

PHYSIOLOGIES

In 1843 Horace Mann asked Dr. Jarvis to write a book on physiology as the basis of the law of health and life, to be used in schools. This proposition was very pleasant to him. He felt a strong desire that these ideas should be given to and used by the people. It seemed to him they were more important than most things taught in the schools, and should take precedence even of arithmetic and geography and grammar. They are the beginning and the guide of true and full life on earth; for, before one needs to count and calculate, before he [*sic*] needs to travel or read concerning any foreign state or country, and before he needs to talk English correctly, he must eat and breathe and sleep, and must take the consequences of good or ill that inseparably follows the right or the wrong way that /147/ he does these things. Before any use of any other knowledge, he must obey or disobey the physiological law. So it seemed to Dr. J. that the first step in education, after learning the language, is to learn how to live. He was therefore glad that Mr. Mann wrote his eloquent and persuasive report on this subject, and that he thought it could and should be made an essential part of common school education. He only doubted whether he could present the subject in such a form and manner as to be intelligible to the people, and especially to the children; and, moreover, in such a way that they not only could understand it, but would be drawn to it. Beyond all this it seemed a necessity that this law should be so expressed as to command full faith and implicit obedience, and be incorporated into the daily life of those who should study it.

He told Mr. Mann that he could not promise to write the book, nor to publish it when written; but that he would make the attempt, and, if he should succeed and it should be satisfactory to himself and the friends whose judgment he valued more than his own, he would publish it.

He then wrote all that it seemed to him should be known to the scholars and to the world, for this purpose, without regard to the length of book it would make. He then revised this, and, by rigid process of exclusion, reduced the manuscript to the quantity needed for a book of suitable size. There his wife read it carefully and proposed such alterations as her excellent common sense suggested. These were made, and then /148/ he read it aloud to her for her second judgment, and new corrections were made. Next she read it aloud to him, that he might judge by the ear whether anything was omitted or anything redundant or inappropriate, or whether everything was clear to the common understanding; and again the whole was corrected according to the last revision. Then his wife copied it into the several books on food and digestion; respiration; circulation of the blood and nutrition; animal heat; skin; bones, muscles, and labor and rest: and brain, nerves and mind.

In order to be certain that the book was scientifically correct, these several parts were sent to medical friends who were the best scholars and judges in these respective departments. They examined their parts cheerfully, and gave their opinions and corrections freely:

Dr. Henry I. Bowditch, Food and Digestion;
Dr. John D. Fisher, Lungs and Respiration;
Dr. Oliver W. Holmes, Bones and Muscles;

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Dr. L. V. Bell, Brain and Nervous System;
Dr. Hayes, Animal Heat;
Dr. Augustus A. Gould, Skin.

If, after these revisions, there were yet any doubts, Dr. James Jackson was ever ready to advise.

After the manuscript had passed this scientific criticism, it was then submitted to Mr. Solomon Adams, Mr. Increase S. Smith and Mr. Thomas Sherwin, all learned and skillful teachers, who examined it in reference to language, and to its adaptation to the comprehension of boys and girls in schools, and to the /149/ use in schools. If there were yet any doubt as to the use of language, Mr. George B. Emerson, Mr. George Folsom, and Rev. John G. Palfrey were his ready advisers. Mr. Solomon Adams prepared the questions that have been attached to the book.

This work occupied Dr. J.'s spare time about three years. After having passed all these ordeals it was ready for the printer. Four different publishers in Boston offered to print it for him on their own responsibility and to pay him a large copyright; but it seemed better to put it in the hands of the largest publishers, even for a smaller reward per copy, with the probability of a much larger sale.

