum. Its location atop a hill provided an unimpeded view from many places in town. The drawing of a home on Court Street, made for the 1875 Atlas of Athens County, shows the newly built Asylum on the hill recently denuded of its sycamores (Lake, D., 1875). This drawing is shown in Appendix H.

Townsmen work alongside patients

Day laborers from Athens worked for years alongside Asylum patients and staff to create the landscape. The landscaping of the gardens, lakes, and farm of the Asylum was accomplished by both patients as well as men from Athens and the surrounding area who worked as day labor. Supervised by Asylum staff, Athens men worked alongside patients in the gardens, on the waterworks projects, on road-building, and in the farming operations. By 1893, fewer men were hired as day labor, and the

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30 From 1878 through 1880, for example, thirty-one men from Athens labored on various projects. Some men worked several years in a row, such as Mr. Frank Hall, who was paid
asylum relied more on patient labor to get work done. However, men from the community were still hired to cut ice and perform general labor tasks on the grounds (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1894).

*A fine natural park*

The Asylum provided the only public park available to Athenians. Athens had no public parks or gardens for its residents, as noted by J.C. Tipton in the 1897 Athens County Centennial.

Athens has no public gardens. Nature has done so much in the way of natural beauty that parks would seem to be a superfluity…the rugged hills…the fertile grass-covered lowland…the tortuous channel of the sometimes turbid Hocking, present a landscape as picturesque as can be found anywhere. (Tipton, 1897, p. 12).

Tipton noted, however, the beauty of the grounds of the Asylum and their availability to the public.

The grounds of the Ohio Hospital, which comprise some two hundred acres, are highly cultivated and the fine natural park has been embellished with all the skill of the expert landscape gardener, and is surpassed by but few public gardens in any city. These grounds are always open to the public.” (Tipton, 1897, p. 12).

The landscape was a place where patients, staff, and Athens residents might encounter each other. They had multiple opportunities to encounter and mingle with each other on the grounds: Athens men working as day labor, patients worked on grounds projects and took therapeutic airings under the supervision of Asylum and staff, and Athenians used the grounds as a park and a recreation destination.

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for ice storage, white-washing, and labor on stable construction. Likewise Mr. Griff Lewis was paid for working with his double team of horses on the grounds and on ice storage labor. E.H. Moore was hired at least once to work with his team of horses on ground projects (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1879-1881).
Intruders and wandering patients

The permeability of the landscape sometimes presented security concerns. As the Asylum neared completion, the trustees hired someone to guard the building.\(^{31}\) Later, administrators had to be inventive to think of ways to keep patients from leaving and intruders from entering. In 1878, Superintendent Clarke asked for money to plant a hedge of osage orange around the perimeter of the grounds for security.

The hedge of Osage Orange should be planted without delay along the entire boundary. When matured, it will add very greatly to the beauty of the grounds, and will afford besides a fine protection against intruders, who now have such unlimited means of access, and a barrier in the way of those who are inclined to wander away from the Asylum. (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1879, p. 411-412).

Superintendent Holden repeated this recommendation the following year in his 1879 annual report.

“…it is highly necessary we should have a hedge fence around the entire grounds. As it requires several years for its growth, the necessity of having it started immediately is obvious. Such a fence, when grown, will be almost a positive barrier against the escape of patients as well as a protection from intruders upon the grounds (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1880, p. 488).

Succeeding superintendents may have been discouraged by the thought of the growing period, because neither a request nor an appropriation for a hedge fence appeared in subsequent annual reports.

\(^{31}\)In 1869 Assistant Superintendent John M. Davies was paid $169.87 for his services in protection of the building. (Board of Trustees of the Athens Lunatic Asylum, 1870).
Case notes from 1874 noted several male elopements. Some of the patients appeared to have taken the opportunity to elope while working out-of-doors on the grounds. For example, Patient #8, admitted in January 1874, eloped that May. The entry in the case book notes: “he eloped while helping George Link fix the reservoir…nothing definite heard from him but said to be working on a farm in the South” (Athens Lunatic Asylum Casebook: Male Patients, 1874).

Political and Physical Infrastructure

Government Infrastructure

Politics of location

Athenians were at the center of the decision to locate Ohio’s fifth lunatic asylum in Athens, especially physician Dr. William Parker Johnson and businessman E.H. Moore. Johnson worked in his capacity as a state legislator and Moore served as one of the three original trustees charged with choosing a location,

Dr. William Parker Johnson, an Athens physician, was Athens County’s representative to the legislature from 1864 through 1869. Dr. Johnson had served in the Civil War and proved skilled at marshalling his will to accomplish administrative goals. By the war’s end, he was responsible for the administration of several war hospitals in Tennessee. In 1862, he wrote to his wife Julia that he was astonished at what he could accomplish by using his will and putting systems in place.

32 Both men and women eloped from the asylum, though men seemed to escape in greater numbers than women. In 1884, for example, Dr. A.B. Richardson’s annual report noted seventeen successful elopements: fourteen males and three females (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1885).
It is a matter of astonishment how much one man can do when he goes at it with a will. I would not have believed a month since that it were possible for one man (me) to do what I have done for the past two or three months…It will have at least one good effect in learning me to be ready to do the right thing at the right time…I have my labors so systematized that I have a time for each…I have got the men learned so that there is a time set apart for each particular entry. For instance all who are on the complaining order in camp must make their complaints known between the hours of light and ten in the morning. (Johnson, January 12, 1862).

In fact, although Johnson missed home, he came to enjoy the regular life of hospital administration, especially compared to the toils of a country doctor. He explained this to his wife in a letter in 1862:

So far as the mere labor is concerned I would rather occupy my present position than return to my old practice over the Athens county hills. I can be more regular in my meals and lose less sleep than in my old practice at home, but nothing can compensate for the loss of the endearments at home and its precious treasures (Johnson, July 12, 1862).

Dr. Johnson was elected to the state legislature for the 1866-68 term. During his term he led the effort to establish the new asylum (Waite, 1997). Having learned his organizational lessons well from the Civil War, Johnson did “the right things at the right time” to secure the Asylum for Athens. First, he helped the Licking County representative craft a resolution in the General Assembly directing the state Committee on Benevolent Institutions to look into the needs of the insane in Ohio. The resolution was passed on January 17, 1866. Second, as chair of the Committee on Benevolent Institutions, Johnson solicited reports to the legislature from the state medical society supporting the need for more institutions for the state’s insane. Finally, Johnson assisted in the preparation of a bill authorizing the construction of a fourth state asylum. This bill, entitled “An act to provide for the erection of an additional lunatic asylum” was passed on February 21, 1866 and became a law on April 13, 1867 (Waite, 1997). The law
directed the Governor to appoint three trustees who would choose a location for a new lunatic asylum in Ohio that would accommodate four hundred persons (Walker, 1867).

At this point, Mr. E.H. Moore stepped into view to help secure the Asylum for Athens. The governor had appointed W.E. Davis of Cincinnati, D. E. Gardner of Toledo, and Dr. C. McDermont of Dayton as trustees of the new asylum. However, Dr. McDermont died in 1867, and the governor appointed longtime Athens resident E.H. Moore in his place (Waite, 1999).

Born in Boylston, Massachusetts in 1812, E.H. Moore had come to Athens with his family when he was five years old. He began his career in Athens as the county land surveyor and became a successful businessman, active in banking, real estate, and railroad finance.33

Moore’s work was central to the decision to locate the fifth asylum in Athens. The Ohio General Assembly, in its legislation authorizing the fifth asylum, had directed the asylum’s board of trustees to choose the site. After considering more than thirty locations, the trustees finally settled upon Athens (Waite, 1999). Moore had helped to organize the Athens community to collect money for the purchase of the Asylum site. Then, as one of the three Asylum trustees, Moore undoubtedly influenced the board’s decision to choose the Athens location.

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33 Moore was one of the founders and president of the First National Bank of Athens, a significant figure in the development of railroads in southeastern Ohio, the Athens County Auditor, a member of the Ohio University Board of Trustees, Treasurer of Ohio University (1861-1900), a member of the Athens Board of Education, and representative to the U.S. Congress 1869-1871. (Johnson M. Welch & Eliakim H. Moore Collection, Collection Synopsis: Mahn Center for Archives and Special Collections).
Political structures

State and local government infrastructure supported the connections between the Athens Lunatic Asylum and the Village of Athens. At the state level, the governor and the legislature created legislation and made appropriations that created and sustained the Asylum. Also at the state level, the Board of State Charities provided oversight for administration of asylums and other state institutions. At the local level, Athens business and political leaders worked on behalf of the community to secure the asylum’s location in Athens. The Mayor-Village Council form of government occasionally became formally involved in Asylum affairs over the matters of road-building and maintenance. This section describes these political infrastructure systems.

Ohio was the second state (after Massachusetts) to establish an oversight organization for state charitable and correctional institutions (Gilkey, 1901). Established in 1867, the Board of State Charities consisted of five members who were appointed by the governor. Abolished in 1872, the Board was reorganized in 1876 to include a salaried secretary. In 1880, the law was amended to provide for six board members, one half to be Democrats and the other half to be Republicans. The Board was required to submit an annual report to the legislature outlining conditions, suggestions, and recommendations for operations of the state’s institutions (Gilkey, 1901). The Board responded to complaints about asylums, other charitable institutions, and jails. It also made inspections of state institutions.

The State Board of Health, established by an act of the Legislature in 1886, was responsible for the building up of county health departments across the state, examination of sanitary conditions of public institutions, investigation of outbreaks, and provision of
assistance to local authorities in the abatement of nuisances to public health (Gilkey, 1901). The State Board had seven members, appointed by the governor, and a Board-appointed Secretary who was often a health officer from a municipal government such as Cincinnati or Cleveland. The State Board of Health intervened in asylum-community affairs in Athens in 1893. The Board was called in by the Athens County Board of Health to investigate a pollution complaint against the Asylum.

The Athens Village government was set up in 1811 and provided for an elected council of five persons plus a marshal, treasurer, tax collector, assessor, and a supervisor. The Village government was reorganized in 1828 as a nine man elected Council with an elected mayor and town marshal (Daniel, 1997). The minutes of the Council meetings 1866-1894 reveal that much of the Council business involved attending to creation and maintenance of streets and sidewalks, street lighting, water, and sanitary sewer. The Council also dealt with abatement of nuisances, dealing with Ohio University on the matter of rents and land use, establishment and maintenance of a town market, and local law enforcement. (Athens Clerk of Council, 1889).

**Asylum administration**

The Athens Lunatic Asylum was governed by a Board of Trustees appointed by the governor. This Board reported to the governor, the Asylum Superintendent reported to the Trustees, and all Asylum staff reported to the Superintendent. The Board of Trustees consisted of three men until sometime between 1873 and 1875, when the Board was expanded to five members. Altogether thirty-one men served on the Athens Asylum Board of Trustees from 1867 to 1893.
Reorganization

Reorganization, the practice of replacing staff at state charitable institutions when a new political party came to power at the state level, was the mechanism by which the governor controlled leadership of state institutions. At the Athens Asylum, the governor influenced operations via his appointments to the Board of Trustees. In turn, the Board controlled the appointment of the Asylum officers.

Reorganization repeatedly affected leadership of the Asylum at Athens. Founded, built and opened under a series of Republican governors, the Asylum was reorganized in 1878 following the election of Democrat Richard Bishop as Governor. The 1878 report of the Athens Asylum Board of Trustees reported a complete change of trustees and replacement of all the officers, from Superintendent to steward (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1879).

The Board of State Charities considered reorganization detrimental to the operations of state institutions. It noted that most of the “cruelties and irregularities of state charitable institutions” were because “partisan politics had crept into them and disturbed their administration” (Board of Charities Ohio, 1881, p. 24). The Secretary of the Board of Charities in 1880 explained its view of the problems created by reorganization in detail.

Often local parties in interest, such as central committees, aspire to the control of appointments, first of Trustees, and through these of subordinates. Oftentimes individuals, aspiring to places, select an intelligent, honest, unassuming citizen, such an one as would surely command the confidence and respect of the Executive (Governor), and bring his name forward as a suitable person, and secure his appointment as a Trustee of one of our benevolent institutions. Having secured the appointment, the next step is a comparatively easy one—that is, to urge personal claims upon such Trustee to an appointment in the institution over which he may have been appointed. Such manipulation is carried forward more or less
successfully at every reorganizing period, and in such manner as that neither the Governor nor his appointee may suspect that even partisan interests, much less personal place-seeking, has been the ruling motive...by these and kindred methods the doors of our institutions are thrown open to unworthy persons...and our entire system of public benevolence brought into discredit. (Board of Charities Ohio, 1881, p. 42)

The Athens Asylum administration continued to be reorganized as political winds shifted in Columbus. The Asylum was reorganized in 1880, with the election of Republican Governor Charles Foster. The new Board of Trustees tapped former Superintendent Rutter to return as superintendent, who was heartily welcomed by the Athens Messenger (Local matters: May 13, 1880). Dr. Rutter’s steward was Democrat R.E. Hamblin. The Messenger, a staunchly Republican newspaper, grumbled at Hamblin’s appointment but acknowledged his skills and fitness for the job (Local matters: May 27, 1880). When Rutter was called to the superintendent’s post at the Columbus Asylum in 1881, Dr. A. B. Richardson was appointed by the trustees as the next superintendent. Richardson, with steward Hamblin, managed to remain superintendent for nine years, through seven years of Republicans and even through Democrat Governor George Hoadly’s term from 1884-1886 (Phillips and Gray, 1952).

However, Richardson was not to keep his position through the election of Democrat Governor James Campbell in 1890. Dr. Richardson may have seen the handwriting on the wall, as he criticized political reorganization in his 1889 annual report. He wrote “Science suffers when medical officers are required to take into account meeting the wishes of party managers” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1890). That year two of his assistant physicians, Dr. Agnes Johnson and Dr. Crumbacker, were removed, and the following year Richardson himself was replaced by
Dr. Crumbacker. In 1892 Republican William McKinley was elected Governor and Crumbacker was replaced by Assistant Physician Dr. C.O. Dunlap. It was not until the twentieth century that Ohio acted to limit reorganization of its public institutions.

The local trustee

The governor’s practice of appointing a “local” trustee to boards of state charitable institutions created a direct connection between asylum and community in Athens. Every year from 1867 to 1891, a man prominent in Athens town affairs had a voice in asylum affairs via his work as a local trustee on the Asylum Board. Altogether, seven Athenians served as local trustees. That the village was represented on the Board of Trustees no doubt helped assure that the interests of some aspects of Athens were considered in Asylum affairs.

But the state began to object to the appointment of local trustees, taking a dim view of their representation of community interests. In 1880, the Board of State Charities complained that local trustees were compromised in their ability to serve the interests of asylums. The Board of State Charities explained its view of the problems of local trustees as follows.

One difficulty, becoming more and more apparent in the administration of our State institutions, is the appointment of what is known as “local trustees”—persons resident near the institution. It is scarcely a fair thing to ask any citizen, no matter what his convenience or disposition may be, to take a position, where, let him do the best he can, he is subject to a perpetual annoyance in regard to the patronage of places in the institution, or of purchasing for it. It has come to this, that a trustee thus situated must incur the displeasure of his neighbors, or, yielding to their importunity, may overlook important interests of the institution. Naturally

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34E.H. Moore, Charles A. Cable, H.M. Lash, Dr. A.B. Frame, I. Stanley, S.W. Pickering, and John Ackley were local trustees between 1867 and 1891. Three of these men (Cable, Stanley, and Lash) also served as Board Chair: Cable in 1878, Stanley in 1885, and Lash in 1889 (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1868-1894).
enough, perhaps communities where institutions are located, come to think of them as public institutions, out of which all the profit of trade that may be should be had. The local trustee, who fails to meet this view, is liable to great annoyance (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1881, p. 594).

By 1892, the local trustee had disappeared from the Athens Lunatic Asylum Board (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1893). The Athens community thus lost that means of access to Asylum decision-making in hiring, purchasing, infrastructure and other issues.

A crisis in management

In 1878 the attention of the Athens community was riveted upon rumors and complaints about Democratic appointee Superintendent P.H. Clarke, who served for only one year. The Board of Charities circumspectly referred to the departure of Clarke and his staff for reasons unknown: “the disturbances leading to the change in the entire medical staff of this asylum are not definitely known.” (Board of State Charities, 1880). However, in Athens rumors of opium eating and drunkenness swirled.

The correspondence of the Zenner family provides clues to how the Athens community perceived the problems at the Asylum. The Zenners, a family of Athens merchants originally from Cincinnati, wrote often of Athens news to Phillip Zenner, who was studying medicine abroad. John Friday was Samuel Zenner’s business partner in the family mercantile business. In a letter April of 1879 to his brother-in-law Phillip, John Friday wrote:

There was big trouble over at the asylum, the trustees had Dr. Clarke (sic) on trial for opium eating and drunkenness, charged by Drs. Hanley and Lash, the consequence was, they threw or discharged the two latter physicians and a great many attendants. All quiet again” (Friday, J., 1879).
Two months, later, in June of 1879, Friday again wrote to Phillip of the scandal and attributed it to politics and jealousy.

There has been a great change in the Asylum here. A great deal of scandal has been generally circulated. Much of it however is due to potential jealousys (sic) and bickering. Clarke (sic) the supt. resigned his position and Dr. Holden from Zanesville was elected in his stead. Also, Drs. Hanley and Lash were thrown out of their positions and new assistant physicians appointed. (Friday, J., 1879).

Henry Zenner also wrote to his brother Phillip concerning the “big fuss” at the asylum.

They have been having a big fuss over at the asylum. Dr. Hanley and Lash have been discharged and also the druggist Ellis and quite a number of the ward attendants have also left. Clarke has been accused of drunkenness by the most of those discharged, and great efforts are being made to obtain his removal on the grounds of total inability for the management of the concern.” (Zenner,H., 1879)

David Zenner wrote to his son Phillip and, as a long-time resident of Athens, put the matter in the context of local affairs.

Athens is the same as ever. The new courthouse is rising out of the pavement. Townfolks (are occupied with) politics and scold at the Asylum and farmers grumble at the weather and the scarcity of money, but ‘among us’ if their apple trees instead of apple blossoms would bear five dollar bills they would grumble still at their not being of higher denomination. (Zenner, D., 1879).

A close reading of Dr. Clarke’s 1879 report to the trustees suggests that John Friday’s assessment of jealousy and bickering maybe have been on the mark. Clarke may simply have been an unpopular superintendent among staff, trustees, and members of the community. First, Clarke reduced tobacco consumption among Asylum patients and perhaps also staff from 250 to twenty pounds per month. Second, his language was unusually vivid, compared to reports of other superintendents. Clarke was extremely critical of conditions at the Asylum, except for the many projects begun during his year, He criticized the library (“entirely too small”), the grounds in front of the male wards (“very ragged and repulsive”), the wards (“gloomy and dungeon-like”), the supply of
surgical instruments (“deficient”), the refrigerator for preserving meats and milk (“partly decayed”), the straw-house (“entirely too small”), and the propagating house (“rotten and unsafe”) (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1880). Third, Dr. Clarke wanted to cancel the Asylum’s contract with the Athens Gas Light Company and adopt electric lighting. This last recommendation was undoubtedly poorly received by the local trustee and the Athens community, since the Asylum was the Athens-based gas company’s single largest customer.

More problems developed at the Asylum. The Secretary of the Board of Charities visited Athens to inspect the Asylum and wrote of patient abuse, as witnessed by himself, Assistant Physician Hanley, and the Athens Catholic priest.

Twice since the (1879) reorganization I witnessed, in person, violent treatment of patients. On one occasion I saw three attendants attempting by force, to remove a patient from one ward to another. They were all stout men…these three men had thrown the patient violently upon the floor – I heard the scuffle and the fall and went into the ward-the three were holding the patient, two at his feet to prevent his kicking, the other one was choking him…on another occasion I witnessed a most unprovoked and unpardonable treatment of an apparently quiet and inoffensive patient by a swaggering, overgrown bully employed as an attendant. The Catholic priest, of Athens, and Dr. Hanley, one of the Assistant Physicians, were present at the time when this ruffian seized the patient rudely by the collar, and jerked him violently from his seat, and shook him with fearful force…feeling incensed at this display of brutality, I asked the attendant why he treated the patient in that manner. His reply indicated the brute more than his violence, it was simply this,“He had no business to sit down there.” Dr. Hanley was the physician to the female wards; he was not responsible for the treatment of male patients; he dared not interfere, he did all he could do; he informed Dr. Lash, Assistant Physician in male wards, of what had occurred. Dr. Lash inquired for the particulars, I gave them to him, knowing that he, too, had no authority in such cases. At the earliest opportunity I communicated the facts to one of the Trustees, Dr. Ball, who said that he was glad to have his attention called to these facts, and that he would see to the prompt dismissal of the attendant. (Board of State Charities, 1880).
Both Assistant Physicians Hanley and Lash were dismissed, and the controversial Dr. Clarke was replaced by Dr. W.H. Holden. However, matters only worsened. The legislature now accused the Athens Asylum of financial mismanagement. The Athens Messenger summarized the litany of troubles for the Athens community in the winter of 1880.