He then wrote the smaller, the *Primary Physiology*, in the same way, but of course with much less labor, as this was an epitome and simplification of the first. Then he had both successively stereotyped at the Boston Stereotype Foundry where he had that rare, severe but most kind and courteous critic in language, Mr. Phelps, whose advice and suggestions were extremely valuable. Sometimes his criticisms seemed wrong or needless, and, at first, Dr. J. refused to accept them; but on further examination he invariably found that Mr. P. was right. Dr. J. accepted all his suggestions and had good reason to be thankful that he had such an acute and skillful adviser to protect him from his own errors. One pleasant incident showed his assurance and his modesty. He proposed a different use of the comma. Dr. J. told him that although [he] had on every other occasion accepted his (Mr. P.'s) criticism, he could not then do /150/ so, yet he would consult a certain oration of Mr. Webster's which seemed to him to be pointed with such remarkable accuracy as to render the language especially clear, and where he thought the comma was used as in his manuscript. Going home he examined the oration and found that the comma was used as Mr. P. proposed. The next day he told Mr. P. that Mr. Webster confirmed him (Mr. P.) in this matter, and that he would adopt his plan. Mr. P. merely said, "I thought you would find it so." Dr. J. afterward learned that the oration was printed at the office, and that Mr. Webster had left the entire punctuation to Mr. Phelps.

By the advice of Dr. Jarvis's friend, Mr. William D. Swan, Messrs Thomas Cowperthwait & Co. of Philadelphia who were then publishing his books, offered to print for Dr. J. and give him nine cents per copy on all their sales of his first work, and four and one half cents per copy for the *Primary Physiology*. he accepted these conditions and contracted accordingly. The publishers were to keep the book on sale in all parts of the United States, to give returns of copies printed and make payments at the end of every six months. The first edition of the large *Physiology* was published in 1847 and of the smaller, in 1848.

In 1846, he was invited by the American Institute of Instruction to deliver an address on

the advantage of the study of physiology as a part of common education at their meeting in Hartford, Ct. in August, 1846. This was printed with the proceedings of the Association.

/151/ ASSOCIATION OF MEDICAL SUPERINTENDENTS OF INSANE HOSPITALS

Dr. J. met first with this body at Utica in 1846. For the next year the President assigned the subject of The Supposed Increase of Insanity, for him to investigate and report upon at the meeting in Boston. The President said he did this from his knowledge of Dr. J.'s tastes and habits of study.

The work was pleasant to him, but the records were very imperfect. They were chiefly those of the admissions to hospitals, which had increased greatly within a few years. But this was rather evidence of increased attention to the insane, than of increased cases. They did not prove the development of more insanity, but of more persons insane. From all his research he could only say that there was no evidence of the increase of insanity. His report was kindly received by the Association, and printed in the *Journal of Insanity*.

The next year the President assigned the subject of the Comparative Liability of Males and Females to Insanity. This was equally agreeable to him and offered a richer field of investigation, though far from complete. He found the records of 250 hospitals which seemed to cover all the cases of both sexes in the same category as to time or place or admission to institutions. The result of the investigations showed 64,786 males, 60,342 females. Most of these were admissions into hospitals. If the insane at home were divided as to the /152/ sexes in the same proportion, the facts would show that there were more males than females insane, and that so far as these go, males were more subject to mental disorder than females. It is farther to be considered that there are more females than males over twenty years old, and this increases the disproportion of insanity among equal numbers of the two sexes.

He farther ascertained from the general mortality records of Great Britain, Massachusetts, New York and Philadelphia, that among the deaths of 1,103,198 males and 1,066,677 females, from reported causes, a larger proportion of the males than of the females were from diseases of the brain and nervous system; and compared with equal members living of each sex, they were as 189 males to 152 females, or as 124 males to 100 females.

So far as these records went, males were more subject to nervous diseases than females. Besides this it was found from the same experience, that a greater proportion of female, than male, lunatics were restored, and a smaller proportion died when insane.

This was printed in the *Journal of Insanity* in 1850. He wrote other articles for the Association and for journals, on subjects connected with insanity; for the *Boston Medical [and Surgical] Journal*, on the plan and structure of a hospital; on the influence of distance of residence on the use of hospitals (this he afterward, in 1866, enlarged with the results of the experience of all the hospitals of the country, for the Legislature of New York who published it in a pamphlet of forty-six pages. /153/ The calculation showed that universally the ratio of patients to the population, sent to hospitals, diminished in proportion to the distance of their residence from it. In New York, this proportion sent from the nearest county, was four times as great as that sent from the most distant.); on the causes of insanity, the annual address read to the Norfolk Medical Society.