The result of the visit here… of the House Committee on Finance has been to supply the daily press with articles crowned with startling head lines and in which are detailed instances of alleged gross financial mismanagement of the Hospital for the Insane here, specifying, severally, that that institution, with an attendance of 571 members, cost last year $136,547.66, while there is a deficiency bill of over $15,000, that the estimate for this year contemplate something over $179,000, that the committee inquired into the payroll, and learned that it exceeds $2,000 per month, exclusive of officers’ salaries, and that Superintendent Holden admitted that it is much larger than the pay roll for the Dayton Asylum, in institution with no greater number of inmates. Another editor is informed by a member of the committee that the whole institution is in a woeful condition, that the expenses have been run about $25,000 beyond the appropriation and that it is difficult to tell what the deficiency will be when the rest of the year yet to come is included, that Steward Bell kept one account and the Superintendent another, that they do not at all correspond and that neither paid any attention to the limit of their appropriation, and finally that the committee are of the opinion that there has been general extravagance (Local matters, January 29, 1880)

Then, an Asylum patient died, allegedly at the hands of one or more Asylum attendants. The Ohio Board of Charities referred to this allegation and, while it fell short of making accusations, seemed to acknowledge its truth.

That a patient was fatally beaten in the Athens Asylum, is asserted by patients, and the present Superintendent, I know, entertains grave apprehension of its truth by an attendant in the Athens Asylum. It is asserted by patients and Superintendent that he had been dismissed already for lesser wrongs…the persons perpetrating the great wrong had been dismissed for lesser causes before the facts of the greater became known. ((Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1881).

Finally, in 1880, newly elected Republican governor Charles Foster appointed a new Board of Trustees, which promptly replaced Superintendent Holden with Dr. H.C.
Rutter (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1881). The Asylum now regained its equilibrium. Rutter had been Superintendent from 1877-78 and apparently was well thought of in the Athens community. The Messenger reported that the reappointment of Dr. Rutter “gives universal satisfaction” because of the “eminent fitness evinced by Dr. R. for the efficient and beneficent management of the institution” (Local matters: May 13, 1880). Two weeks later the newspaper welcomed Dr. Rutter and also former Steward Lewis Hamblin back to town: “To see the once familiar faces of Superintendent Rutter and Steward Hamblin around on our streets once more calls up pleasant associations of olden time (Local matters: May 27, 1880).”

In 1880, an Asylum patient wrote a poem that summarized the issues of reorganization, politics, money, and patient abuse that had consumed the Asylum and engaged the community from 1878 to 1880. This excerpt gives the patient-poet’s perspective on the affairs of the Asylum.

I have some more quacks, I will tell them by name,  
But remember, none of them, even had any shame.  
Holden, Eddy, Rallston, Hallston & Dr. Ball  
As Experts, & Outlaws, their equals can not be found at all.  
In no country, upon the entire globe,  
But their time of justice is near, I hope.  
Of Holden I could fill an Enquirers triple sheet.  
But the Law of Ohio, will sew him, where they don’t sow any wheat.  
I have a Loonatic Asylum, called charity institution,  
And in fact, it must undergo a great revolution.  
For while Holden was boss, the inmates were shamefully treated,  
And by the attendants, kicked, chucked, and beated.

35 The Messenger, ever a Republican paper, reported that the Asylum steward, Mr. Robert Bell, “an obnoxious Democrat” had resigned his position (Local matters: March 25, 1880). Steward Bell and his wife moved to Lancaster and purchased and renovated a hotel there.
But Solomon said, there is a time for all.
A time for sorrow and pleasure, & a time to go to the Ball.
There was also a time, when democratic thieves plundered this state,
But Honed Republicans took charge of it, of late…
Scoundrel Holden was kicked out,
   And Dr. Rutter put in his place,
That Holden is an Outlaw, & that
   Dr. Rutter a man of Honor you
Can read in their face!
And, I think, us taxpayers won’t be as much, at Loss.
To reduce expenses, is what he has on his brain. (Patient poet, 1880).

Dr. Rutter did indeed reduce expenses. In 1880 he reduced the annual payroll by thirty-nine persons for a savings of $938.44 per month (Board of Trustees of the Athens Insane Asylum, 1881). The Messenger described Dr. Rutter’s work in reducing staff size in approving terms.

Democratic reform in the Athens Asylum is illustrated in the fact that Dr. Rutter found forty more paid employees hanging on the ragged edge of the institution on his return there than when he left two years ago, notwithstanding the number of patients in the Asylum is materially less now than then. These supernumeraries were of the number of attaches that were unceremoniously bounced at the beginning of the week (Local matters: May 27, 1880).

Superintendent Rutter also reduced the gas bill by cutting back on gas usage.36

Later in 1880, when Dr. Rutter was called to serve as superintendent of the new asylum at Columbus, he was replaced by Dr. A. B. Richardson. The management team of Dr. Richardson and Steward Lewis Hamblin remained in place for nine years, providing measure of stability that was thus far unprecedented in the asylum’s history.

Creating a Physical Infrastructure of Support

The Asylum and the Village of Athens were physically connected by an emerging infrastructure of public utilities, transportation, and communication. Specifically, the two

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36 Even with a rate increase, the Fall gas bill went from $1,384.86 in 1879 to $1,077.99 in 1880 (Board of Trustees of the Athens Insane Asylum, 1881).
were connected through their collaboration on roads and sidewalks, through the Asylum’s private telephone lines, and by the gas pipeline and contract from the Athens Gas Light Company. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Asylum and community were linked over a controversy over the Asylum’s pollution of the Hocking River and the Village water supply.

Roads and sidewalks

The Asylum needed access to the railroad depot, to shops, and to other services in Athens. Employees made purchases in town, staff picked up shipments at the railroad depot and occasionally took trips to Columbus and other places, staff must have used Athens as a destination for personal shopping, and patients and staff visited town for special occasions like the County fair. Likewise, Athenians needed access to the Asylum. They delivered goods and services to the Asylum, brought patients there, and attended special events. Families and others bringing or visiting patients used the railroad and local roads to reach the Asylum.

Roads in Athens were made of dirt and, in the rainy season, mud (Daniel, 1997). Wrote the editor of the Athens Journal on February 2, 1893, “Athens County roads are now about three feet deep with mud and act as an object lesson in favor of permanent pikes.” Made of dirt and maintained by the community, the roads were poor. (Pick-ups: February 2, 1893).\textsuperscript{37} The Athens Village Council had the authority to approve “grades” (roadbeds) and to pave them.

\textsuperscript{37} Citizens were required to perform two days’ service on road repair each year or pay three dollars to the county government for maintenance (Daniel, 1997). This service was often neglected and roads were poor from mud, ruts, and poor drainage. In 1887, Athens County representative Emmett Tompkins pressed through the Ohio General Assembly a
Athens sidewalks were somewhat better than the roads. Brick or stone walks first appeared in Athens in the 1870’s. Some merchants built sidewalk outside their stores, on their own, and in other instances the village government ordered property owners to construct brick or stone sidewalks (Daniel, 1997).

In 1879, the Asylum and the Village collaborated to build a sidewalk that provided access to town by foot. The Asylum built a board sidewalk that connected the institution with the Athens, and the Village built a board sidewalk to meet it at the bridge over the Hocking River. This sidewalk permitted those from the asylum to reach Athens by foot, thus saving on use of horses and wagons. Superintendent Clarke gave details of this project in the 1879 annual report:

Heretofore, at time, in the winter months, it has been almost impossible to reach Athens on foot. In the past season there has been constructed a substantial board walk, four feet wide, with railing on each side, from the front entrance gate to the bridge, a distance of thirteen (1300) feet. This, with one built by the town authorities from the bridge to the corporation line, gives us a good walk at all seasons of the year. This was a necessary improvement, and it will prove a great saving to horses and vehicles, which we were so frequently compelled to use, owing to the impossibility of the road for footmen (Board of Trustees of the Athens Insane Asylum, 1880).

By 1891, this board walkway had disintegrated into a foot path. The Asylum replaced its part with a sandstone walk. Appendix I shows a portion of this walk that led to town. Dr. W. P. Crumbacker described the new walk in his annual report to the Trustees.

bill authorizing local governments to sell bonds for the purpose of street improvement. Roads in Athens remained unpaved, however, until 1893, when its first block - West Union Street between Court and High Streets - was paved with bricks and financed by a bond issued in 1891 (Lake, D. 1875).
A walk four feet wide has been constructed in the line of the foot path leading to town. It extends from the rustic bridge at the foot of the hill to the front entrance to the grounds. It consists of sawed sandstone, is quite ornamental and supplies a long felt want (Board of Trustees of the Athens Insane Asylum, 1892, p. 402).

In 1881, asylum trustees and Superintendent A.B. Richardson turned their attention to the roads that connected the Asylum with Athens. They wanted a better road to the train station which was located just across the Hocking River from the Asylum. Their first proposal was a new an Asylum-owned road and bridge that would be available only for Asylum use. Richardson described the proposal in his 1888 annual report.

The road from the depot to the institution is in bad condition, and it is doubtful whether it can be permanently remedied under the present arrangements. All the coal and other supplies to the Asylum are hauled over a road passing through the town of Athens and used largely by the traveling public. It is almost one and one-half miles in length, and is nearly always necessarily in a wretched condition. A direct road form the depot to the Asylum could be constructed at moderate cost by bridging the river above the pump-house, and an appropriation for this purpose is respectfully asked. It would be almost wholly on the Asylum grounds, and being a private road for the use of the State alone, could be kept in first-class conditions. (Board of Trustees of the Athens Insane Asylum, 1889, p. 6)

Money for this project was not forthcoming from the State. Dr. Richardson and the trustees instead improved the road between the Asylum and the Athens town limits at the South Bridge over the Hocking. These improvements were accomplished with the assistance and expertise of Mr. John Ackley, engineer and Athens County surveyor. Conveniently, Ackley was the local trustee on the Asylum Board from 1884 to 1886. Dr. Richardson acknowledged Ackley’s role in improving transportation between asylum and village: “The repairs to the roadway between the institution and the town of Athens have been brought to successful completion, and reflect credit upon our local member, Mr.
John Ackley, under whose supervision they were conducted.” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Insane Asylum, 1885, p. 1177).38

In 1889, the Asylum came up with a new solution for improved access to the railroad depot. Having built a new road from the Asylum to the Asylum side of the South Bridge, the asylum administrators convinced the Village to collaborate in the construction of a new road from the Village side of the South Bridge to the depot. Appendix J shows the location of this road, on Fred Tom’s 1911 map of Ohio University. It was called Hospital Street (Tom, 1911).

This collaboration required four months of negotiation with the Athens Village Council. On January 21, 1889, Asylum Board of Trustees President H.M. Lash, who was from Athens, attended the Village Council meeting with Steward R. E. Hamblin. The two men requested the Council to open a new street leading from the bridge to the railroad depot, They volunteered the Asylum’s resources to grade and build the road.

Dr. H.M. Lash and Mr. R.E. Hamblin, representing the Athens Insane Asylum, asked the Council for the opening and establishing of a new street leading from President Street, near the Watering Trough, north westerly to the new depot and stating that the Asylum authorities would materially assist in the expense of grading and construction of the same (Athens Clerk of Council: January 21, 1889).

38The trustees described the road improvements in their report in 1884.”The appropriation of $2000 for the repair of the road between the front entrance of the Asylum grounds and the South Bridge near Athens, has been expended in the construction of a substantial macadamized road-bed, well protected by a heavy riprap wall on the lower side, which will, we believe, effectually prevent its destruction by future overflows. The work has been accomplished under the efficient management of our local member, Mr. John Ackley, to whom the credit is due for the successful result attained.” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Insane Asylum, 1885, p. 1173)
The Council referred the matter to its Street Committee for investigation and report. The following month the Street Committee presented a survey, plat, and estimate to the Council and noted that, while the road was necessary, Council lacked the funds to undertake the project. The report was tabled.

At the Council’s March 18, 1889 meeting, Superintendent A.B. Richardson now appeared at the Council meeting and announced that the Asylum would build the road as well as a guard railing.

Dr. Richardson, Superintendent of the Asylum, made remarks about the Street proposed to be made from near the South Bridge to the new depot…proposing that the Asylum authorities would be at the expense of making the grade, and also of making a strong and sufficient guard or railing on the lower or south side of said street, to prevent accidents by teams being liable to being frightened by passing trains on the rail road (Athens Clerk of Council: March 18, 1889).

At this meeting, the Council voted to prepare an ordinance to establish the route of the new street in accordance with a survey prepared by Mr. John Ackley, engineer.

Several Council meetings were required to work out the route of the new roadway. At the April 1889 Council meeting, Dr. Lash and Mr. Hamblin returned to the Council. After some discussion, the Council voted to assemble on the site of the proposed road and make a determination on the location of the roadway. Three days later, on a Friday morning, the Council and Mayor gathered at the site for an inspection. Two Council members were opposed to the planned location. The Council decided to meet the following day to vote on whether the course of the roadway should be altered. On Saturday, the Village Council met and voted to keep the roadway in its planned location, the opposition having been out-voted.

A motion (was made) that the work on the new road near the South Bridge be stopped and the grade so changed as to enter the street higher up the hill near the
watering trough. The motion was lost. A motion that the grade as run by the engineer was voted acceptable and the solicitor was instructed to prepared an ordinance (Athens Clerk of Court: April 6, 1889).

The road was completed, and was constructed entirely by the labor of patients and the Asylum employees.

*Telephone service*

Among the first telephone lines in Athens were those connecting the Asylum with the town. Private telephone lines were established in Athens well before the first central, local telephone system was established in 1895. As early as 1879, Superintendent Clarke suggested a telephone system for the Asylum (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1880). By 1881, the asylum had constructed a telephone line to a private telephone office in Athens, and in 1886 a telephone line connected the Asylum with the train depot and the Athens drug store of E. R. Lash. (Peters, 1947). Also in 1881, the Asylum installed telephones to communicate internally with regard to meal service. With the new central dining spaces, telephones in the wards were used to notify attendants when meals were ready. (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1887).

*The Athens Gas Light Company*

The Athens Gas Light Company was formed in 1872, just as the Asylum neared completion. Gas pipes were laid in 1873, and the gas was turned on just two months before the Asylum opened in January of 1874 (Daniel, 1997). The Asylum was the Athens-based company’s largest customer.

Athenians eagerly anticipated their new gas supply. Announced the *Athens Messenger* in December of 1872: “Look well to your flues. When will the gas be turned on is becoming the focus of talk” (Local matters: December 5, 1872). Athens merchant
John Ballard wrote to his son in April of 1873: “Our gas works will be finished about the middle of August” (Ballard, 1873). The Zenner family also chronicled the progress of the gas lines. Along with news of window repairs, Julia Zenner wrote to her brother Phillip that “the gas pipes will be laid next week”. (Zenner, J., May 28, 1873). A few years later, along with news of Athens weddings, she wrote again of the gas company; “our gas does splendidly, it gives as good light as from Cincinnati gas” (Zenner, J., November 18, 1878).

All was not well, however, with the Asylum’s relationship with the gas company. In 1879, Superintendent Clarke recommended non-renewal of the gas contract and proposed that the Asylum build its own plant. The problem was obtaining a reliable supply of gas. The gas works were located in Athens just across the Hocking River from the Asylum, and the pipeline carrying natural gas to the Asylum crossed the river above ground (Lake, 1875). During winter and spring floods, Superintendent Clarke complained that the pipeline, surrounded by cold water, did not deliver gas properly. (Board of Trustees of the Athens Insane Asylum, 1880.)

The problem apparently continued, and the Athens Messenger entered the fray to support the gas company. In 1880, Superintendent Holden asked the state for money to build an asylum-owned gas plant. The Athens Messenger argued for the Asylum to renew its contract with the Athens Gas Light Company rather than put up its own plant (Local matters: December 2, 1880).

The Messenger again defended the Athens Gas Light Company in 1880 when the company was criticized during the legislature’s investigation of the Asylum’s expenditures and bookkeeping. News reports statewide suggested that the gas company
was cheating the Asylum by pumping air instead of gas. The Athens Messenger defended the Gas Light Company and suggested instead that the Asylum was “extravagant” in its use of gas.

A communication in the Cincinnati Gazette, referring to (the matter of expenditures of the Asylum) contains an error that calls for correction. It is not true that the Athens Gas Company has, as is alleged, received more than the contract price for supplying that institution with gas. ‘And the broad insinuation made by the Gazette correspondent that: ‘It looks as though the Gas Company had been pumping a large amount of atmospheric air through the pipes, and charging for it as gas,’ is too farcical for comment. If the meter periodically indicated a prodigal consumption of gas at the hospital the fact is doubtless attributable to a reason similar for the finances running short - extravagant use. (Local matters: January 29, 1880).

The following year, Superintendent Richardson and the trustees settled matters by renewing the gas contract for nine years. When the contract came up for renewal in 1889, the trustees asked the Governor for $10,000 to build an electric plant. Ohio University was in the process of building its own electric plant, but the Asylum’s request was denied and the institution continued to obtain gas as well as electricity from what was now the Athens Gas and Electric Company (Daniel, 1997).

The Asylum’s contract with the gas and electric company continued to be of concern to the community; some felt that the Asylum unfairly received lower rates than the Village government. The Athens Journal contrasted the terms of the Asylum contract with that of the Village of Athens. While the Village of Athens paid the gas and electric company $72.50 per light per year for 40 electric lights, the Asylum paid only $60.00 per light per year (Pick-ups: March 9, 1893.)
Water and Sanitary Sewer

Drinking water

From its inception, the Asylum was able to secure whatever was required to provide its staff and patients with clean drinking water. Two years before the Asylum opened, the trustees asked the Legislature for $10,000 to build a reservoir to assure an ample supply of water (Board of Trustees of the Athens Lunatic Asylum, 1873). This was done. Next, the water needed filtering, as Dr. Gundry pointed out.

The water is soft and the supply ample, but whenever a freshet occurs, or even after a heavy shower, the stream becomes very turbid and the water is muddy and discolored. Yet such we must use or have none. Water looking like chocolate may be useful for washing and bathing purposes, not to mention culinary uses, but it is scarcely pleasant. (Board of Trustees of the Athens Hospital for the Insane, 1877). The legislature agreed and provided $5,000 to construct a lake and filtering basin in front of the hospital near the river. In 1877 an additional $5,000 was allocated to complete the lake and construct the filtering beds. Superintendent Rutter extolled the benefits of the new lake: a means for storing water, a source for ice, “a vast addition to the beauty and cheerfulness of the grounds”, and “conversion of a miasmatic, disease-breeding bottom into a broad, healthful surface of living water”. (Board of Trustees of the Athens Hospital for the Insane, 1878). Two years later, the legislature paid for the construction of a five acre addition to the lakes. In 1889, the trustees asked for and received funds for water filters to correct for the hardness of the water. All of these improvements were accomplished by a combination of paid day labor and patient work (Board of Trustees of the Athens Hospital for the Insane, 1880).
Sanitary sewer

The State was more reluctant to provide for appropriate sewage disposal. In 1892 the Athens County Board of Health asked the State Board of Health to investigate an alleged nuisance at Athens caused by the emptying of Asylum sewage into the Hocking River. The County Board of Health, the Village of Athens, and Athens physicians maintained that the sewage flowing from the Asylum into the Hocking River was polluting Village wells, causing bad odors and illness in Athens (State Board of Health of the State of Ohio Seventh Annual Report, 1893).

The solution proposed by the townspeople of Athens was to ask the state to remove a mill dam downriver, at the southeastern end of town. The mill itself had recently burned, and the dam was no longer needed. The Village asked the State Board of Health for $5,000 to pay for removing the mill dam, reasoning that without it the river would flow more freely and carry off the Asylum sewage. For forty years, this dam had raised the water level of the river so that heavy rains flooded parts of the town built at the edge of the river (State Board of Health of the State of Ohio Seventh Annual Report, 1893). In the minds of the citizens of Athens, removal of the dam would accomplish twin goals of cleaner drinking water and flood control.

A representative from the State Board of Health traveled to Athens in August of 1892 to inspect the situation. He found that in addition to the “filth” of the Asylum, the river was also polluted by surface drainage from the Town, sewage from a sewer at the court house, and excrement leaking from many uncemented Village privy vaults. Further, the Health Department inspector found it unlikely that the removal of the dam would alleviate the pollution, as there “would likely not be a sufficient flow in the river, in dry
weather, to remove the sewage and other filth entering the stream” (State Board of Health of the State of Ohio Seventh Annual Report, 1893, p. 104). He did point out, however, out that the asylum could deliver its sewage into the river downstream from Athens by building a sewer line over one mile in length and adding a pumping station. Noting that such a plan would be impractical, he suggested that the Asylum might dispose of its sewage by broad irrigation in fields on the asylum grounds and, in the winter months when there was plenty of water in the river, the sewage could be discharged into the river “without offense”. (State Board of Health of the State of Ohio Seventh Annual Report, 1893, p. 105.)

Improvements for Athens were forthcoming. In 1894, the State Board of Health approved plans for construction of a new sewerage system for the Village of Athens that delivered the contents of Village sewers to an area downstream from Athens, near the current site of the Athens wastewater treatment plant. The Board also made recommendations for improving Athens street drainage and privy vaults. The Board’s engineers observed that removal of the old mill dam would do little to reduce pollution of the river and recommended instead that “given that the Athens people now consider that it will be…equitable on the part of the State, the (Asylum) trustees should take measures to prevent the further contamination of the waters of the Hocking river by the sewage from a State institution” (State Board of Health of the State of Ohio Ninth Annual Report, 1895).

This was easier said than done. The State Board of Health sent a representative to speak with Asylum Superintendent Dunlap about the matter. Dunlap himself was willing to cooperate and “expressed willingness to use any possible means consistent with the
welfare of the institution, to accomplish this object (keeping sewage from the hospital out of the river above the dam)” (State Board of Health of the State of Ohio Ninth Annual Report, 1895). However, the State Board of Health reported that while Dunlap was supportive, the Board of Trustees was unlikely to act on the problem unless required to do so by the State. Now operating without a local trustee, possibly the Board was unlikely to take on the welfare of the Athens community. Noted the Board of Health:

Dr. Dunlap appreciates that the sewage from the institution discharging into the river above the dam is a public nuisance, but he does not think that the Board of Asylum Trustees will take any action in the matter to remedy this nuisance until they are directed or advised to do so by the State Board of Health”. (State Board of Health of the State of Ohio Ninth Annual Report, 1895, p. 46).

The Health Department engineers offered the Asylum a compromise: for a small fee they would prepare a report on how to solve the problem of proper sewerage provision for the Asylum. The engineers noted that this problem had come up at other state institutions, and so Athens was to be a prototype or model for the investigation of a solution. The Department of Health Annual Report for 1894 concluded with the offer.

As engineers we are personally interested in the matter, inasmuch as the State has a number of institutions, the sewage of which must be eventually reduced by some method of purification plant in the State of Ohio, and have discussed with Dr. Dunlap the matter of submitting a report to the trustees on the water supply and sewerage systems of the institutions, and charge them only a nominal sum therefore (State Board of Health of the State of Ohio Ninth Annual Report, 1895).

*Entertaining and Gatekeeping: The Asylum and Village Social Order*

*Introduction*

The Asylum served as an entertainment destination for Athens Villagers; likewise, Asylum patients and staff attended fairs and shows in Athens. The Asylum’s officers figured in the landscape of the Athens social order, their goings and comings
reported in the newspaper. Athens physicians and judges served as local gatekeepers to the Asylum because a court commitment process was required for admission. For the community, the Asylum served as both a humanitarian resource and to some extent an agent of social control.

The Asylum as an Entertainment Destination

The Asylum was woven into the fabric of Athens social life as an entertainment destination for villagers. Even before it was completed, its doors were opened to Athens residents for tours. Julia Zenner wrote of such a tour to her brother Dr. Phillip Zenner on July 23, 1873, six months before the Asylum opened for patients: “I had a very pleasant ride over to the asylum yesterday and went through the building.” (Zenner, J. 1873).

Entertaining patients was part of the moral treatment philosophy, and entertainments such as concerts and plays were regularly provided. Athens townspeople attended the entertainments. Reported the Athens Journal, “The opera, Pinafore, was given at the Asylum last Friday evening and all unite in pronouncing it the best entertainment given at the institution in a long time.” (Pick-ups: March 9, 1893). Athens groups sometimes provided the entertainment for patients and staff at the Asylum. For example, the Athens Dramatic Club was a regular performer at the Asylum.39

Asylum officers gave parties that were surely attended by Athens residents, because they were reported on in the newspaper. This notice of a party given by Steward F. M. Cline appeared in an Athens newspaper: “F.M. Cline and wife, of the Asylum, gave

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39 This group appears to have been paid, as the 1879 Annual Report noted a payment of $8 to the Athens Dramatic Club, and in 1881 the Asylum spent $12 on costumes for entertainment provided by the Athens Dramatic Club (Board of Trustees of the Athens Insane Asylum, 1880, 1882).
an entertainment in honor of Mesdames Downing and Wertheimer, of Middleport, last Thursday evening.” (Pick-ups: February 2, 1893). Asylum parties must not have been unusual, as a few weeks earlier the notice appeared that “Miss Ella Moore of Nelsonville attended the party at the Asylum.” (Pick-ups: January 12, 1893). The Asylum held an annual Fourth of July celebration at which the community participated. The 1878 annual report notes that “The Fourth of July was celebrated on the lawn with Co. R.W. Jones, Major Tompkins of Athens, the 18th Regimental Band, and a dancing platform” (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1879).

Likewise, the Village of Athens served as an entertainment destination for the Asylum. Each year the Asylum patients and staff visited the Athens County Fair, held at the fairgrounds in Athens. Selected patients must have been taken, as annual reports from the period usually noted that 200-300 patients attended the fair (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1879). Shows came to town in Athens, and patients visited these as well.40

Additions to the Social Life of Athens

The Asylum’s officers figured in the social landscape of Athens. Julia Zenner wrote to her brother of the news that Athens physician “Dr. Tom Blackstone is going to be assistant surgeon or something of the kind over at the Asylum.” (Zenner, J. December 15, 1873). It seems that it was mostly superintendents and stewards and their wives who related to the Athens social order, at least according to news reports. In 1880, the Athens Messenger noted with pleasure the appointment of Dr. Rutter as Superintendent:

40 In 1886 patients visited “John Robinson’s show” in Athens and in 1884 patients attended two shows in Athens Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1885, 1887).
The reappointment of Dr. H.C. Rutter to his former place at the head of the Athens Hospital for the Insane gives universal satisfaction, and very particularly to our own immediate community who were not only eye witnesses of the eminent fitness evinced by Dr. R. for the efficient and beneficent management of the institution, but who likewise duly estimated the important addition to the social life of Athens, which his own and Mrs. Rutter’s residence among us contributed. (Local matters: May 13, 1880).

And, a few weeks later, the Messenger noted that “to see the once familiar faces of Superintendent Rutter and Steward Hamblin around on our streets once more calls up pleasant associations of ye olden times” (Local matters: May 27, 1880). The newspaper printed similar warm regards for former Superintendent Dr. Richard Gundry when he returned to Athens to give an address at Ohio University.

Dr. Richard Gundry, Superintendent of the Maryland Hospital for the Insane, at Baltimore City, who was called to Athens to deliver the Ohio University Address this year, was cordially greeted by our citizens on his arrival here on Tuesday. During the Doctor’s Superintendency of the Asylum at this place his magnetic personal qualities won him the warm and lasting friendly regard of all who were brought in contact with him and which will always secure him an old fashioned home welcome in Athens.” (Local matters: June 24, 1880).

The newspaper reported on news of the stewards. For example, the engagement of Lewis Hamblin, steward 1876-1878 and 1880-1889, was reported. “Mr. Lewis Hamblin, storekeeper at the Athens Hospital for the Insane, will be married today to Miss Mary, the beautiful and accomplished daughter of R. F. Hill, Esq., of Marietta.” (Local matters: January 8, 1880.)

Gatekeeping

In nineteenth century Ohio, patients could enter state insane asylums in three ways: (1) a judgment of insanity by an inquest of lunacy hearing at a probate court, (2) voluntary commitment with the orders of a physician, and (3) by local law enforcement emergency. In all three cases, the county probate court prepared the documents leading to
admission. Most patients in Ohio entered via a probate court hearing, or inquest of lunacy (Coffing, 1999). In all cases, patients had to be residents of Ohio for at least a year before admission, unless special provisions were made by the state legislature.

Ohio probate judges used statute and case law as well as common law to order committal. Probate judges thus had wide latitude in making commitment decisions. The probate judge usually heard an assessment from a physician, witnesses then presented information, the person thought to be insane was asked to make statements, and the judge ordered commitment to an asylum if he thought the person to be insane (Coffing, 1999). Ohio probate judges in the nineteenth century had no legal responsibility to consult with specialists in mental illness. Thus, judges committed people with regard to their own understandings of mental illness and the statements of local physicians and families. (Coffing, 1999).

Athens was the county seat; therefore the office of the probate judge in the Village of Athens was the site for commitment proceedings for all Athens County residents. There family, friends, possibly law enforcement, physician, and judge gathered to conduct the hearings and complete paperwork. Commitment documents consisted of an inquest and an application for admission to the Asylum, completed and signed by the probate judge, as well as a medical certificate completed and signed by a physician.

A small group of Athens judges and local physicians were gatekeepers for Asylum admission for Athens County residents from 1874 to 1893. All of them lived in
Athens. Probat judges elected during the period were Leonidas M. Jewett, 1871-1874; Thomas L. Minturn, 1875-1880; William S. Wilson, 1881-1890; George Kaler, 1891-1892; and Albert S. Bethel 1893-1902 (Bush, 1905).

In Athens, four local physicians were most active in committals for village residents. Dr. A.B. Frame, his son Dr. J. A. Frame, Dr. H.M. Lash, and Dr. E.G. Carpenter served as physician for 29 out of 34 hearings for which findings of insanity were made for residents of Athens township. Of these, Dr. A.B. Frame and Dr. Lash were particularly active, assisting in the committal of twenty residents. Both of these men had additional links with the Asylum. Dr. Lash served on the Board of Trustees for the Athens Asylum in 1876 and then again from 1887 through 1891. He was Board President in 1889. Dr. A.B. Frame served on the board for one year, in 1877 (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1877-1894).

**Humanitarian vs. Control Function of Asylum**

*Humanitarian resource*

Humanitarian intentions were conveyed through the language of the enabling legislation and the annual reports of trustees and superintendents. Humanitarian actions were also performed. For example, the establishment of the Board of State Charities was intended to provide humanitarian oversight over all Ohio asylums. This board routinely investigated complaints about asylums, investigated conditions for the mentally ill who were kept in jails or county infirmaries, and made recommendations to the governor each year for all state charity institutions (jails, prisons, infirmaries, public hospitals, and

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41 Thomas Minturn lived in York township, possibly in Nelsonville, but he made his home in Athens sometime before 1880, possibly when he was elected judge (U.S. Census Bureau, 1880).
asylums) (1879, Fourth Annual report of the Board of State Charities). The Board advocated on behalf of the welfare of the mentally ill and others. The Board of Charities played a role in Athens in 1879-1880 when it investigated conditions at the Athens Asylum.

The asylum also served as a humanitarian resource for patients. For example, the brief details in the commitment documents of a female patient hospitalized in 1882 (from southeastern Ohio though not Athens County) reveal the humanitarian function of respite care. At age 52, this patient had seven children, the youngest of which was age four. She had had her first “attack” of insanity at age 48, when she was pregnant with her seventh child. At that time, she had been beaten by her husband and her sisters had died of consumption. Lacking the support of an extended family, she entered the Asylum for a brief stay. Four years later, with seven children to care for, an abusive spouse to contend with, and in ill health due to problems with her lungs, she entered the Asylum again. The committal documents provided no evidence of mental illness, except the assessment of Dr. H.M. Lash that she was “probably insane” (Athens Mental Health Center Patient Records: Female #1175). The asylum seemed to offer a means for rest and retreat from the demands and abuses of her household.

**Social control: the labor question**

In addition to humanitarian needs, asylums have inevitably met community needs for social control. The commitment of a coal miner from Nelsonville illustrates how the asylum may have functioned as a means of social control in Athens County. The center of nineteenth century coal mining activity in Athens County was Nelsonville, fifteen miles from Athens. Coal mining was a major industry in Athens County and in much of the
Hocking River Valley, and Athens businessmen invested in and operated coal mines. The Hocking Valley was also the nineteenth century home of the United Mine Workers (Daniel, 1997). In 1884 the governor sent the state militia to Nelsonville and the Hocking River Valley to confront a coal miners’ strike. Sheriffs were authorized to use military force to keep peace in Nelsonville and other areas. In the conflict, a railroad tunnel and bridges were burned, seven mines were set on fire, and a citizen was killed (Message of the Governor, 1885).

Three years later, in 1887, a man from Nelsonville was committed to the Athens Asylum because of his preoccupation with establishing a labor union in the area. Originally from West Virginia, the man had been a resident of Nelsonville for one year and was employed as a coal miner. The committal documents describe him as well-educated with a good natural disposition. The physician who was medical witness at the probate court described the nature of his insanity in terms of his desire to organize labor.

His talk is constantly in regard to the Knights of Labor. He imagines it is his especial business to organize said society. Over study about labor organizations is the cause of his insanity...supposed cause of insanity is over study, on the labor question. He is moderately violent at present time, not suicidal, but homicidal. He has delusions: he imagines that someone has wronged him (Athens Mental Health Center Patient Records: Male #1945).

It is possible that the actions of this man were construed by the Asylum gatekeepers as jeopardizing whatever peace existed at the time between coal miners and mine owners, thus leading to his commitment.

*Social control: tramps and epileptics as dangerous misfits*

Athens found some of its community members troublesome, especially tramps and persons with epilepsy, and commitment was sometimes a solution. Tramps,
essentially homeless men, were seen as an “evil” in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, because they did not work for a living. In 1876 both the Governor and the Board of State Charities took on the problem of tramps. The Governor wrote that year of the “dangerous element of society known as tramps” (Message of the Governor, 1877, p. 14). The Board of State Charities described the “evil of vagrancy…the class of paupers that should be compelled to work” and called for establishment of workhouses based on those in London (Board of State Charities, 1877, p. 7). The Athens Messenger reported on January 8, 1880, that Cincinnati police shot and killed a tramp when he resisted arrest for insulting a little girl and several ladies (Samuel Whiteley, a tramp, 1880).

In Athens, tramps were jailed. The Messenger reported of tramps locked in the County jail.

A brace of tramps who were given lodging in the palatial quarters of our calaboose on Tuesday evening are at the time of making up this issue of the Messenger on Wednesday, still involuntary occupants of the same, the Marshal in attempting to open the door in the morning having broken the key square off in the lock, thus preventing the liberation of the itinerant gentlemen within, who meanwhile are taking their accidental restraint as philosophically as could be reasonably expected (Local matters: January 22, 1880).

Athens tramps were also hospitalized in the Asylum. In 1885 a man described as a tramp was admitted to the asylum (Athens Mental Health Center Patient Records, Male #1675). His age was unknown, though it was known that he was a native of France and that he had been for five years a resident of Athens. His occupation was listed as tramp. Physician J. A. Frame wrote that he “imagines he is very rich. And that he is thousands of years old”. The medical certificate noted that he slept well, his bowels were regular, his appetite was good, that he was neither violent nor destructive, and that he was not noisy.
Asylums found it difficult to treat and manage those with epilepsy and generally sought to avoid admitting them. In 1877, the Athens Asylum Board of Trustees reported that there were too many epileptics in the asylum. Superintendent Holden viewed them as disruptive and dangerous.

This class of unfortunate beings (epileptics) should claim the attention of the State, and be provided for in a separate institution. The idea of their being associates with the insane is wrong. The fall, with the piercing cry of the epileptic, is shocking even to the sane person, but to those whose nervous constitutions are shattered, or about gone, it is excruciating and greatly detrimental…the epileptics are often dangerous and homicidal, and without the least provocation will at times injure their fellow patients, and I am safe in saying that the majority of injuries received by patients are inflicted by epileptics. (Board of Trustees of the Athens Hospital for the Insane, 1878).

However, several Athens men were hospitalized at the Asylum for epilepsy. One, age 44, had been admitted to the Athens County Infirmary in 1873 but was transferred to the Athens Lunatic Asylum when it opened in 1874 (Athens Mental Health Center Patient Records, Male #251). Some Athens men with epilepsy were found insane by the Athens County probate judge but were denied admittance by the Asylum (Athens Mental Health Center Patient Records: committed but not admitted). One, age 47, had had seizures for two years, was separated from his wife and suffered from “melancholy” complicated by epilepsy. He was denied admission. Another man, age 22, had had “epileptic fits” for fourteen years. He too was denied admission.

For years, superintendents in their annual reports asked for a separate asylum just for those with epilepsy, and the state of Ohio eventually took action on this recommendation. The cornerstone was laid for a state asylum for those with epilepsy in 1891 in Gallipolis, about thirty miles from Athens on the Ohio River (Board of Trustees of the Asylum for Epileptics and Epileptic Insane, 1892).
The Asylum and Family Life in Athens

The Asylum as a Resource for Families of Patients from Athens

Introduction

Athens families used the Athens Lunatic Asylum as a resource for family members and friends. While committal records are not complete between 1888 and 1893, records are available for twenty women and fourteen men from Athens Township who were committed to the Asylum 1867-1888. The documents indicate patient residence by county and township, rather than by village or city, so that township data is the finest level of data available. Where possible, the medical certificates for patients described in this section are included in the Appendix.

Athens area persons who entered the asylum were brought before the probate judge for a variety of reasons and conditions. They are grouped here as follows: the elderly; young men accused of violent behavior; young unmarried women whom families sought committal for miscellaneous reasons; middle aged women with vague symptoms that physicians associated with menopause, or change of life; men accused of alcohol-related violence; prominent business and education leaders with depression and irregular behavior; and assorted reasons such as epilepsy, religious excitement, and suicidal ideation.

The elderly

Of thirty-four Athens Township residents admitted to the Asylum, eight were over the age of 50. These older men and women were brought before the probate judge by family members and others. An example is a sixty-eight year old widower who was brought to probate court by his son. A farmer, he was the first man to be hospitalized
from Athens Township and the twentieth male patient at the Asylum. Dr. A. B. Frame, medical witness, reported to Probate Judge Leonidas Jewett that he “knew nothing of his history except that he is reported to have had Brain Fever, his present condition following two months duration” (Athens Mental Health Center Patient Records: Male Patient #20). Frame explained the cause of this man’s disease as “Trouble”, and noted that he refused to take any medicine. He was admitted on January 29, 1874. The Asylum casebook from 1874 provides more information on this man’s condition. Asylum staff wrote that loss of property contributed to the man’s insanity and that he was “rough and wicked”. After two months he “began to be despondent” and “made attempts to cut his throat”. His condition appeared to deteriorate and he “ate but little” and “is very still”. By May he complained of pain all over the body. A year later, on February 1, 1875, asylum staff recorded “no change” for his condition and on April 28, “no change at all”. A note on in the log dated May 14, 1875 said “died today – cause of death – excess of melancholia” (Athens Lunatic Asylum Casebook: Male Patients, 1874). See Appendix K for commitment information.

Elderly women were hospitalized for similar reasons. An elderly woman, age 82, is an example. Brought before Probate Judge William S. Wilson by Dr. A.B. Frame and a woman, she was a Pennsylvania native but had lived in Ohio for forty years. With a “pleasant natural disposition and habits” and no family history of insanity, for two years she had suffered from “senile dementia”. Her health was good but she had disturbed sleep. Dr. Frame noted the cause of insanity as “age” (Athens Mental Health Center Patient Records: Female Patient #1371). See Appendix L for commitment information.
Depression was another reason for hospitalization of the elderly. A seventy-one year old woman was brought before Judge Wilson by her son and Dr. H.M. Lash. A widow of “limited education”, a mother of four children, and a housekeeper of “amiable disposition”, she had suffered a fifteen month “general decline” of mental capacities and a loss of friends. Treated at her son’s house for this fifteen month period, Dr. Lash diagnosed her trouble as “melancholia”; she was hospitalized the next day (Athens Mental Health Center Patient Records: Female Patient #1509). See Appendix M for commitment information.

Young men and violence

Several young men from Athens were committed to the hospital because of concerns about violence. For example, a nineteen year old unmarried farmer was brought before the probate judge by his family. Two years earlier his skull had been fractured and was trepanned, “a portion removed from his left frontal nearly two inches in diameter”. His disease was listed as mania. The young man was described as “homicidal, very violent, noisy, and destructive” and was admitted to the asylum that day (Athens Mental Health Center Patient Records: Male Patient #1900). See Appendix N.

Another young farmer, age 28, was brought before the probate judge by his wife, with testimony from other family members and Dr. A.B. Frame. The previous day, he had threatened to kill his wife and then himself. Dr. Frame wrote that the “supposed cause” of this man’s condition was typhoid fever two years ago, as there had been “a number of attacks since then”. He continued his description, noting that the man “has for some time carried a revolver, razor, and sling shot. Swears he will kill all the family and anyone else he can get his hands on. Has threatened to kill his wife on several occasions.”
He was admitted to the Asylum the day of the inquest Athens Mental Health Center Patient Records: Male Patient #1663). See Appendix O.

Young, unmarried women

Young, unmarried women from Athens were brought to the Asylum for a variety of reasons. A single, twenty-two year old woman was brought by her father to the probate court for commitment. Dr. Lash’s notes observe that this woman’s sister was also in the Asylum at Athens. He noted that she had a “pleasant natural disposition”, “good habits, and “good health”. However, her appetite was not good, and for four months she had had “inclinations to go somewhere – would wander off” Athens Mental Health Center Patient Records: Female Patient #1278). See Appendix P.

Another young woman, age twenty-five, was brought to the probate court by her father, a well-to-do Athens farmer and market gardener. She was one of ten children. The doctor noted that she “took cold during a menstrual period about seven weeks ago. Cause (of insanity) is probably menstrual derangement”. She was hospitalized the next day (Athens Mental Health Center Patient Records: Female Patient #390). See Appendix Q.

Women in their forties: age and time of life

Middle-aged women were hospitalized for reasons that were sometimes vague but usually contained some allusion to menopause. A forty-five year old woman was brought to Judge Jewett. Jewett noted only that he “found her insane after listening to the testimony of (Dr. A.B.) Frame and the other two”. This woman was the first from Athens to be committed to the Asylum; she was admitted on July 15, 1874 (Athens Mental Health Center Patient Records: Female Patient #300). See Appendix R.
Five years later another woman, also age forty-five, was brought before Judge Thomas Mintun by a group of men which included Dr. H.M. Lash, County Engineer John Ackley, and a man who had committed his daughter two years earlier for attempts of violence upon self and others. Dr. Lash wrote that “the trouble as been gradually coming on her for several years but has been marked only with the last few months. Cause is not definitely known, but believed to be due largely to her age and time of life” (Athens Mental Health Center Patient Records: Female Patient #952). See Appendix S.

**Drug and alcohol use**

Several men from Athens were committed to the Asylum because of drug and alcohol use and violence. A young Athens physician, age twenty-eight, was brought before the probate court by his father, also from Athens, because he had “formed the cocaine habit”. Dr. Lash, medical witness at the inquest of lunacy, wrote that “his actions are entirely at variance with mental soundness. There is great danger of his doing violence, both to himself and those about him” (Athens Mental Health Center Patient Records: Male Patient #1921). He had been treated at his family’s home for eight or nine months before commitment to the Asylum. See Appendix T.

A saloon-keeper, age forty, was brought by another man to the probate court. Dr. Lash, medical witness, wrote that the supposed cause of his insanity was “excessive drinking”, that he had “made several attacks on his wife”, that he suffered from “delusions or hallucinations”, and that he was “violent, destructive, and noisy”. This man was admitted to the Asylum on the same day as the inquest (Athens Mental Health Center Patient Records: Male Patient #1539). See Appendix U.
Prominent men

Several prominent Athens businessmen were committed to the Asylum by the probate judge during the period of this research. For example, a man who for years had served as a leader in public education in Athens was committed at the age of fifty. He was brought to the probate court by a friend, a prominent Athens grocer. Dr. J.A. Frame wrote that he “can recollect nothing of any consequence and sleeps but very little. Concealed a hatchet under his bed…slightly homicidal.” Dr. Frame diagnosed melancholia, noting that this, his first attack, had lasted about two months (Athens Mental Health Center Patient Records: Male Patient #1988). See Appendix V.

Other committals

Athens area residents were committed for other, miscellaneous reasons. Several women were hospitalized for suicide attempts as well as vague references to brain trouble. Two young people in their twenties, a man and a woman, were hospitalized for religious excitement. Also, a woman who was the daughter of an Athens physician and the wife of an Ohio University professor was hospitalized in 1882. Her father had assisted in the commitment of several men and women as medical witness at inquests of lunacy in Athens (Athens Mental Health Center Patient Records: Female Patient #1207). See Appendix W. 42

42 Her husband left Ohio University for Missouri soon after she was hospitalized. She had five children, the youngest of whom was five at the time of her hospitalization (Inter-State Publishing Co., 1883).
Asylum View of Families

The majority of those admitted to the Athens Lunatic Asylum were returned to their families. Of the 5,417 patients admitted to the Athens Lunatic Asylum between 1874 and 1893, sixty-six percent were discharged as either recovered (35% of those admitted), relieved (11% of those admitted), or unimproved (20% of those admitted) (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1894).

While Asylum officials released many patients to the care of their families, both Asylum and Board of Charities officials were critical of the treatment that some patients received from their families. The 1876 Board of State Charities annual report noted the need to look into the number, treatment, and condition of insane persons in private homes (Board of State Charities, 1877). The Secretary wrote of his concerns for family neglect and cruelty of insane persons. Asylum Superintendent Clarke in 1879 echoed these concerns by noting the need for a “vigorous interposition” on behalf of insane persons so that they could admitted at the earliest possible time (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1880). The following year Superintendent Rutter described the plight of patients, especially old persons. He wrote that:

The admissions show a large number of very aged persons…first sleepless, then peevish, irritable and peculiar, they soon become a source of annoyance to their friends, and are adjudged insane, and hustled off to the asylum…they tell the sad story of usefulness outlived and too often of filial ingratitude. (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1881).

In 1881 Superintendent A.B. Richardson noted a high death rate among male patients that year because of the debilitated conditions in which families brought them (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1882).
In 1891 Superintendent W.P. Crumbacker tried, on a limited scale, a variation of community care into treatment at the asylum, based upon the community care model at Gheel, in Belgium. Citing the need for independence and self-reliance for patients who yet require asylum supervision, Dr. Crumbacker secured employment for some patients in homes and neighborhoods near the Asylum. He found this practice successful for certain patients and suggested that moving patients into the community in this way might provide a viable alternative to asylum care. He wrote in his annual report of 1891:

> In a few instances, patients have engaged with persons residing several miles from the Institution for a month or more at a time, with the understanding that they return to us each Saturday afternoon and remain at the Asylum over Sabbath day. Such patients have been accorded these privileges have been repeatedly tried at their (own) homes, and as often found it necessary to return to the discipline and protection afforded by the Asylum. Yet, when returned to the protecting embrace of the Institution…granting them the privilege just mentioned, they feel more independent and self-reliant, and at the same time are enabled to purchase for themselves many articles not ordinarily supplied. In no instance has any harm resulted from such paroles. The above facts give rise to the inquiry whether or no a large portion of the chronic insane might not be as well and more economically cared for by colonizing them somewhat after the (method) that has been in vogue at Gheel, Belgium for ages (Board of Trustees of the Athens Asylum for the Insane, 1892).

Thus the Asylum began to experiment with incorporating the community as providers of direct care for its patients.

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43 For seven hundred years, persons with mental illness have boarded with families in the village of Gheel, which even today receive payment for boarding. The custom began when Gheel took in a young princess who fled to there to escape her father, who wished to force her to marry him.
Chapter Five: Conclusions and Implications

Review of Findings

Introduction

This study has explored the nature of the connections between asylum and community by way of the history of the Athens Lunatic Asylum from 1867 through 1893 as it relates to the Village of Athens, Ohio. It details how the Athens community mobilized to acquire the Asylum for Athens and the ways in which the Asylum became embedded in community life.

Between 1867 and 1893, the Asylum was connected with Athens in five spheres: money economy, landscape, political and physical infrastructure, family, and social order. These connections were forged by the asylum’s need for goods and services and by the needs of the Athens community for jobs and cash. They were also sustained by the community’s needs for recreation and entertainment, a humanitarian resource for those with mental illness, and at times a means of social control. The political infrastructure, physical infrastructure, and the formal and informal networks that functioned to control the county commitment process all served to make possible the connections that met the needs of both asylum and community.

Money economy

This research identified the ways in which the Asylum functioned as customer and employer in the Athens community, thus contributing to the development of a money-based local economy. The Athens Lunatic Asylum was clearly a major source of cash for the Athens community. It played a role in the conversion of the local economy
from barter-based to cash-based. Levine and Perkins (1997) note that asylums became embedded in their communities, which in turn eventually became financially dependent upon them. It is hard to know the exact extent to which the Athens economy became dependent upon the asylum. However, Athens farmers must have come to depend upon the asylum’s extensive fresh food purchases, Athens merchants enjoyed year-round patronage by Asylum stewards as well as Asylum staff, the Asylum was the newly-formed Athens Gas Light Company’s single largest customer, and Athens men and women worked at the Asylum at staff jobs and day labor. Certainly, Athens builder Henry O’Bleness began his career with a woodwork contract at the Asylum and eventually became a wealthy, prominent man from his construction contracts with the Asylum and other places.

*Landscape*

This research documented the ways in which the Athens Lunatic Asylum grounds functioned as a patient treatment ground, the extent to which they functioned as a community resource, and whether the physical boundaries between town and asylum were permeable or impermeable.

The asylum grounds provided a permeable boundary between institution and community. It was a work site for both patients and employees. Lacking public parks, the Athens community used the asylum grounds as a recreation destination; the grounds were also used as a treatment site for patients. The beauty of the grounds was the legacy of Herman Haerlin’s design, George Link’s supervision, and the combined work force of patients and town day labor. These grounds, by 1893 a source of pride to both the
community and Asylum administrators, remained a regional showcase until the 1960’s, when they were almost completely destroyed by the relocation of the Hocking River.

Infrastructure

This research examined the relationships and influences between asylum and community in creating a local infrastructure. I began the research with the intention of investigating asylum-community connections with regard to physical infrastructure such as transportation, communication, sanitary engineering and public utilities. I quickly found that the political infrastructure, both community-based and statewide, facilitated community participation in both the founding and administration of the asylum. The concept of infrastructure was therefore reinterpreted and enlarged to encompass both the physical and political dimensions.

The Athens community used the state and local political infrastructure to advance its interests with regard to the Asylum. Prominent Athens men worked to bring to Athens what would become Ohio’s fifth state-supported lunatic asylum. Athens County’s representative to the legislature, Dr. William Johnson, worked to introduce legislation authorizing an additional state asylum for Ohio. Johnson undoubtedly worked to secure the governor’s appointment of Athens businessman E.H. Moore to serve as one of three men on the first Board of Trustees, which was charged with finding a location for the asylum. Moore helped organize the subscription which raised money to pay for the

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44 The first state asylum in Ohio opened in 1824 in Cincinnati. In 1838 state support for this asylum was withdrawn. A state asylum opened in Columbus in 1838. In 1852 the Ohio legislature authorized additional asylums at Cleveland and Dayton. The Athens Lunatic Asylum was thus the fifth state asylum opened in Ohio, but when it opened it was one of only four operating state-supported asylums (Waite, 1999).
State’s acquisition of the original 150 acre site for the Asylum, and he surely argued for Athens when the Board met to choose from among thirty locations for the new Asylum.

The Asylum’s “local trustee” represented the interests of the Athens community in the Board of Trustees administrative work. From 1868 through 1891, seven different prominent Athens citizens served as local trustees. Each had the task of balancing community and Asylum interests in matters of contracts, purchasing, hiring, and infrastructure and possibly in such areas as patient admissions and landscape.

Transportation, communication, and sanitary engineering were some of the ways in which the physical infrastructure connected Asylum and community. The Asylum collaborated with the Village to expand the transportation infrastructure, and the Asylum was a leader in use of the telephone. However, Asylum and community collided over issues of wastewater disposal.

Village and Asylum had a mutual interest in transportation connections and therefore collaborated to build roads and walkways. Also, the first telephone lines in Athens were those installed by the Asylum to connect itself with the train depot and with a local drug store. In the 1890’s, though, the Asylum was taken to task by the community as a public nuisance, when its sewers contributed to pollution of the Hocking River and the Village water supply.

Concerning the Athens brick-making industry, I had thought that the Asylum might have played a role in the diffusion of brick-making innovations. However, the Asylum was the last major building in the community to be built according to the old decentralized, hand-made on-site method. It was not until after the Asylum’s brick
construction was completed, in 1870’s, that the first brickyard with a permanent kiln was established in Athens.

Family

Concerning family, this research explored the extent to and manner in which Athens families used the Asylum as a resource for patients. Were Athens families willing to commit family members there? And if so, for what reasons? This research also sought to explore the extent to which the institution served as a home for its staff. Actual community care-giving for those with mental illness was not originally a consideration in this research. However, I found that in the 1890’s superintendents began placing patients with families in the community.

Athens families used the Asylum more as a source of work and jobs than as a resource for patients. An average of two to three Athens Township residents were committed each year, out of the nearly 150 patients admitted on average each year from the Asylum’s multi-county service region. Also, Athenians used the asylum at a slightly lower rate than did the rest of Athens County. Certainly, however, Athens families did use the Asylum for respite and remedy purposes. The institution was a community resource for the elderly with dementia, for those suffering from depression (or melancholia as it was then termed), for those with drug and alcohol abuse and addictions, and for those likely to harm others or themselves. It may also have been a resource for families wishing to rid themselves of troublesome family members. A few fathers brought their daughters, young women who, because of their predilection to wander off or have menstrual difficulties, may have been seen as nonproductive members of the
family. Likewise, middle-aged women were hospitalized for vague reasons with allusions to menopause.

I had intended to explore the asylum as a home for its staff. As reported by asylum researchers (Scull, personal correspondence), information by or about nineteenth century asylum staff is limited. In this study, information on the life of the staff was mostly limited to what could be gleaned from annual reports written by superintendents. For instance, I learned that at the Athens Lunatic Asylum most staff lived on-site, that officers and the other staff lived and dined separately from each other, that there were problems with staff mistreating patients during at least one period, that most staff members were Ohio natives, and that staff gradually moved from a servant-like role to that of quasi-professionals. Staff turnover at the asylum was high, and in some years the officers changed annually. In the early years of the asylum, many staff members came and went in a revolving door fashion, some using the asylum as a bridge or means to a better situation. In this way the asylum functioned as a physical home for its staff, but I was unable to document home-like relationships or feelings.

*Community social order and organization*

Concerning community social order and organization, this research sought to identify whether and how the asylum functioned in the community as a humanitarian resource or as an agent of social control. It also explored the community status of asylum superintendents and physicians.

In Athens, the Asylum served as both a resource for humanitarian care as well as a mechanism for social control. Certainly, the Athens Lunatic Asylum served as a humanitarian resource for patients. It offered a place for those with severe mental illness,
those who needed a respite from extreme psychosocial stresses in their environment, and those for whom a life event had precipitated an episode of mental illness. On the other hand, the Asylum also accepted persons who were simply problematic to the community, such as homeless men (known as tramps) and persons with epilepsy. Interestingly, in 1887, the Asylum admitted a coal miner whose only apparent symptom was his intense interest in forming a labor union, at a time when the Hocking Valley was literally ablaze with labor conflicts.

The asylum and its officers played a role in the social order and organization of Athens. They sometimes figured in the social landscape of Athens; some superintendents were so well thought-of that even after they had left the Asylum, they were invited to return “home” for special events such as giving the commencement address at Ohio University. Most superintendents in the period of this study enjoyed prestige in the community. Probably they also wielded informal power in addition to their influence on purchasing and jobs. The steward, who made most of the Asylum purchases, was also an important community figure whose social life was sometimes chronicled in the local newspaper.

On the community side, Athens judges and physicians served as gatekeepers to the Asylum for Athens residents. A handful of these men worked together over the years to complete lunacy inquests, the prerequisite for admission to the Asylum.

The Asylum and Athens were connected by their functions as entertainment resources. The Athens community participated in social events held at the Asylum. Athenians attended private parties given by officers of the Asylum, public Fourth of July celebrations on the Asylum grounds, and concerts and dramatic presentations held for
patient entertainment. Likewise, patients and staff came to town for events such as the Athens County Fair.

Discussion

Community participation in the age of asylumdom: a new perspective

The conventional view of the history of community participation in mental health care is that there are three eras of care. These eras are (1) the eighteenth century in which care rested with the community; (2) the “age of asylum” (approximately 1800 through the 1950’s) in which mental health care was centralized in asylums provided by the state or by the private sector; and (3) the present age of deinstitutionalized community care which began in the 1960’s. The traditional view is that in only the first and third eras did the community play a role in providing care. Scholars have viewed the locus of care as situated within the asylum during the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. Accordingly, most if not all asylum case studies have focused on the inner workings of the institutions. None has studied an asylum in the context of its surrounding community.

This research contrasts with the conventional view of locus of care in two ways. First, this study focused on the community context of an asylum. The unit of analysis for the study was the asylum and its surrounding community, rather than the asylum alone. Second, this case study demonstrates that the Athens community in fact participated with the asylum in providing mental health care, both indirectly and directly. The community participated indirectly through its contribution of products, services and employees. It participated directly when, in the 1890’s, community members received patients into their homes to participate in the work of the household. This study is then an example of
a community’s collaboration with an asylum at a time when care has been thought of as situated within the asylum. In Athens, the boundaries between community and asylum were porous. Rather than remaining isolated from the Athens Lunatic Asylum, the Athens community had many connections with the Asylum and indeed participated vigorously in Asylum affairs. From 1867 to 1893, the Asylum’s connections with the Village of Athens were many-faceted and complex.

This research documents three aspects of asylum-community connection which have received little attention from researchers: the landscape, the infrastructure, and the money economy. Researchers have addressed asylum-community connections in terms of family and of social organization, particularly in the areas of motivations for the rise of asylumdom (humanitarian vs. control), asylum admissions, and the role of asylums in serving families of patients. Very recently, asylum scholars have begun to mention other ways in which asylum and community interacted. For example, asylum scholars have referred in passing to the role of asylums in providing jobs and money to the community (Levine and Perkins, 1997; Sitton, 1997; Tomlinson, 1996). However, none have taken up as a focus of study the role of landscape, infrastructure, and the economy as connections between asylum and community.

Profit center: a new way to view the Asylum

It may be appropriate to consider a new aspect of asylums: their role as profit centers. This research has documented the potential of profit as a motivation for local community participation in mental health care and the role of the political and physical infrastructure in enabling a community to profit monetarily from an asylum.
The dynamics of asylum-community connections in terms of family, social order, and landscape are very well documented in the literature. I was therefore not surprised at the nature of these connections in Athens. I was surprised, though, to find that profits, politics, and infrastructure were significant connectors between Asylum and Village.

Money represents the energy of a social system (Levine & Perkins 1997). These results suggest that the nineteenth century Athens experience of community participation in care for those with mental illness was grounded in community needs for money, or profit. Primarily the Village valued the asylum as a market for goods and services and a source of jobs. In Athens, money allocated to the Asylum from the treasury of the state of Ohio flowed to Athens farmers, land-owners, shopkeepers, asylum employees and workers, tradesmen and craftsmen, builders, and others. The doctors, judges, and law enforcement personnel involved in the commitment process, were supported by county funds. As a result, the Asylum became embedded in the community as a profit center.

Both community and asylum profited from each other through the lively and energetic participation of the community in asylum affairs in Athens 1867-1893. The political infrastructure supported the profit dynamic in the founding and administration of the Asylum. Through the work of the Athens Asylum, some in Athens became wealthy. Many found a market for their products and services; a few gained employment at a time when they badly needed it; others gained experience in order to move to a bigger job; and a few families sent their sons, daughters, husbands, wives, and elderly relatives to become patients. The community in turn provided for the Asylum a labor pool from which to draw and a community ready and willing to provide goods and services.
I anticipated that I would find that the Asylum was an important catalyst or leader in the diffusion of innovation in Athens with regard to infrastructure. I speculated that perhaps new methods of brick-making would be introduced to the village of Athens through the massive construction project of the Asylum. Perhaps the Asylum would embrace new methods of wastewater treatment, or maybe the telephone would become quickly commonplace among Athens residents as a result of the Asylum’s installation of its private phone lines. What I found was the Asylum used new technology for itself when it was necessary for its work, such as the telephone lines for communicating with the train station and the drug store. But the Asylum did not extend itself to improving community infrastructure, except when the improvements directly benefited the asylum. It built a new road in town to improve access to the train station, but it had to be forced by the state to use sewage methods other than dumping into the river. On the other hand, Asylum administrators appeared to make trade-offs between politics and infrastructure. For example, it seems that the Asylum came comparatively late to electric lighting because of pressure brought to bear by supporters of the local gas company.

Profits and infrastructure are enduring issues in mental health care. Today’s mental health service systems are embedded in political structures which determine funding, and funding is essential to understanding the relationship of consumers to the mental health care system (Levine and Perkins, 1997). In the 1970’s, the economics of mental health care was introduced as a specialty by the NIMH. Mental health care, which does not operate like a traditional market economy, has continued to challenge economists in developing workable models (Williams and Doessel, 2001).
Overview

Community psychology’s ecology analogy offers a useful context for understanding the role of profits and infrastructure in asylum-community connections in nineteenth century Athens. Levine and Perkins (1997) argue that the problems encountered during deinstitutionalization have resulted in part from policy makers’ failure to fully understand community uses of resources from an ecological perspective. The nineteenth century Athens experience illustrates a community’s use of resources from an ecological perspective as the community participated in provision of care for those with mental illness. Of particular application are the ecological principles of adaptation, interdependence, and cycling of resources.

Adaptation

The Athens community, as it moved from a barter to a cash-based economy, adapted to its needs for cash and jobs by taking steps to secure the Athens Lunatic Asylum for the village. Lacking a cash-generating industry such as coal mining, and with the fortunes of Ohio University waning, prospects for economic prosperity in post-war Athens were mixed. Certainly, Ohio University was at that time declining as a source of money and jobs. Enrollment at Ohio University was shrinking, its endowment was but a fraction of what other Ohio colleges enjoyed, and Ohio University trustees failed in 1866-67 to obtain from the legislature designation as a land-grant college under the Morrill

45 In 1866 OU enrollment was 176, and by 1871 it had shrunk to 110 students (Hoover, 1954)
The community adapted to its fading fortunes by securing a fresh resource, the Athens Lunatic Asylum.

*Interdependence and cycling of resources*

As the asylum became embedded in the community, asylum and community became interdependent, their resources cycling throughout the community. The Asylum needed workers, food, supplies, and patients. The money with which it paid for jobs, goods and services furnished cash to the community. The asylum’s grounds were also a community resource, as a recreation destination as well as the source of an intangible sense of pride in the beauty of the landscape.

Patients were a resource for the asylum. In an ecological perspective, one creature’s waste is another’s raw material. Insofar as they were perceived as non-functioning members of the community, patients were community “waste”; but they were the stock-in-trade and raison d’etre for the asylum. Patients also supplied the Asylum with labor to improve the grounds. Acting in what they clearly felt were the best interests of both patients and asylum, Superintendents increasingly relied upon patient labor to accomplish the various landscaping and water filtration projects on the Asylum grounds. One wonders, however, at the annual reports which extolled the therapeutic benefits of digging and in the next sentence described the pressing need for grading projects.

The asylum itself produced waste, which in some cases (extra cattle and pigs, rags, and beef fat) were valued and purchased by local farmers. In another instance,

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46 The Legislature voted to establish the land-grant college at Columbus, in part due to the vigorous lobbying and cash inducements offered by the citizens of Columbus (Hoover, 1954).
Asylum waste in the form of sewage became a controversy between Asylum and community.

While the Asylum and community were interdependent, each protected its own interests. When the Athens Gas Light Company was criticized by newspapers statewide for its pricing, during the Asylum management crisis of 1878-1880, the local newspaper defended the gas company and blamed the asylum for the problems. When the Asylum sought to set up its own gas supply, the local newspaper counseled against this. The local trustee provided a formal means for Athens to represent and look after its interests. When finally the Village complained about the Asylum’s sewers that polluted the town water supply, the Asylum trustees (now lacking a local trustee) refused to pay for improvements unless ordered to do so by the State.

In the 1890’s, the Asylum and Athens became somewhat less interdependent. Certainly, lacking a local trustee beginning in 1891, the community lost its formal access to Asylum-decision making. And as it took over more of its own food production through its farming operations and filled more of its service needs by hiring staff and using patient labor, Asylum and community became still less interdependent. One remains tantalized with the question of whether this was a trend toward isolation of the Asylum from the community or whether in the twentieth century new forms of connection began to emerge.

Berry’s model of a healthy community: the role of profit and mutual interests

Berry’s (1993) thinking about how a healthy community functions offers another perspective for interpreting the role of profits and infrastructure in Asylum-community relations in Athens. According to his framework, village relationships with the asylum
were an indication of a healthy community in Athens in three ways. First, a healthy community is one that acknowledges an understood mutuality of interests. Athens and the Asylum clearly had and understood their mutual interests. Second, communities should be able to speak for their own interests, and Athens citizens and Asylum officials, in the nineteenth century, had both formal and informal ways to represent their respective interests in community affairs. And third, a certain amount of give and take is required to maintain a healthy balance of interests of a community. In Athens, for example, Asylum and community engaged in this give and take in decisions about infrastructure. Did Superintendent Richardson lock in a ten year contract with the local gas company rather than pursue an up-to-date asylum-owned electricity generating plant for reasons of political expediency? Did he continue to patronize the local company, the owners of whom were powerful men in Athens, because he needed their support in other areas? And it took three visits to the Athens Village Council by Asylum administrators to settle disagreements about the location of the new Hospital Road that the Asylum built and paid for on Village property. Berry (1993) argues that a healthy community is one in which community interests, decision, and problems are worked out locally.

**Implications**

**Scull’s Dilemma**

As an intrinsic case study that captures the details of an individual situation, this study is not an instrumental case study, or one that serves the scientific call of generalizability. Rather, this research focuses on the individual particulars of the connections between the Village of Athens and the Asylum. However, these results have some bearing on Scull’s Dilemma.
Scull contends that neither traditional mental hospitals nor the community-based care following deinstitutionalization have been able to provide optimal mental health care. When the asylum-based moral treatment movement ended and the “cutting edge” of psychiatry moved to other, research-based forms of care, asylums in the twentieth century became archaic providers of custodial care. On the other hand, deinstitutionalized care in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has too often been under-funded and piecemeal.

This research suggests that the asylum-community distinction between eras is artificial, at least for communities in which an asylum was located. The nineteenth century Athens experience suggests that the energy of asylum and community working together was very effective at least in accomplishing certain goals. Working together, the Athens Lunatic Asylum and the Village of Athens mobilized resources that provided asylum care for those with mental illness as well as a host of other conditions such as mental retardation and addictions. The asylum-community collaboration was very effective in building the asylum, keeping it running, and providing cash and other benefits to the local economy.

Mental health care today

Studying the Athens Lunatic Asylum in the context of its community in Athens reveals both the breadth and complexity of asylum-community connections. The research demonstrates that asylum and community were linked in many ways. It is an example of how “looking bigger” rather than “looking smaller” can expand understanding of a phenomenon, in this case an asylum. Cartwright (1999) notes that when phenomena are linked, changes are a function of the whole structure rather than the individual pieces. This study provides a picture of the whole structure of community mental health care in
late nineteenth-century Athens. It suggests that individual communities can be effective in providing mental health care for those who need it.

Today, mental health care is re-centered in the community, and with the positive results of deinstitutionalization have come negative consequences. Williams and Doessel (2001) describe the resulting isolation and homelessness in which many with serious mental illness live. Lefley (1997) describes families unprepared and untrained for the care-giving required for mentally ill relatives. If those with mental illness and their families could be better connected to the community in these ways, recovery, or “the process in which people are able to live, work, learn, and participate fully in their communities” (President’s New Freedom Commission, 2003) might be a real possibility.

This research suggests that mental health care policy should identify and encourage ways for those with serious mental illness to reconnect with the community. The areas identified here - infrastructure, economy, family, social organization, and landscape - could be useful starting points for constructing and renewing connections. Money and politics continue to play a very important role in decisions about community mental health services. Their roles in decisions about these five areas should be examined as well.

The Asylum and the growth and development of Athens: some questions

Overview

This research has taken a constructivist perspective toward the early history of the connections between village and asylum in Athens. I have sought to reconstruct the meaning of the asylum to the community and gain an understanding of how the asylum interpreted the community. In doing so, multiple perspectives have been revealed, and
new meanings have been discovered. To nineteenth century Athens, the Asylum was a place that provided jobs and purchasing, a resource for family members in need of care and a destination for entertainment, recreation, and relaxation. To the asylum, the community was a source of employees, goods and services; a shopping destination for staff; a place to be dealt with and negotiated with on matters of infrastructure.

The asylum has also appeared to have left an enduring legacy in Athens. It may have shaped the long-term growth and development of the community. This research raises four questions about other ways in which the presence of the Athens Lunatic Asylum may have affected the Village of Athens, beyond its role as a profit center. They are posed here in the form of questions.

Learning how to ask

First, did the town’s success in bringing the asylum to Athens teach the community how to mobilize to gain resources? In 1896, using much the same strategy as in 1866-67, the village worked through its representative to the legislature to pass the Sleeper Bill, which provided permanent operating subsidies to Ohio University. A few years later, E.H. Moore’s son, David H. Moore, in his role as a senator in the Ohio legislature, pushed through a bill providing an additional $35,000 per year for the Ohio University normal school (Daniel, 1997). The people of Athens, through their victory in

47 The Senate Finance Committee, invited to Athens by local friends of the university, came to town and was entertained lavishly by townsmen and university trustees. The town celebrated passage of the bill with a bonfire and a grand rally for their legislators. The bill nearly tripled the amount of money sent to the university by the state (Daniel, 1997).

48 Athens County judge J. Perry Wood declared that the new state subsidy, enacted in 1901, was worth at least as much as a million dollar endowment and would double
securing the Asylum, may have learned how to organize themselves and use the state political infrastructure to secure resources for the town.

*An economic base grounded in public institutions*

Second, did the Asylum, as the second state institution in Athens, secure the centering of the community’s economic base in public services and government institutions? In contrast to nearby towns like Nelsonville and Pomeroy, which were built upon trade and industry, Athens was founded in 1804 as the home of Ohio University. The Asylum added to this institutional focus, and in 1880 the state legislature approved the Children’s Home, built on a 125-acre site east of town (Daniel, 1997). Could the infrastructure and skills built up in the community because of the Asylum have nurtured a local economy based in public institutions? And what are the implications of a local work force that is accustomed or dependent upon public employment?

*Beyond jobs: new skills and resources for the community*

A third and related question is what skills and resources beyond money accrued to the community because of the presence of the Asylum? In particular, could Athens’s present day position as a leader in Ohio in market farming have roots in the late nineteenth century, when many local farmers each year sold their market products to the Asylum? Family farms that go back several generations remain in operation today in the Athens area, and the skills and interests within the farming community are now supporting the emergence of new generations of market farmers. The Athens Farmer’s Market is known as one of the most successful markets in Ohio (R. Tomsu, personal enrollments at OU. Athens Messenger editor Fred Bush wrote that the Athens community stood to profit because the additional students at the normal school would spend thousands of dollars in town each year. (Daniel, 1997).
communication). Perhaps the habits and knowledge gained in the years when many local farm families grew great quantities of produce and dairy and meat products for the Asylum are still circulating in the community.

Also, what did the community learn or gain about mental health because of the presence of patients and mental health professionals at the Asylum? Through their proximity and interaction, did the citizens of Athens gain a familiarity with mental illness which led them to hold different views or to participate in different ways with the Asylum? Certainly in the twentieth century a volunteer movement began at the asylum which exists today in the form of community-based as well as hospital-based volunteer initiatives. Does the legacy of the Asylum as a regional center for mental health continue in any way in Athens today? Did it bring a lasting, significant mental health presence to Athens? And are Athens residents today more knowledgeable or sophisticated today about mental health care? Do mental health professionals still maintain a significant presence today in the community?

Could the arts-based aspects of moral treatment which was part of Asylum life have contributed to Athens’ growing role today as an arts center? The arts were considered essential to moral treatment of patients, and in its early years the Athens Asylum maintained line items for visual arts and music in the annual budgets. For example, superintendents personally selected and the Asylum purchased hundreds of pictures that were thought to have curative value. These pictures were placed in the patient wards throughout the institution. Later in the twentieth century, arts-based therapies were used at the Asylum. Today, two community arts institutions - the Kennedy Museum and the Dairy Barn - are located in the old Asylum buildings, known now as
The Ridges, and Athens recently made the list of the “top 100 small arts communities” in the United States. To what extent did the community’s early grounding in the arts through the Asylum contribute to the development of artists and community support for artists in Athens?

_A community parks legacy_

Fourth and finally, the Village of Athens lacked, until well into the twentieth century, public parks. Could the public’s access to the many acres of landscaped grounds and lakes at the Asylum have been a deterrent to the development of a community park structure? Athens now has an active public parks and recreation initiative, but its parks were not developed until after the Hocking River engineering project destroyed most of the hospital’s recreation grounds. Is it possible that the Village relied upon the asylum’s grounds to meet its needs for public parks, thus neglecting the development of both facilities and sensibilities related to public parks? Or, did awareness of the value of the Asylum’s grounds as a community resource encourage the community to undertake a parks initiative after the old park landscape was lost?

_Limitations_

_Voice_

Government agencies and officials keep excellent records of many things. Much of the data and materials available for this research represented the views of nineteenth century Ohio officialdom: of asylum superintendents, village councils, probate judges, and governors. The actual voices of patients and attendants were harder to come by. For this reason, their available words are reproduced in full in the text.

_Geopolitical limitation_
This study is limited to the Athens, Ohio area. A wealth of information exists for patients throughout the Asylum treatment region in southeastern Ohio in the form of casebook data and commitment documents. Indeed, such research would extend the understanding of the work of the Asylum. However, undertaking this extension was beyond the scope of this study.

Asylum records

The Asylum’s commitment documents are incomplete from 1888 to 1893, and so the analysis does not include the additional richness that could come from these years. These were the years in which custodial care began to become the norm, and it is possible that the nature of admissions may have shifted. It is not possible, though, to explore this because the documents are missing.

The asylum steward published records of individual vendors for only a four year period (1878-1881). Before and after that, purchases are reported by category rather than by from whom the purchase was made. More information on individual vendors could have served to document in what ways asylum purchasing patterns shifted and changed. However, the four years available do provide a snapshot view of purchasing patterns.

Directions for Future Research

The Athens Lunatic Asylum

The Athens Lunatic Asylum as a research topic has been described as a room with a hundred doors. With its long, rich history and with the resources available, one could spend a lifetime opening doors and studying what is there behind them. In this section are six research areas that would expand knowledge of the asylum-community connection.
First, an obvious research direction is to complete the history of the Asylum through 1993, when it “moved down from the hill” to its new 35 bed hospital on the other side of the Hocking River. Extending this research could document the ways in which community connections evolved and changed. Of particular interest would be the nature of connections in the first part of the twentieth century, when the asylum became increasingly self-sufficient. Also, a study of how deinstitutionalization affected Athens could extend the understanding of the Asylum.

Second, new research could address how the Asylum, with its architecture and that reflects a method of treatment that was obsolete by 1889, was able to incorporate change or indeed whether it did incorporate change. Such research could have bearing on diffusion of innovation in community mental health.

Third, an enormous volume of patient data is available in the Asylum’s commitment records. These records could be researched to develop an understanding of regional use of the asylum.

Fourth, the one set of casebooks that exists for the Asylum, for patients admitted in 1867, is a virtually untapped resource. A published transcription of these casebooks, with a guide or commentary, would provide a unique insight into the world of patients and staff at the Asylum at that time.

Fifth, life history research of persons associated with the Asylum could provide broader insight into both asylum and community. Potential subjects of life histories include Dr. Agnes Johnson, the first female asylum assistant physician in Ohio; Dr. A.B. Richardson, who went on to have a nationally-recognized career in psychiatry; Hon. E.H. Moore, who played an important role in the development of Athens in the nineteenth
century; and Miss Netta Mapes, one of the first graduates of the nursing school at the Asylum in the early twentieth century⁴⁹

Sixth, new research could address the oral history of the Asylum that remains within the Athens community. This history is rapidly disappearing and represents an important source of knowledge of the community and of the legacy of the Athens Lunatic Asylum.

Related research areas

As Athens works to meet the demands for reform imposed by federal and state initiatives, changes in methods and delivery of mental health care are surely expected. The areas of asylum-community connection developed in this research remain appropriate categories with which to analyze the provision of mental health care in communities. For example, infrastructure and landscape have bearing on mental health care today, and research could explore and document infrastructure and landscape of care as they fit together today. That is, what do the physical landscape and infrastructure look like? A mapping exercise of landscape and infrastructure “then” and “now” could be useful; comparisons could help policy-makers visualize what is possible for the future.

In nineteenth century Athens, the Asylum grounds were the permeable boundary between village and institution and the focus was on connecting the two by roads, walkways, lakes, and bridges. Who/what is involved in the infrastructure and landscape now? How do families and “consumers” navigate this landscape? What are the connectors? Are they virtual as well as physical? Where is there strength and where are

⁴⁹ The Athens County Historical Society maintains a rich archive of materials from Ms. Mapes studies and her career on the staff of the Athens Asylum. The nursing school was established in 1911.
there weaker links between families, patients, agencies, and community? As mental health care policy strives to decrease fragmentation and increase access to services, such research could provide an understanding of how landscape and infrastructure need to be viewed, connected, or reconstructed.

Finally, this study addressed asylum and community in a town with an asylum. It does not shed any light on whether communities without asylums may have participated in mental health care. A study of a town in southeastern Ohio without an asylum (and that would be any town except Gallipolis) could document how mental health care was undertaken locally in the nineteenth century and could explore connections with the asylum at Athens. Likewise, a study could be undertaken of other communities with asylums, to explore the dynamics of asylum and community connection in a different context.
Chapter Six: Reflections

Introduction

This chapter describes the reflective methods that I used throughout the course of the research. It explains my historical and geographic placement and circumstances as they relate to my choice of topic, my professional training as it relates to analysis of materials, and my personal interests as they relate to methods and research design. It also outlines the opportunities and privileges I have enjoyed as a result of undertaking this study. The chapter closes with my thoughts about the need for documentation of the Asylum’s rapidly vanishing oral history.

Reflective Process

I have generated a total about six hundred pages of reflective materials. They are in three formats: (1) research journals, (2) reflective field notes, and (3) art-based reflective journals. The research journals comprise two nine by twelve inch blank books, each containing two hundred pages filled front and back with notes and drawings. The reflective field notes are in two volumes: an eight by five inch blank book and a three by five inch blank book. The art-based expressive journals consist of sixty-two mandalas in two, three by five inch accordion-fold-style Moleskine® notebooks.50

Research journals

The two volumes of research journals contain three years of notes on readings about asylumdom, theoretical orientation, and method. The first of these two journals

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50 Mandala is a Sanskrit word meaning center or circumference. Fincher’s (1991) mandala protocol calls for daily practice of a period of relaxation followed by (1) drawing a circle (2) filling in the circle with color and form, and (3) writing about the mandala.
reflects my trek through the thicket of research theory and how I came to understand and identify constructivism as a theoretical standpoint. It documents my efforts to assemble a committee and identify a topic, and it contains notes that I made as I prepared my proposal. The second notebook is “post-proposal” and contains data collection and analysis notes, initial interpretive lists, codes, cross-checks, and a running list of thoughts about conclusions and items for future research. Both notebooks contain notes and sketches from the many hikes I took on the Asylum grounds and my observations there.

**Reflective field notes**

The reflective field notes are about research places and people. They address what I learned about working in research libraries and archives, and they make transparent how I solved logistical questions about data filing and storage. These notes also document the invaluable living network of archivists and historians who provided information, access, assistance, introductions, direction, advice, and encouragement. Also, over the course of this project many people have told me their personal experiences with and memories about the Asylum. I collected these stories in the reflective field notes.

**Art-based journals**

The mandalas in the two art-based journals were executed in pencil, ink, watercolor, and collage. Each mandala fills a page and is accompanied by a page of text. The mandala journals are the most personal of my reflections. My interest in the arts, especially the visual arts, began in my master’s degree program in counseling in which Sam Gladding supervised my school counseling internship. A poet as well as a counselor educator, Sam introduced me to the arts as an adjunct to counseling children. I later pursued training in the visual arts through individual instruction, workshops, and classes.
In my doctoral program I developed an area of inquiry about the relationship of the arts to counseling and to wellness, and I planned and taught a class on the use of the arts in counseling under the supervision of Patricia Beamish.

In this research, I undertook the art-based mandala journals as a way to sustain myself through the dissertation process and also as a way to find time to continue to draw and paint, albeit on a tiny scale. The mandala journals assisted, in visual form, my transitions from proposal writing to field work to analysis and finally to writing. For example, as I began to analyze the materials I had gathered, I wondered how I would be able to craft a coherent whole from so many different pieces of information. The mandala drawings paralleled this search for ways to create a significant whole. For example, the Asylum stewards listed in their records the colors of paint purchased for the asylum: rose pink, vermilion, umber, white. I painted quadrangles with these colors, which I then used to create new color patterns. An example is in Appendix X. Next, I painted color swatches and superimposed on them drawings of the Asylum landscape, adding text from my research materials. Appendix Y shows an example. As I created meaning in this way from many bits of visual information, I also began to come to terms with creating meaning from the many empirical materials that I had amassed in the data collection phase.

Choosing the Topic

When I began to think about a dissertation topic, my mother suggested that I study the old state hospital which she had seen on her visits to Athens. I realized quickly that a study of the asylum in the context of the community of Athens would be a good fit with my interest in history, my work and training as a counselor, and my earlier academic
degrees in sociology and in public policy. It has also been a chance to learn about an important part of the community in which I live as well as an opportunity to reflect on how mental hospitals and mental illness have intersected with my own life.

**History and qualitative research**

I have been interested in history since I was a child, especially histories of places in my home state of North Carolina: these include battlefields, beaches, old ships, rivers, towns, birthplaces of presidents and poets, ghosts and legends. Thrift stores and junk shops also appeal to me because of their connections with the past. When I was a child, my father took me to Goodwill stores on Saturday mornings to look for bargains and treasures among all the old things there. As an adult I love to visit junk stores and thrift shops to search for useful items or things of faded beauty among the bits of the past that are piled there. Recently I completed and published a life history of a southern farm woman crafted from a batch of old letters that I rescued from an abandoned house.

Completing this project on the early history of the Athens Lunatic Asylum has in some ways been like a treasure hunt at the best attic sale or junk store imaginable. I have had the opportunity to read and examine beautifully preserved and meticulously catalogued original materials from the nineteenth century, including photographs, diaries, letters, case notes, maps, government records, commitment documents, and patient materials. I have also been treated to tours of the old Asylum buildings, where the past is palpable. Learning all this history has created for me a sense of Ohio and Athens as my home.

I have been interested in qualitative research since 1978, when I began a master’s program in urban affairs and public policy at Virginia Tech. My thesis there was a
qualitative study of a group of businessmen who participated with their local government on a personnel policies committee. This study was situated in a small town in Appalachian southwest Virginia, in which I studied the expectations and motivations of those who participated in the partnership. In that project I was influenced by the work of Martin Rein on narrative and public policy analysis.

I undertook this study of the Athens Lunatic Asylum with the intention of improving my qualitative research skills, learning more about archival research, and broadening my scope to studying the involvement of a whole community in a public venture. In some ways, I am back where I started in 1978, with questions such as what are the motivations for participation? Who benefits? And what does a healthy community look like?

*Counseling career*

I am a school counselor by training and practice. My professional experience with mental hospitals is limited to visiting elementary school-aged children who have been hospitalized, serving on their hospital-based treatment teams, and assisting with their transitions back to school. I have also helped families with hospitalization of their adolescent children who were suicidal. I have done this work within the last ten years, in connection with new, small, private mental hospitals. My professional experience with asylums is thus limited to late twentieth century mental hospitals, but from childhood I have connected in other ways with asylums and with people living with mental illness in the community.
My community

I was born in the 1950’s and have lived through the end of the asylum era and into deinstitutionalization. My first encounter with a state mental hospital was in 1976, when I visited the grounds of Dorothea Dix Hospital in Raleigh, North Carolina, to jog. I lived in Raleigh in the 1970’s, and one of my running routes began on a dirt road that wound through acres of old farm field and forests and across creeks. Made of packed dirt that, in the rain, turned to thick mud, the road climbed a hill and became pavement. Along the paved road, set under huge old trees, were large red brick two-story houses with people on the porches. They were an unexpected sight with an institutional feel, and eventually I learned that I was running on the grounds of Dorothea Dix, which at that time was still operating as a state mental hospital. I continued running there month after month, drawn by a sense of mystery. Why was there so much land at the hospital? And what was the farm for? The trees and buildings were big and old – what had been going on there for so long?

I also remember the results of the early waves of deinstitutionalization. In 1980 I moved to Philadelphia, when mental hospitals were being emptied into the streets. On Saturdays my husband and I usually set off on foot to do our grocery shopping for the week. As we passed through Rittenhouse Square into an area of expensive boutiques, we usually encountered, in a plaza behind Bonwit Teller, a man people called “The Growler”. His clothes were worn and dirty, and he needed a shave. He spent his days on a bench, growling at passersby.

I have had the opportunity to observe others living in my community with behavior sufficiently different to be thought of as mentally ill. My grandmother, a
Christian Scientist, was beset nearly all her adult life with voices and unusual behaviors. She remained undiagnosed and untreated for her entire life, but she possessed family resources that enabled her to live comfortably. Not so fortunate was an African American woman who lived in my neighborhood when I was a young child. Across the street from the house where I lived was a tumble-down pile of cinderblocks where this woman made her home. I do not know her name. Her white neighbors called her Yard Broom Mammy. (A yard broom is a broom for sweeping a dirt yard smooth and clean). She always wore a coat, even in the summer, and she walked about the neighborhood muttering. Grown-ups would scare us into good behavior with warnings: “Better be good or Yard Broom Mammy will get you.” She was a small, stooped, scowling figure. I do not know if her scowls and mutterings were her responses to being black and living without plumbing or heat or running water amongst comfortably white people in the South in the 1950’s, or whether she was, as her neighbors thought her, “crazy”. Perhaps both are true, or neither.

I moved to Athens in 1998, and my life in this community has intersected with the old Athens Lunatic Asylum from my very first day in town. The building and remnants of the grounds of the Athens Lunatic Asylum have been owned by Ohio University since 1984, when the complex was renamed The Ridges. On my first visit to town, before I had even moved to Athens, I walked with my son over to The Ridges from the Ohio University Inn to watch a bicycle race. As we climbed the hill to watch the cyclists rattle over the brick drive around the original Asylum buildings, my first impression was of trees. To reach the imposing brick buildings, we had to pass through a small grove of towering evergreens, remnants of the original landscape planted by George Link and the asylum patients.
Today it is hard to live in Athens without making a trip to The Ridges for one reason or another. The university is slowly renovating the Asylum buildings and converting them to new uses such as museum space, studio space for the university’s art students, and administrative offices. Community events such as receptions, children’s festivals, concerts, and weddings are held there. The enormous complex on its bluff by the Hocking River is clearly visible from many places in Athens, and it is visually present in my daily landscape. In fact, I can see it from a window in my office.

Completing the Research Project

Analysis

The way in which I analyzed the patient commitment data and materials for this study is a direct result of my training as a mental health professional. The patient narratives presented a stark contrast to the tidy records of the Asylum annual reports. Rather, they were direct windows into the lives of patients and their families and revealed conditions such as chaos, tragedy, illness, injury, confusion, violence, ignorance and turmoil. I dealt with these records as a researcher trained in diagnosis and treatment, assigning them to demographic and diagnostic categories. Had I been working from a humanities background - were I a poet or a novelist or a political scientist, for example - I am certain that I would have treated the records differently. So to some extent, I may have medicalized or depersonalized the lives documented in the records. I have tried to remedy this by including, in the Appendix, the medical certificates prepared by Athens physicians for the commitment hearings of Athens patients. I have included those certificates that were in good enough condition for electronic scanning; all patient names have been redacted.
Research design

My inclusion of the landscape of the asylum as a point of analysis, and especially my enthusiasm for research into nineteenth century landscape design theory for the literature review, is related to the importance of the landscape to nineteenth century moral treatment. My personal interest in nature and gardening also fueled this part of the research.

The grounds of the Asylum remain an asset to the University and to the Athens community. It is easy see the Asylum from a romantic viewpoint, walking through the vestiges of the landscape today and looking at old photographs of the grounds. It is all too easy to view the life of the asylum community through rose-color glasses, as Andrew Scull warns us (Scull, 1999). I wish I knew what the patients themselves really thought of all that digging, gardening, grading, and road-building.

I hiked on the grounds of the asylum in all seasons and weather and came to know the landscape intimately, with its apple trees, blackberry hedges, plum trees, meadows, hawks, wild turkeys, blue birds, deer, spring wildflowers, and sycamore trees. As I experienced the asylum grounds, month after month, I began to wonder whether certain landscapes are actually imbued with healing qualities. Certainly today’s restorative garden movement, with its emphasis on “healing gardens” in hospitals and other settings, supports this notion. Of course, I was only walking on the grounds rather than digging and grading and building waterworks as the patients did.

Data collection

The task of data collection was somewhat solitary, because all of the people that I studied in the course of the research were no longer living. I was essentially keeping
company with dead people, and at times I tried to imagine what their experiences might
have been like. Several times I visited the part of the Asylum cemetery where patients
who died in the nineteenth century are buried. I stood beside the graves of patients and
wondered what their lives were like, thinking that perhaps if I tried hard enough I could
gain access to their experiences. I looked them up in the cemetery’s grave book, which
lists cause of death, and tried to imagine the conditions of their deaths. Were they slow,
agonizing deaths? Did they experience the oppressive heat and humidity of an Ohio River
Valley summer as they lay in their beds? Were they cold in the winter? And what about
the patient whose cause of death was “run over by train”? How and why did that happen?
There are a lot of things I don’t know and have no way of finding out.

The stories of other patients made me chuckle, especially the former railroad man
who ran away while helping George Link work on the grounds and was last heard from
working on a plantation in the South. I laughed out loud when I read in the 1867
casebook of a patient suffering from depression whose wife came to visit him and the two
sneaked off to the bedroom of one of the Asylum firemen for an overnight conjugal visit.
Did the Asylum staff arrange for the visit? Or was the couple apprehended by the night
supervisor?

I stood by the building itself sometimes, examining the stonework and brickwork.
The limestone cornerstones have been chiseled with decorative marks, and I wondered
what men did that work, where they lived, and whether they considered themselves stone
artists. The brickwork has different signatures or looks: some areas of the building’s
exterior brick walls are very tidy and orderly and others dip and waver. Who were the
men who did this work? Was the wavering bricklayer in a hurry? Was he a beginner? Or did his work reflect his temperament?

As I read through the records and manuscripts of various men I tried to imagine their work conditions and personalities. Steward R.E. Hamblin kept such detailed records for so many years. I imagined him at night working by gaslight in his apartment at the Asylum, his quill pen scratching over his ledger of records. I wondered also about what kind of man would undertake to be a superintendent, willing to take on personal responsibility for the care and living conditions of nearly a thousand patients and employees.

I felt like an intruder into the affairs of one prominent Athens family. One of the men in the family was eventually committed to the Asylum, and the archive of family letters contains clues as to why he was hospitalized. Other archives of family correspondence welcomed me like a family guest. I felt as if I had made new friends and were visiting in their kitchens over coffee. Searching for references to and possible connections with the Asylum, I read of new babies, new windows, new curtains, gardens, illnesses, snowstorms, family trips, economic conditions, bad roads, ice cream socials, politics, and the coming of spring in Athens.

Post-Project Reflections

*Privilege and opportunity*

This project has presented me with a number of privileges and opportunities. First, the Ohio University College of Education supported the research with a grant, which not only paid for project expenses but also encouraged me by adding a sense of validity to the methods and goals of the research. Second, the Ohio Department of Mental
Health approved the project and has supported it by providing access to Asylum patient records. These records were invaluable in documenting how families and the Athens community used the Asylum. Third, the community of archivists in libraries in Athens and in Columbus, Ohio provided many opportunities and opened many doors for my project which were essential to its completion. They gave me the privilege of their readiness to provide resources and connections and the gift of their interest and encouragement in the research. Fourth, various groups in Athens and other parts of Ohio became aware of my research and invited me to share it by giving presentations. These presentations were opportunities to share my somewhat solitary work with others and to gain insight from their comments and reactions. Finally, people in the Athens community have invited me into their homes and offices and shared their knowledge, experiences, memories, and expertise with regard to the Athens Lunatic Asylum. These conversations have provided access to very personal experiences, historical expertise, and detailed knowledge which have greatly enriched my understanding of asylum and community in Athens.

Other projects

Aside from the further research recommended in Chapter Five, other projects and interests beckon. One interest is with regard to my reflective journals. I would like to pursue two formats for working with the journals. First, I would like to write a traditional research methods manuscript on reflective journals as a support for the research process. The manuscript would address how visual art and journal writing can create bridges to next stages of work. Second, I would like to construct from my reflective materials a more personal and informal record of my experiences with the Asylum. This would
include encounters with people, plants, animals, and weather on the grounds; my
conversations with former employees, families of patients, and neighbors of the Asylum;
dreams that I had about my research at the Asylum; and my general impressions of the
complex today. This construction would be in written format and would include visual
materials from the journals.

I identified two areas at the beginning of the research that I thought would be
important to asylum-community connections but turned to have little direct bearing:
brick-making and Frederic Law Olmsted. The millions of bricks used to build the Asylum
were manufactured on-site and apparently had little bearing on the establishment of new
brick-making technologies in Athens. Nevertheless, I remain fascinated with brick
masonry and with the brick-making industry in Athens. For example, I learned by
listening to brick masons working on renovations at The Ridges that an experienced brick
mason can “read” the signature of a brick worker from 150 years ago. Masons
traditionally rotate their work positions to create a more uniform appearance in the
brickwork. I learned that Athens, at the turn of the twentieth century, produced enormous
quantities of bricks and brick pavers at the Athens Brick Company, located two blocks
from where I now live. Four houses remain from the “company town” that grew up
around the brickworks. Brick masonry is alive as a trade in Athens, and Athens is even
home to a nationally known brick artist. I have thought of assembling a detailed history
of brick making and masonry in Athens, and I have also thought of actually learning
brick or stone masonry skills.

Asylum lore has it that Cincinnati landscape designer Herman Haerlin was a
student of Frederick Law Olmsted. I sought to document that connection in various
libraries and archives in Cincinnati but could find no such association. I even attended the 2003 conference of the Society for the Restoration of Southern Gardens and Landscapes, the theme of which was Olmsted, in order to learn more about Olmsted and his possible connections to southern Ohio. There I met leading Olmsted scholars and had a chance to chat with them. Haerlin’s site plan is in keeping with the work done by Olmsted’s firm, and Olmsted did visit Cincinnati on several occasions when Haerlin was living and working there. It is possible that Haerlin knew Olmsted from a Cincinnati connection. Olmsted had an atelier where people trained informally in landscape design, and Haerlin could have known Olmsted from this connection. I am interested in further work that could document Haerlin’s work for the Asylum and its connection with Olmsted and nineteenth century landscape design theory.

In addition, it is fascinating to think that, while the grounds were designed by Haerlin, the plans were mostly carried out by patients at the Asylum. This thought has prompted me to think of researching and writing something about garden labor. In the South, for example, much is written of garden designers in their roles as creators of well-known gardens. We rarely hear, except in passing, of the inevitable African American men, the “yard men”, who brought the plans of white gardeners to life in the twentieth century and the slave labor that created those gardens in earlier centuries. There remain in Southern communities today oral histories of the roles of these men in creating garden landscapes. Similarly, in Athens today, the remaining Asylum landscape is a legacy of the patients who created and maintained it. Oral history may still reside in the community about the farm and grounds work that patients did up through the 1970’s.
Preserving the history of the Athens Lunatic Asylum

My conversations with people in the Athens community suggest that a tremendous amount of the Asylum’s history remains in the Athens community today. This oral history, which is fast-disappearing, deserves to be told and preserved. The Asylum, with its 126 years of history, has had a major impact on the Athens community. It has been a tremendous economic force, and it has shaped the development of the community and the lives of its residents in many ways.

Stories about the Asylum are everywhere: anyone that I have talked to who has lived in Athens for over ten years has a story to tell, including adults who grew up living adjacent to the Asylum grounds; former employees, student volunteers, consulting physicians, staff and patients; and Ohio University maintenance staff that currently tend the buildings and grounds. Some of this oral history disappears each year, as those who hold it age and die. It will not be long before this resource is lost forever to the community.

This research has constructed an interpretation of the early history of the Asylum and its relationship with the Athens community. Future researchers, historians, and people in the community will no doubt be interested in the rest of the institution’s history. Recovery of the oral history of the Asylum that still exists would be a valuable contribution to the history of the Athens community and to the history of mental health care. There are several excellent models for gathering oral history, and with the electronic possibilities available, such a project would be an exciting community resource. It would continue our understanding of how communities can best work to provide mental health
care to those who need it, and it would be a meaningful addition to the history of Athens and of asylumdom.
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Zenner, Julia. (1879). Letter to Phillip Zenner 5-28-73. Dr. Phillip Zenner Collection, MSS# 44: Mahn Center for Archives and Special Collections. Alden Library: Ohio University.

Zenner, Julia. (1878). Letter to Phillip Zenner 11-18-78. Dr. Phillip Zenner Collection, MSS # 44: Mahn Center for Archives and Special Collections. Alden Library: Ohio University.

Zenner, Julia (1873). Letter to Phillip Zenner 7-23-73. Dr. Phillip Zenner Collection, MSS# 44: Mahn Center for Archives and Special Collections. Alden Library: Ohio University.

### Appendix A
Phenomena Template: Proposal

Reference: ___________________________   Page: ___

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<th>Other Resources</th>
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## Appendix A
### Phenomena Template: Proposal (Example)

Daniel, R. (1997). The Village Years

<table>
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<th>Phenomenon</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Athens Lunatic Asylum</th>
<th>Other Resources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1870-90</td>
<td>Stagnation. Washington St. = original depot &amp; RR = rowdy saloons, street violels, prostitution.</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Check Sheriff's law enforcement records.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Nilesville = Logan get RR yard &amp; shops. Athens lost bids - RR affected Athens indirectly as county seat. NNY grew more 1870-90.</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>Was Athens shaping up to a general educational institutional place rather than industrial?</td>
<td>Compare Athens to other A. County towns - types of business, institutions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870-1900</td>
<td>Hocking Valley home near to UMW. County drew a labor force &amp; a tradition of militancy that would affect the village for decades to come.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>did this play out at A-LA?</td>
<td>Newspapers, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Athens &amp; a main producer of coal, lost ownership &amp; jurisdiction as mines distant. Athens little direct benefit to village.</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>Did P&amp;LA fill this gap? Athens as different from rest of County?</td>
<td>Pl. + businesses, employment.</td>
</tr>
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## Appendix B
Phenomena Template: Analysis

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### Appendix B

**Phenomena Template Example: Analysis**

Reference: 1878 appendix report

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<th>Page</th>
<th>Phenomenon</th>
<th>Connections</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>Need to plant flowers and other ornamental shrubs and trees around houses. Protection against intruders. Having a garden will deter criminals.</td>
<td>b, l, a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>112</td>
<td>Needs a large garden with the labor can be profitably utilized. Once the infrastructure and employment will be advantageous.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>113</td>
<td>View is spectacular. Enjoy E. div. of Belts. Need improvements in the public interest.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>114</td>
<td>Problem of water supply for building own plant.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>115</td>
<td>Christmas festivities. Pardon less have been spoken in the most exacting terms.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>115</td>
<td>Another Dramatic Club, Middletown Silver Cornet Band, entertain.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>Date:</td>
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<td>Events:</td>
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<td>People:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asylum Statistics</td>
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<td>People:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asylum Statistics</td>
<td>Asylum Statistics</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Appendix C
Researcher Generated Charts
Annual Summary Charts: 1867, 1868

Board of State Charities organized

1868
Cocks Farm donated - 15 acres
Contracts let for cellars, foundations, sewers, brick, iron, stone, flooring, etc.
Appropriation of $300,000 for construction
Architect Levi Schofield
Dr. Richard Grunden, (capt. of construction)
Ino. M. Davies, Asst. Capt.
Advertisements for proposals - Cleveland Co., Attica.

Elm House sold for $30,000

Dr. Johnson refuses appointment of army physician
Life in Civil War to wintering in hills -
Adams. Appointments aged administrator.

Mr. O'Brien. live electric - paid $10.66
Enterprise on asylum. By 1865 it is Henry
O'Brien. Contractor, Builder, in Attica.
Appendix C
Researcher Generated Charts
Annual Summary Charts: 1869, 1870

1869
Stone, brick, of cellars, basement complete.
1 1/2 story done up to window sill course.
Lumber is ready.

Apparently unavoidable slow progress of
brick making due to winter weather.

1870
Ballard writes: Hackett, Ill. will be finished in 3-4 m.s.
Ballard: gas works will be finished mid-August.

Takes 5 hours to get from Clark to
Nelsonville by train. (Tenen letters)

Ballard letter describes how public
subscriptions work.

L. Jones
C. May.
Appendix C
Researcher Generated Charts
Annual Summary Charts: 1871, 1872

1871
- Brick required for completion ready on the ground
- Clerk returns inability lack 1 story to completion
- Request $150,000 to complete current contracts

1872
- Dr. Gundy makes a detailed descriptive request
- All contracts listed
  - Brickmaking: $60,000
  - Bricklaying: $55,410
  - $65,000 needed for furnishing
- Built for 572 pts.
- 4,072' long following walls
- Importance of proper handling space/level/pump
- Watchman hired
- H. Haerlin working
- Sept: Richard Gundy (of Contracts)

6. Several applicants, private judging/tenure letters, a surprise to town.

Chirico Fire - meeting in town.
Appendix C
Researcher Generated Charts
Annual Summary Charts: 1872, 1873

1872

- Dr. Gundry makes a detailed, descriptive report
- All contracts listed
- Brickmaking: $60,000
- Bricklaying: $55,416
- $65,000 needed for furnishing
- Built for 572 pts.
- 4,070' long following walls
- Importance of proper hiring, supervision, upkeep
- Watchman hired
- New labor working
- Sept: Richard Gundry (of Charleston)

1873

- Sept: Richard Gundry (of Charleston)

Zebra (elephant), Dr. Tom Blackstone to be amassed, physician at any time.
Will be soon ready to take inmates.
Julie Leon, foreman, Angi. Leon.
### Appendix C
Researcher Generated Charts
Annual Summary Charts: 1874, 1875

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Admitted</th>
<th>Discharged</th>
<th>Died</th>
<th>Rem. # Readmit</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>705</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>423</td>
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<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>86-50</td>
<td>597</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sept. Richard Gundry**
AP: J. N. Warren; H. B. Nunnemaker
Matron: Mrs. M. Gundry
Admitted: 705
Discharged: 94
Died: 153
Rem. # Readmit: 423

**Sept. Richard Gundry**
J. N. Warren; Nunnemaker - AP's
Matron: Mrs. Gundry
Admitted: 252
Discharged: 177
Died: 86-50
Rem. # Readmit: 597

L. Picketty gets a job in Ward #7 the worst ward in the house; has to fight the patients so she can comb their hair (talks to nurse)
Pt. visits spend the night at husband in foreman room. (case notes)
Appendix C
Researcher Generated Charts
Annual Summary Charts: 1876, 1877

1876
RE Hamblin elected steward
Several wards could be have Columbus pts.
To eat.

Much grading, pts. assist
Female airing court completed
Staldest carriage house completed
Workshops adjoining boiler completed
Patients make mattresses
Work begun on male court
Orchard, flower gardens planted
Veg garden in bottom carried off 2 by River
Water from river very muddy, check need
Pts. waitlisted in infirmaries
Pts. “poor addicted ones”

Supt. Richard Gundy
AP’s Munroaker, Warren, Thos. Blackstone
A B Richardson
Steward RE Hamblin
Matron: Mrs. Gundy
Admitted 241
Discharged 149
Died 50

Augt 4, 1876

Report of Board of State Charities: Insane
Hosp. Sup’t should meet annually discharge
views. Connect w/r. to care, canubin,
Inmates. Infirmary, shall visit asylum
set ideas.

Gov: a Depress is upon us. Need work
houses to take care of the dangerous element
of society known as tramps.

1877
Gundy resigns to take charge of Columbus
Hospital
1 suicide; 3 total
Too many epileptics
216 pts. go to Columbus
“Beautiful” lake completed, hills, supply
Farm, garden made to yield by Mr. Harlin
Need a veranda
Coal house completed
Road built between 2 ambulance gks
Airing Court for males compl. - Zanes.
Wards painted when pts. left in Columbus
Supt. C. Wilson (ineligible - not
Resident of Ohio)
Supt. H. C. Ritter
AP’s Blackstone, A B Richardson, JM
Hanly,
Steward RE Hamblin
Matron: Mrs. H R Wilson *Mrs. MB Rutter*
Admitted 297
Discharged 323
Died 57
Augt 1, 1872

L. Pickett marries Mr. Connect, moved to Saline.

Asylum affairs completed by 1872, or
40 pts.
Appendix C
Researcher Generated Charts
Annual Summary Charts: 1878, 1879

1878
Strict economy - $ saved
Gas supply erratic in colder weather; floodline over heating. Troxles recommended
Building own plant for $9,000
Need a hedge (soybean) around ground
Christmas fishing (of predecessors)
Grading
Waterworks enlarged, 9000 ft Lake

Law - 3/23/78 - trustees appointed
Mr. Haertin has directed planting
Straw house built
Dumbwaiters lined, iron for fire protection
100 heads of hogs kept
Sept office painted
Reception room renovated
2100' rubber hose (Art) purchased
7 acre veg. garden raised extended
Old straw house burned
Road levee built around lake
Sept: A.C. Rulter
Sept: P.H. Clarke
Ap's: A.B. Richardson, Hanly, J. Welsh, Steward: Hamblin, Robert Bell
Matron: Mrs. Hanly, Mrs. Clarke
Stonemason: James Leggie
Admitted 212
Discharged 142
Died 43
Aged 571

1879
Cost of gas contract greatly reduced
Problem of epileptics
Suicide watches
Tobacco use reduced 250 to 20 lbs
Waterworks improvement - stuck at lake
600 tons ice
Beach wall built from front gate to bridge to meet town 5 miles over mud
Pt. labor on 16 acres yields produce
Conservancy repaired
Electric light recommended
$ made on boys fed off farm
Recommended a telephone
Agency Link Connected
Male grounds improved
Leaves cleared in creek bottom for garden
Bridge built between lakes
New boiler
New propagating house built of brick
Sept: P.H. Clarke
Sept: W.H. Holden
Ap's: Hanly, Lash, Jesse Magruder,
C. W. Eddy, W. I. Bright
Steward: Robert Bell
Matron: Mrs. Clarke, Mrs. Holden
Storekeeper: Lewis Amblin
Admitted 202
Discharged 165
Died 37
Aug. 500
Chloroform opium, alcohol - 1st
Ap's: still fired. Chloroform
Letters on morning tell clair
A
Appendix C
Researcher Generated Charts
Annual Summary Charts: 1879, 1880

1879
Cost of gas contract greatly reduced
Problem of epileptics
Suicide watch
Tobacco used reduced 250 to 20 lbs.
Waterworks improvements - soakage Lake 600 tons ice
Boardwalk built from front yard to bridge to meet town's walk over "mud"
Pt. labor on 18 acres yields produce
Conveyance repaired
Electric lights recommended
$3 made on hay - fed off
Recommended a telephone
Agency Link recommended
Male grounds improved
Cascades cleared in creek bottom for garden
Bridge built between lakes
New boiler
New propagating house built of brick
Sept. P.H. Clarke
Sept. W.H. Holden
Ap's Hanlcy, Lash, Jesse Macruder, Lash
Stewards: Robert Bell
Warden: Mrs. Clarke, Mrs. Holden
Storekeeper: Lewis Hamblin
Admitted 202
Discharged 146
Died 37

1880
Patient fatally beaten by attendant
Expenses reduced by $10,000
Trustees recommend building works
2 suicides
Grading - landscaping - rear of male wards
Complaint - families don't claim bodies - old
Locks removed - claims 1 & 2 in Ohio
Governor visits (monthly)
Pictures bought for wards
E.H. Moore sells 24 ton hay
E.H. Moore on go Committee.
Foul stagnant pond in bottom East building
Sept. W.H. Holden
Sept. H.C. Ruthe
Ap's Macruder, Eddy, Bright
Ep Cook, E. Kelly, C.W. Pickering
Stewards: Josiah B. Allen, R.E. Hamblin
Warden: Mrs. Holden, Mrs. Ruthe
Storekeeper: S.C. Adams
Admitted 240
Discharged 121
Died 53

Aug. 1 595
Annual report of Board of State Charities: problem of dismisse of Lunnis asylum.
Problem of partisan politics - apply sub. pay
Pt. fatally beaten by an employee
Pt. with a bullet shot in head

Asylum building in 1970 at 54th
Appendix C
Researcher Generated Charts
Annual Summary Charts: 1881, 1882
Appendix C
Annual Summary Charts: 1883, 1884

1883

Financial exhibit is unusually favorable; interests of patients have not suffered
27 acres adj. asylum to sw. purcl from J.C. Bowers. Surrounded by a picked fence
Cattle now purchased by steward
Sept. suggest a dining room
7 poor unfortunates who can-lour prison
Informans could go about it a 92 ft
7448 capacity
Sept. proposes offer a little $50 to pts.
In labor, trade to 2505 to listless/draggel
7 escapes
Gardens, roadway well built; painting
Need new roof, roof, cornice, etc. + horse
Attorney fees - Asylum vs. Athens Co. $85
Telephone rental $240.66 to Athens operator
Articles made by pts: Fri.- Sat.
Gency Link
Sept. AB Richardson
AP's EPC Scale, EPH Kelley, BL Pickard, AM Johnson
Steward: Handlin
Matron: Mrs. Richardson
Skepsi SC Adams
Admitted 240
Discharged 163
Died 33
Aug. 1625

1884

Road between front grounds S. Bridal
mosaiced, 4 riprap wall
225 pts. attend county fair
4th of July celebration - clim a loc
Sept. names employees (cheerful, faithful,
"No features of unusual interest"
2 suicides, 15 elopements
69 sent to in Asylums to make room for occant
Ashs for dining rooms
100 pictures purchased
Need 64 house, verande, painting
More pts. would attend chapel if more conv. locale
Handlin, Link

Syr. milk contract - Bowers

Sept: AB Richardson
AP's EA Cole, BL Pickard, AM Johnson,
HC Eyman, WP Chumackel
Steward: Handlin
Matron: Mrs. Richardson

Skepsi SC Adams
Admitted 223
Discharged 187
Died 32
Aug. # 625
Appendix C
Annual Summary Charts: 1885, 1886

1885

- New dining room completed, 30 ft.
- Various amusements: dance, play, magic lantern
- New ice house, grading steam pipe
- 100 pictures bought and distributed
- Billiard room repainted
- Furniture repainted
- Need for new cattle, more slaughterhouse
- 100 redstone purchased
- gary lines; Haelin not mentioned this year
- Major Stevett gives July 4 address
- Contract w. Henry O'Blene to build dorm
- An unusually prosperous year
- Dining Rms: male, female, officers, employees. Plus a separate office kitchen
- Produce grown: articles made
- Sept. A.B. Richardson
- A.B. A. Johnson, H. Fyman, Crambercker
- Steward: Hammond
- Matron: Mrs. Richardson
- Slave: G. Earhart
- Admitted: 255
- Discharged: 114
- Died: 47
- August: 630

1886

- New dining rooms completed, + 240’ x 50’ doors added 30 pts.
- An assistant physician appointed
- 2 suicides
- Fracture of ribs of a pt. by a blow from the foot of another pt. died 2 days later.
- 100 prescriptions filled daily—tonics
- Stomachs, stimulants (cigarettes) reduced
- Rewards spent: unclean/demented from others. Night staff available. Fewer soiled beds
- Gynecia.
- Drought resigned.
- Lines, freeman
- Need window screens, varnishing, more stalls to be
- Sept. A.B. Richardson
- Steward: Hammond
- Matron: Mrs. Richardson
- Slave: G. Earhart
- Admitted: 365
- Discharged: 115
- Died: 68
- August: 622

Asylum exceeds capacity by 17.5%, or 100 pts.
Appendix C
Annual Summary Charts: 1886, 1887

1887
Sept. 4th, 1887, 9-10 o'clock.
Trustees thank "community employees"
Pt. have done grading - no 8 for this
from state this year.

Crumbacker Acting Sept.
Receipts from county for clothing (?)
New pigeon, slaughterhouse, range, 342 window
screens
Dining rooms - better behaiv - better food
New 200 more beds - PTs. sleeping on floor
Unprovided for veranda. Could serve for
Low employee turnover this year. Take
6-12 mos. to train an employee.

Sept. 6th
Apts. AM Johnson, Eyman, Crumbacker,
McDonald, C.O. Dunlap

Steward: Hamilton
Matron: Mrs. Richardson
Step: J. Enright

Admitted 365
Discharged 175

Died 68
Aug. 13 672

Asylum exceeds capacity by 17.5%.

Adkins 668 exceeds capacity by
21.7% or 136 ps.
Appendix C
Annual Summary Charts: 1888, 1889

1888

Fairly prosperous year no unusual accidents.
Pt. labor lost wages, chore of chronic disease.
Pt. regularly came in Cincinnati.
Commended, employee for good, faithful work.
125 beds bought in Cincinnati.
2 suicides, None, lack of admission.
Chagrin in districts, etc. Toledo.
Words repeated by pts. & attendants.
Repairs to we do's basement floor.
Cloth mill enlarged.
Rocky bluffs at garden, given due care.
Brew of steam changed to lady's garden
Near done night.
5 of scared bed, at night watch under 1
night supervision of the unknown.
Need ward, yearly fee request approved.
Bonuses, milk content at $1. 3/2 yrs.
Sept. AB Richardson.
AP's Johnson, MD Dingaid, Dunlap, Crumpacker.
Stewards: Hamblin.
Matron: Mrs. Richardson.
Sister: US Grant.
Admitted: 367
Discharged: 310
Died: 64
Aug. 7 143

1889

Contact 4, Adams gas, & expires 1891.
Truskees removed, purchase, a
plant to produce 4,000 electric
light ($10,000,000).
New Lake Falls, west very bad.
Sept. Work, most work is custodial.
Creative work & a small pantomine.
Asks for a hospital for research.
To hire those who will help to dean
more than custodial care.
Need story to apartment hall.
Wagon shed, built, pump house repairs,
final repairs, motion outside work
than ever done by pts.
Veendes urgently demanded.
Agnes Johnson, W. P. Crumacker.
Resign in same month. Hamblin.
Resigns. Army fills on A. P. Vail.
Real from druggist, across river to
RR built by pts. security employees.
Built on grounds in Boundary, to
Connect 4, Athens, built pleasure drive.
Pt. cuts off his right arm.
Sept. AB Richardson.
AP's Johnson, MD Dingaid, Dunlap, Crumpacker.
MC Dingaid, Crumpacker (left arm),
Dunlap, Crumpacker (left arm).
Stewards: Hamblin, AF Drake.
Matron: Mrs. Richardson.
Sister: US Grant.
Admitted: 241
Discharged: 144
Died: 49
Aug. 7 813
Appendix C
Annual Summary Charts: 1890, 1891

1890

- Michael has resigned - politics
- Contract made with Allen & Light +
- Electric Light in the grounds
- Fruit store - fruit crop failed
- Trial visitor home on leaves
- Annual Fava Grant to aid mission work
- as possible
- As agent or emergency - manager
- Conservatory glass replaced
- 7 1/2 slagstone walls laid for main
- entrance to rustic bridged foot path -
- lead foot path leads to town
- Road content - Fire pleasure drive
- Ground work all done by pts.

Spt: Abthorson Coughlin
Spt: WP Crumbaker
Ap's: Mc Dougald, Dunlap, Gundy
(Mc Dougald leaves April, Gundy Leaves June)
JH Williams, JT Elker
Steward: AF Drake, Michael Ryan
Matron: Mrs. Crumbaker
Skeper: JW Willen

Admitted 239
Discharged 163
Died 41
Aug # 840

1891

- Underground - Asylum Epileptic &
  opium in Gallipolis
- Need veranda, Plumbing replaced
- 26 cases (19.64%) of pts. employed about
  building grounds
- Patients working for people in the
  neighborhood. Apparent, pd. wages.
- Chest involved
- New pathology lab to study human brain
- 4' walk built at footpath leading to town
- Stalke burns
- Sept, stoves, trues go to Columbus to
  investigate electric light
- Bowen - 3yr. milk contract
- Sept: WP Crumbaker
- Steward: Michael Ryan
- Matron: Mrs. Crumbaker
- Ap's: Dunlap, Williams, Elder
- Matron: Mrs. Crumbaker
- Skeper: JW Wilken

Admitted 246
Discharged 192
Died 37
Aug # 852

Reed from Skid Tubs
$18,449.18

Reed from Skid Tubs
$100,247.93

Asylum needs; capacity 300.42
or 190 pts.
# Appendix C

## Annual Summary Charts: 1892, 1893

### 1892

- **Asylum for epileptics opens**
- **Contact let for veranda; surgery begins**
- **Overcrowded: Largest daily avg. 161-182**
- **100 new beds purchased**
- **Need more items - repairs, boiler, carpets, kitchen, laundry, library, driving, horses**
- **New books - pictures purchased**
- **May attendants, now wear uniforms**
- **Sewing circle** - spelling school organized by staff
- **Wife's night school sets down on donation of 1500 from Lady's Island Fair, July 4 celebration**
- **Co-Board of Health (LA) & Thomas' School of Nursing is opened & cheaper**
- **Co. Board of Health (LA) complains that asylum pollutes drinking water & needs to be inspected**
- **George Link, grading**
- **Sept. W.P. Crumbaaker**
- **Sept. C.O. Dunlap**
- **Stewards: Michael Ryan, F.M. Cline**
- **Matron: Mrs. Crumbaaker**
- **Keeper: Geo. Glenn**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Admission</th>
<th>Discharged</th>
<th>Died</th>
<th>Aug 1st - 8/3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>255</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>8/3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Dana family letters - good business very difficult to handle.**

### 1893

- **Repowied at World's Fair - photos - fancy work**
- **Need & fix electric light plants**
- **Need 4 electric light plants**
- **2 suicides, neither indoors**
- **Weekly church, holiday celebration, fair, circus**
- **Farm & garden have successful beyond expectation**
- **No use purchased klapot potatoes**
- **Ice harvest abundant - all had in fixing drinking water in summer**

- **Co-Board of Health (LA) & Thomas' School of Nursing is opened & cheaper**
- **Co. Board of Health (LA) complains that asylum pollutes drinking water & needs to be inspected**
- **George Link, grading**
- **Sept. W.P. Crumbaaker**
- **Sept. C.O. Dunlap**
- **Stewards: F.M. Cline**
- **Matron: Mrs. Dunlap**
- **Keeper: Geo. Glenn**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Admission</th>
<th>Discharged</th>
<th>Died</th>
<th>Aug 1st -8/3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>992</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8/3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Asthma** reported by hospital head.**
- **Investigation complaint made**
- **Died 45 from heart attack**
- **Asylum pollutes water**
- **Horses, river and conditions poor**

---
Appendix C
Researcher Generated Charts
Infrastructure Background: Example 1

Sanitary Engineering

Waterworks
- 1849 Savannah - William - Outhwaite - Joel
- 1857 Polk - infectious disease - germ theory
- 1865 Koch - science of pathology
- 1867 Water mains - Chicago - 1st public municipal water system - NYC - Keenan
- 1880 Pullman IL - Memphis - 1st US. town to have "municipal" sewer lines - land drainage system
- 1880 Sewage disposal - Chicago - self-pumping system - flush type
- 1880 - Pullman IL - Memphis - 1st US. town to have "municipal" sewer lines - land drainage system

Toilet/Indoor Plumbing?

Gas
- 1825 - Drummonds - gas lights
- 1831 - Franklin - induction
- 1877 - Cleveland - Brush - installs 1st street lighting system
- 1890 - Edison - exhibits his electric lamp (500)
- 1879 - Edison - electric light co. operates a power plant
- 1882 - New York - Pearl Street steam electric. operation

Coal
- 1870 - Coal mining at Nelsonville plant
- 1870 - 1st coal mining commercially exploited
- 1870 - 13,411 tons shipped
- 1871 - 262,000 tons shipped (all shipped west)
- 1873 - increased landholding for coal company (20,000 acres)
- 1875 - mine ownership transferred

Electricity
- 1826 - Ohm's law
- 1831 - Franklin - induction
- 1877 - Cleveland - Brush - installs 1st street lighting system
- 1890 - Edison - exhibits his electric lamp (500)
- 1879 - Edison - electric light co. operates a power plant
- 1882 - New York - Pearl Street steam electric operation

Infrastructure Background: Example 1
Appendix C
Researcher Generated Charts
Infrastructure Background: Example 2
Appendix D
Architectural Drawings of Building
Source: Board of Trustees of the Athens Lunatic Asylum, 1873.

Front Elevation

Footprint
Appendix E
Patient Dining Room (Female): 1893
Source: Mahn Center for Archives and Special Collections.
Alden Library: Ohio University
Appendix E (continued)
Patient Dining Room (Male): 1893
Source: Mahn Center for Archives and Special Collections.
Alden Library: Ohio University
Appendix F
Asylum Landscape: 1893
Lake and Front of Building
Source: Mahn Center for Archives and Special Collections.
Alden Library: Ohio University
Appendix F (continued)
Asylum Landscape: 1893
Source: Mahn Center for Archives and Special Collections.
Alden Library: Ohio University
Appendix G
Site Plan
Source: Mahn Center for Archives and Special Collections.
Alden Library: Ohio University
Appendix H
Looking West toward Asylum from Downtown Athens
(engraving)
Source: Mahn Center for Archives and Special Collections.
Alden Library: Ohio University

(Asylum is in left background)
Appendix I
Walk to Town
Source: Athens County Historical Society and Museum
Picturesque Athens Asylum. (1893). Columbus: Baker
Appendix J
Map Showing Hospital Street (1911).
Source: Mahn Center for Archives and Special Collections.
Alden Library: Ohio University

(Hospital Street runs next to and east of the railroad tracks, just north of the bridge.)
Appendix K-W
Commitment Documents
MEDICAL CERTIFICATE.

THE STATE OF OHIO,

I, [Name], being sworn and examined as the medical witness in the matter of [Name], alleged to be insane, do hereby certify that I have this day carefully examined the said [Name], and find in reference to his case as follows:

1st. That he is insane.
2nd. His age is 25 years, and the history of his case as follows: [Details of patient's history and condition.]
3rd. The duration of his disease, dating from first symptoms, is [Duration].
4th. The patient is entirely free from any infectious disease or vermin.
5th. The cause of the disease is [Cause].

6th. The said [Name] has been subject to epilepsy.
7th. The said [Name] has made attempts of violence upon himself but never upon others.
8th. The medical treatment pursued in his case has been [Treatment].

Dated [Date].

[Signature]

A. B. Graham, M.D.

THE STATE OF OHIO,

I, [Name], Probate Judge in and for said County, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and complete copy of the certificate of [Name], the medical witness in the matter of [Name], alleged to be insane.

Witness my hand and official seal this [Date] day of January, A.D. 1874.

[Signature]

Probate Judge.
MEDICAL CERTIFICATE.

THE STATE OF OHIO,

DAVIS County

A B Davis

M. D.

being sworn and examined as medical witness in the matter of

alleged to be insane, do hereby certify that I have this day
carefully examined the said

and find in reference to her case that she is now insane and a proper subject
for care and treatment in the Athens Asylum for the Insane.

This opinion is founded on the following evidences of mental unsoundness, viz:

Delusions, Dementia

To the best of my knowledge and belief, the following is a correct history of the case:

Name

age

native

of Pennsylvania has been for 10 years a resident of this State,
moved, single, widowed, separated or divorced widowed, degree of edu-
cation fair, religion Baptist, occupation

natural disposition pleasant

habits before attack good

habits of parents good

have any ancestors or other relatives been insane, give persons, dates
and results. no

have any relatives had epilepsy no

were any relatives sleep walkers, hysterical, subject to trance, idiotic, imbecile or subject
to any nervous disease. no
general health before attack: good
wounds or injuries received with date of: none

number of attacks, how before 1, were recoveries from former attacks complete or otherwise: 

age at first attack: duration and date of each former attack:

duration of existing attacks: about 8 years
where treated during former attacks:
where treated during this attack: no treatment

supposed cause: age

business and domestic relations:

form of disease at commencement of attack: seizure described
form of disease at present time: seizure described, is disease complicated by epilepsy: no, how long has epilepsy existed:

general health at present time: good
condition of bowels: regular, appetite: good, sleep: disturbed, has patient any infections or contagious disease: no

suicidal, dates and particulars: no

homicidal: no

what delusions or hallucinations:
violent: no, destructive: no, noisy: no, tidy or filthy: tidy

237

Appendix L, p.2
FOR FEMALES.

Condition of menopause: \\
Number of labors: present, natural or complicated, natural.

Number of children: 7, age of youngest: 30.

What female complaints: none.

Hysterical or other abnormal nervous symptoms: none.

Dated at Athens, O., Aug. 19, 1884.

H. A. Moore, M. D.,
Examinining Physician.

THE STATE OF OHIO,

Athens County SS:

I, J. Wilson, Probate Judge, in and for said county, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and complete copy of this certificate of H. A. Moore, M. D., medical witness in the matter of __________, alleged to be insane.

Witness my hand and official seal this 19 day of Feb., 1884.

J. Wilson,
Probate Judge.
MEDICAL CERTIFICATE.

THE STATE OF OHIO.

County of

I, , M. D.,

being sworn and examined as medical witness in the matter of

alleged to be insane, do hereby certify that I have this day
carefully examined the said , and find in reference to her case, that she is insane and a proper subject for care and treatment in the Athens Asylum for the Insane.

This opinion is founded on the following evidences of mental unsoundness, viz.:

Observation and treatment of her for several months,

To the best of my knowledge and belief, the following is a correct history of the case:

Name , age , native of , has been for years a resident of this State, married, single, widowed, separated or divorced , education , religion , occupation , habits before attack , habits of parents , have any ancestors or other relatives been insane, give persons, dates and results ,

have any relatives had epilepsy , were any relatives sleep walkers, hysterical, subject to trance, idiotic, imbecile or subject to any nervous disease .
general health before attack. Quite good.
wounds or injuries received with date of. None.

number of attacks first, were recoveries from former attacks complete or otherwise.

age at first attack, duration and date of each former attack.

duration of existing attacks about fifteen minutes
where treated during former attacks
where treated during this attack at her own home
supposed cause loss of senses and general failure of mental power
business and domestic relations pleasant always

form of disease at commencement of attack melancholia
form of disease at present time probably the same
is disease complicated by epilepsy. No, how long has epilepsy existed.

condition of general health at present time not very good

condition of bowels usually normal appetite good
sleep very good has patient any infectious or contagious diseases.

suicidal, dates and particulars. No.

homicidal No.
what delusions or hallucinations None.

violent No destructive inclined that may
noisy No tidy or filthy not very tidy.
FOR FEMALES

Condition of menses: normal

Number of labors: four, natural or complicated: normal as far as I can learn

Number of children: four, age of youngest: 

What female complaints: none

Hysterical or other abnormal nervous symptoms: no

Dated at: Athens, 8th May, 1885

M. R. Lash, M. D.
Examining Physician.

THE STATE OF OHIO

Ex Parte:

My hand and official seal this day of ______, 1885.

Probate Judge.
Appendix N
Medical Certificate for Male Patient #1900
Source: Mahn Center for Archives and Special Collections
Alden Library: Ohio University

MEDICAL CERTIFICATE.

THE STATE OF OHIO,

Athens

County, ss.

I, Dr. Smith, M.D.,

being sworn and examined as medical witness in the matter of

alleged to be insane, do hereby certify that I have this day carefully examined the said

and find in reference to his case, that he is insane and a proper subject for care and treatment in the

Athens asylum for the Insane.

This opinion is founded on the following evidence of mental unsoundness, viz:

To the best of my knowledge and belief, the following is a correct history of the case:

Name: John Doe, age 19, native of Athens, has been for all his years a resident of this State, married, single, separated or divorced: Single.

degree of education: Limited.

religion: Protestant.

occupation: Farmer.

natural disposition: Good.

habit before attack: Regular.

habits of parents: Rather good.

have any ancestors or other relatives been insane, give persons, dates and results:

None.

have any relatives had epilepsy: No.

were any relatives sleep walkers, hysterical, subject to trance, idiotic, imbecile or subject to any nervous disease: No.
Appendix N, p 2.

general health before attack: Generally Good
wounds or injuries received with date of August 13, 1865—had his

 Although I complained of an injury, it was not important. Potion removed
from left femoral nearly 12 inches in diameter.

number of attacks 3

were recoveries from former attacks complete or otherwise

age at first attack

duration and date of each former attack

duration of existing attacks

where treated during former attacks

where treated during this attack had none

supposed cause the injury above described

business and domestic relations all right

form of disease at commencement of attack

form of disease at present time same as before

is disease complicated by epilepsy No how long has epilepsy existed

condition of general health at present time only fair

condition of bowels normal appetite good

sleep has patient any infections or

cutaneous disease No

suicidal dates and particulars No

homicidal Yes

what delusions or hallucinations

Do not know what they are

violent Yes destructive Yes

noisy Yes tidy or filthy Yes
FOR FEMALES.

Condition of menses

number of labors __________________________ , natural or complicated __________________________

number of children __________________________ , age of youngest __________________________

what female complaints __________________________

hysterical or other abnormal nervous symptoms __________________________

Dated at Athens C. January 17, 1887

Dr. J. M. Lack M. D.
Examining Physician.

THE STATE OF OHIO,

Athens COUNTY, 1887.

I, Mrs. S. Wilson, Probate Judge, in and for said county, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and complete copy of this certificate of Dr. J. M. Lack, M. D., medical witness in the matter of [redacted], alleged to be insane.

Witness my hand and official seal this 17th day of January 1887

Mrs. S. Wilson
Probate Judge.
Appendix O
Medical Certificate for Male Patient # 1663
Source: Mahn Center for Archives and Special Collections
Alden Library: Ohio University

MEDICAL CERTIFICATE.
THE STATE OF OHIO, 
County, 

being sworn and examined as medical witness in the matter of ,
alleged to be insane, do hereby certify that I have this day
carefully examined the said , and find in re-
ference to the case, that he is insane and a proper subject
for care and treatment in the Athens Asylum for the Insane.

This opinion is founded on the following evidences of mental unsoundness, viz: 

He for some time carried a revolver,Roger+ Stasy shot
nearly he will kill all the family and any
mne els he can get his hands on. Has
traveled to hide his wife on several occasions.

To the best of my knowledge and belief, the following is a correct history of the case:

Name: , age 28, native of
America, has been for 28 years a resident of this State, 
m arried, single, widowed, separated or divorced. Married, degree of edu-
cation Moderate, religion non, occupation
Parma, natural disposition Good
, habits before attack Good
, habits of parents Good

, have any ancestors or other relatives been insane, give persons, dates
and results, Aunt or Father x.x., ensemble.

have any relatives had epilepsy

were any relatives sleep walkers, hysterical, subject to trance, idiotic, imbecile or subject
to any nervous disease 220
general health before attack: Good
wounds or injuries received with date of:
number of attacks had general, were recoveries from former attacks complete or otherwise:
at times appeared to be sane:

age at first attack: 29, duration and date of each former attack:

would last several days

duration of existing attacks: about three days

where treated during former attacks: no.

where treated during this attack: no.

supposed cause had Typhoid fever two years ago, has had a number of attacks since.

business and domestic relations: not very good.

form of disease at commencement of attack:

form of disease at present time: Mania

is disease complicated by epilepsy: no, how long has epilepsy existed:

condition of general health at present time: not very good

condition of bowels: regular, appetite: good

sleep: very good at times, has patient any infectious or contagious disease: no.

suicidal, dates and particulars: was going to kill his wife and then himself on Aug 19, 85

homicidal: yes.

what delusions or hallucinations: none

violent: yes at times, destructive: yes

noisy: some times, tidy or filthy: dirty
FOR FEMALES.

Condition of menses

number of labors, natural or complicated

number of children, age of youngest

what female complaints

hysterical or other abnormal nervous symptoms

Dated at Athew Aug 1885

John Q. Frame, M.D.,
Examining Physician.

THE STATE OF OHIO,

Athens County SS:

I, __________, Probate Judge, in and for said county, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and complete copy of this certificate of John Q. Frame, M.D., medical witness in the matter of __________, alleged to be insane.

Witness my hand and official seal this 24 day of August, 1885.

Mr. Wilson,
Probate Judge.
MEDICAL CERTIFICATE.

THE STATE OF OHIO,

Athen County,

I, S. W. Bush M. D.,

being sworn and examined as medical witness in the matter of ___________, alleged to be insane, do hereby certify that I have this day carefully examined the said ___________, and find in reference to her case, that she is now insane and a proper subject for care and treatment in the Athens Asylum for the Insane.

This opinion is founded on the following evidences of mental unsoundness, viz: ________

personal observation ________

To the best of my knowledge and belief, the following is a correct history of the case:

Name ___________, age 24, native of Ohio, has been for ___________ years a resident of this State, married, single, widowed, separated or divorced ___________, degree of education ___________, religion ___________, occupation ___________, natural disposition ___________, habits before attack ___________, habits of parents ___________, have any ancestors or other relatives been insane, give persons, dates and results, how one better now in Athens Asylum, no other cases ___________, have any relatives had epilepsy ___________, no were any relatives sleep walkers, hysterical, subject to trance, idiotic, imbecile or subject to any nervous disease ___________, no
Appendix P, p. 2.

general health before attack: Good
wounds or injuries received with date of: None

number of attacks: first, were recoveries from former attacks complete or otherwise:

age at first attack: , duration and date of each former attack:

duration of existing attacks: about four months
where treated during former attacks:
where treated during this attack: at home
supposed cause: unknown

business and domestic relations: pleasant

form of disease at commencement of attack: maniacal
form of disease at present time: demon
is disease complicated by epilepsy: no, how long has epilepsy existed:

condition of general health at present time: quite good
condition of bowels: regular, appetite: not good
sleep: fair
contagious disease: no

suicidal, dates and particulars: none

homicidal: none

what delusions or hallucinations: her inclination is to person where would vanish off
violent: not very destructive: no
noisy: by times, tidy or filthy: not very dirty
Appendix P, p. 3.

FOR FEMALES.

Condition of menses: regular
number of labors: , natural or complicated
number of children: , age of youngest
what female complaints: No

hysterical or other abnormal nervous symptoms:

Dated at Cleveland, 29th April, 1883

Wm. Sack, M.D.,
Examining Physician.

THE STATE OF OHIO,

Cuyahoga County,

I, Wm. J. Wilson, Probate Judge, in and for said county, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and complete copy of this certificate of Wm. Sack, M. D., medical witness in the matter of , alleged to be insane.

Witness my hand and official seal this 29th day of April, 1883.

Wm. J. Wilson,
Probate Judge.
Medical certificates prepared by Ohio probate judges for state insane asylums were one page in length before the 1880’s. They later expanded to include more patient information.
Appendix R
Medical Certificate Female Patient 300
Source: Mahn Center for Archives and Special Collections
Alden Library: Ohio University

[Image of a medical certificate]

[Typed text]

[Handwritten text]
Appendix S

Medical Certificate for Female Patient 952

Source: Mahn Center for Archives and Special Collections

Alden Library: Ohio University
Example of Inquest prepared by probate judges.
Appendix T
Medical Certificate for Male Patient #1921

THE STATE OF OHIO,

Ashland,

County.

L. [Signature]

M. M. L. [Signature]

M. D.

being sworn and examined as medical witness in the matter of

alleged to be insane, do hereby certify that I have this
day carefully examined the said

and find in reference to his case, that he is now insane and a proper subject for
care and treatment in the Ashland asylum for the Insane.

This opinion is founded on the following evidences of mental unsoundness, viz:

Having met the coarse habit. His actions
are entirely at variance with mental soundness.

There is great danger of his doing violence, both
himself and those about him.

To the best of my knowledge and belief, the following is a correct history of the case:

Name: [redacted] age: 25, native of Ashland Co. Ohio, has been for [redacted] years a resident of this State,
moved, single, widowed, separated or divorced: [redacted], degree of education: [redacted], religion: Protestant,

Physician Surgeon, natural disposition: pleasant.

habits before attack: Good & regular.

habits of parents: [redacted]

have any ancestors or other relatives been insane, give persons, dates and results.

None.

have any relatives had epilepsy: [redacted]

were any relatives sleep walkers, hysterical, subject to trance, idiotic, imbecile or subject to any
nervous disease: [redacted]
MEDICAL CERTIFICATE.

THE STATE OF OHIO,

Athens County.

I, , M. D.,

being sworn and examined as medical witness in the matter of

alleged to be insane, do hereby certify that I have this day carefully examined the said , and find in reference to his case, that he is now insane and a proper subject for care and treatment in the Athens asylum for the insane.

This opinion is founded on the following evidences of mental un soundness, viz:

Has formed the cocaine habit. His actions are entirely at variance with mental soundness. There is great danger of his causing violence, both to himself and those about him.

To the best of my knowledge and belief, the following is a correct history of the case:

Name: , age: 28, native of Athens Co., Ohio, has been for all his years a resident of this State, married, single, widowed, separated or divorced: Married, degree of education: Well educated, religion: Protestant, occupation: Physician Surgeon, natural disposition: Pleasant.

habits before attack: Good & Regular

habits of parents: Same

have any ancestors or other relatives been insane, give persons, dates and results:

None

have any relatives had epilepsy:

No

were any relatives sleep walkers, hysterical, subject to trance, idiotic, imbecile or subject to any nervous disease:

No
FOR FEMALES.

Condition of menses.
number of labors, natural or complicated.

number of children, age of youngest.

what female complaints.

hysterical or other abnormal nervous symptoms.

Dated at March 9th, 1887.

H. W. Nash M. D. Examining Physician.

THE STATE OF OHIO,

Athens COUNTY,

I, ______, Probate Judge, in and for said county, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and complete copy of this certificate of H. W. Nash, M. D. medical witness in the matter alleged to be insane.

Witness my hand and official seal this 9th day of March, 1887.

Jno. S. Nelson Probate Judge.
Appendix U
Medical Certificate for Male Patient #1539
Source: Mahn Center for Archives and Special Collections
Alden Library: Ohio University

MEDICAL CERTIFICATE.

THE STATE OF OHIO, } Ss:

Athens County

I, A. M. Lash, M. D.,

being sworn and examined as medical witness in the matter of

alleged to be insane, do hereby certify that I have this day
carefully examined the said, and find in reference to this case, that he is insane and a proper subject
for care and treatment in the Athens Asylum for the Insane.

This opinion is founded on the following evidences of mental unsoundness, viz:

Observation of treatment of him for several weeks.

To the best of my knowledge and belief, the following is a correct history of the case:

Name: ____________________________ age: 40, native of Ohio, has been for all years a resident of this State,
moved, single, widowed, separated or divorced, married, degree of education: Slight, religion: Occupation:

Salmon Keeper, natural disposition: rather pleasant,

habits before attack: Religious, habits of parents: Debtor, history: Have any ancestors or other relatives been insane, give persons, dates
and results, not known of.

Have any relatives had epilepsy: No

Were any relatives sleep walkers, hysterical, subject to trance, idiotic, imbecile or subject to any nervous disease: No.
general health before attack: Good
wounds or injuries received with date of: None
number of attacks: 3, were recoveries from former attacks complete or otherwise:
age at first attack: Duration and date of each former attack:
duration of existing attack: About one year
where treated during former attacks:
where treated during this attack: At his own house
supposed cause: Excessive drinking

Business and domestic relations: With very pleasant, Has had some business troubles and been jealous of his wife
form of disease at commencement of attack: Mania
form of disease at present time: Mania
is disease complicated by epilepsy: No, How long has epilepsy existed:
general health at present time:
condition of bowels: Injured, appetite: Not good
sleep: Poor, has patient any infections or contagious disease: Yes
suicidal, dates and particulars:
homicidal: Many general attacks on his wife
what delusions or hallucinations: Attribut to business trouble
violent: Yes, destructive: Yes
noisy: Yes, tidy or filthy: Filthy
FOR FEMALES.

Condition of menses

number of labors

natural or complicated

number of children

age of youngest

what female complaints

hysterical or other abnormal nervous symptoms

Dated at Athens, Sept 16, 1885

[Signature]

M. D.,

Examining Physician.

THE STATE OF OHIO,

Attest County

I, [Signature], Probate Judge, in and for said county, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and complete copy of this certificate of [Signature], M. D., medical witness in the matter of [Redacted], alleged to be insane.

Witness my hand and official seal this 16th day of Sept., 1885

[Signature]

Probate Judge.
Appendix V
Medical Certificate for Male Patient #1988
Source: Mahn Center for Archives and Special Collections
Alden Library: Ohio University
general health before attack: Good
wounds or injuries received with date of: none
number of attacks (25), were recoveries from former attacks complete or otherwise

age at first attack about 50, duration and date of each former attack

duration of existing attacks about six years.
where treated during former attacks
where treated during this attack at home
supposed cause

business and domestic relations: not gone

form of disease at commencement of attack: Delirium
form of disease at present time: Delirium
is disease complicated by epilepsy: no, how long has epilepsy existed
condition of general health at present time: not gone
condition of bowels: regular, appetite: limited
sleep: not little, has patient any infections or contagious disease: no

suicides, deaths and particulars:

homestead: The Village of Ohio
what delusions or hallucinations
violent thoughts: not, destructive
noisy: yes, tidy or filthy: dirty
FOR FEMALES.

Condition of menes.

number of labors , natural or complicated.

number of children , age of youngest.

what female complaints.

hysterical or other abnormal nervous symptoms.

Dated at Akron, Oct. 20th, 1887.

J. N. Badeck, M. D.
Examining Physician.

THE STATE OF OHIO,

 Akron, COUNTY,

I, , Probate Judge, in and for said county, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and complete copy of this certificate of , M. D. medical witness in the matter alleged to be insane.

Witness my hand and official seal this day of September, 1887.

Probate Judge.
Appendix W
Medical Certificate for Female Patient #1207
Source: Mahn Center for Archives and Special Collections
Alden Library: Ohio University

MEDICAL CERTIFICATE.

THE STATE OF OHIO, ss.

Athens County,

I, A. B. Irvine, M. D.,

being sworn and examined as medical witness in the matter of

alleged to be insane, do hereby certify that I have this day

and find in reference to her case, that she is now insane and a proper subject

for care and treatment in the Athens Asylum for the Insane.

This opinion is founded on the following evidences of mental unsoundness, viz.:

Believers and sometimes maniacal. Y.C.

To the best of my knowledge and belief, the following is a correct history of the case:

Name:_________________________, age ______, native of Athens, Ohio, has been for ______ years a resident of this State,
made, single, widowed, separated or divorced. Married, degree of education. Good education, religion Methodist, occupation

Habits of parents_________, natural disposition_________, habits before attack ______

Habits of parents_________, have any ancestors or other relatives been insane, give persons, dates

and results, ______

Have any relatives had epilepsy ______

Were any relatives sleepwalkers, hysterical, subject to trance, idiotic, imbecile or subject to any nervous disease ______
general health before attack: good

wounds or injuries received with date of: she received an injury about

20 years ago, by being kicked in the face by a horse.

number of attacks: several

were recoveries from former attacks complete or otherwise: complete

age at first attack: 23

duration and date of each former attack: none.

duration of existing attack: since about June 1st, 1889

where treated during former attacks: at home

where treated during this attack: at home

supposed cause: excitement.

business and domestic relations: good

form of disease at commencement of attack: acute maniac

form of disease at present time: same

is disease complicated by epilepsy: no

how long has epilepsy existed: condition of

general health at present time: fair

condition of bowels: normal

appetite: good

sleep: disturbed

has patient any infections or contagious disease: no

suicidal, dates and particulars: none

homicidal: none

what delusions or hallucinations: none

violent: no

destructive: no

noisy: yes at times

tidy or filthy: tidy
For Females.

Condition of menses: normal
number of labors: five, natural or complicated: natural
number of children: five, age of youngest: 2 years
what female complaints: none
hysterical or other abnormal nervous symptoms: some hysterical at times

Dated at: [illegible]
A. B. [illegible], M. D., Examing Physician.

The State of Ohio,
Cuyahoga County.

I, [illegible], Probate Judge, in and for said county, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and complete copy of this certificate of [illegible], M. D., medical witness in the matter of [illegible], alleged to be insane.

Witness my hand and official seal this 1st day of Aug., 1882.

Probate Judge.
Appendix X
Mandalas 1
Appendix Y
Mandalas 2

[Sketch of a mandala with a brick wall design]

[Handwritten text]

Beyond work is an essential feature of treatment of the insane. Treatment is not just the most beneficial activity...

The lake has been increased again by 5-7 acres. It is now one of the most beautiful lakes in the state...

More private life needed.

Bob Nilsen
Sept. 1961

[Sketch of a lake and mountains]

[Handwritten text]

“Walnut St”

[Sketch of a handwritten note]