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LUNACY COMMISSION

In 1854 Dr. Jarvis was appointed by the Governor, with Gov. Lincoln⁵⁰ and Mr. Increase Sumner, as commissioner to inquire into the number and condition of the insane and idiots of Massachusetts, the state of the lunatic hospitals and the necessity of creating a new hospital for the insane. No office could have been more acceptable—none more in harmony with his tastes, studies and habits; and it was strictly professional. It was understood by the Commission and stated by the Governor that Dr. J. should give all his time, do all the work, and be paid for time and services. The others were to be advisory and render such occasional aid as might be needed.

The first thing was to ascertain the number of insane and idiots in the State. Several attempts had been made to do this without satisfactory success. The United States census marshals had made the inquiry. The State had appointed large commissions consisting of legislators and perhaps others known in political life. They asked the selectmen of the towns who generally responded, and reported according to their best ability. The numbers thus reported by both national and state authority, were /154/ manifestly incomplete. Their methods were insufficient. Although the marshals asked at the houses whether there were any lunatic or idiot in the family, they failed to elicit the truth from many. Many are unwilling to reveal the secrets—especially these painful secrets—to strangers, and consequently deny this fact of their unfortunate relation. The selectmen have no official knowledge of the domestic condition of the families in their towns. Their office does not open the secrets of the houses. They have no more knowledge of the health and condition of the people, than any other persons of their social position. They could report only those that they personally happened to know. Many towns, including about one third of the population, made no returns. The others reported incompletely, so that the numbers ascertained were much less than probably were in the towns reported, and although calculation was made for the whole state on the basis of the ratio of the responding towns, and the same proportion added for the silent towns, it was manifest that the total thus assumed, was far short of the actual number. It would be useless to repeat these methods either by sending messengers to the families or by asking the town authorities to make the inquiry.

Dr. Jarvis suggested that the condition of every family in the State, was known to some physician, and that, by addressing every one of the profession in the State, a report of all the insane and idiots within their range of observation could probably be obtained. This would be accurate, at least as far as it should go. It was /155/ thought that complete and reliable returns could thus be obtained from half—possibly two thirds—of the towns in the State; and on the basis of these, the numbers in the rest could be calculated. The Commission agreed with Dr. J. in this plan and directed him to carry it out.

He first ascertained the name and post office address of all the physicians in the State, regular and irregular, male and female. He then prepared a circular stating the object and character of the inquiry, and asked the physician to fill up a private schedule which was sent with the letter and contained thirteen headed columns, for the name and age and eleven other points of description for each lunatic or idiot. On this schedule was printed his own name and post-office address, to be returned, when filled, to him. This was signed by

⁵⁰ Levi Lincoln (1782–1868), Governor of Massachusetts from 1825–1834.

all the Commission, lithographed and sent to all the physicians in the State. Others were sent to the overseers of the poor to be filled with accounts of paupers; and still others were sent to the lunatic hospitals. The postage was paid on all, and stamps were put on all the schedule to be returned.

In some small towns there was no physician. For these the circulars were sent to clergymen, selectmen or to some person who was supposed to be familiar with the people.

Most of the physicians soon made their reports, and they had so many that the Commission felt inspired to make greater exertion and enlarge their basis of calculation; and as they succeeded in this endeavor they became earnest to obtain the whole, and make the /156/ survey of the State complete. Gov. Lincoln said, "The nearer we come to completeness, the more important is it to get the few that yet remain unreported."

With this view, Dr. J. sought out, and made active, co-operative friends in various parts of the State. Some offered very warm sympathy and encouragement in the work. He asked these to use their influence with certain neighboring physicians who had not made returns. He got them to write to these delinquents and, if need be, visit them. Others out of the profession, nearly everywhere lent their influence. He wrote at the same time to very many varying the letters to suit cases. His wife rendered great aid, and they wrote about six hundred additional letters asking early attention to the call. These were varied to meet the different characters of the physicians, and circumstances of their towns.

Besides this, he made personal visits to every county and to sixty-five towns in the State, for the same purpose. He had a map of the State, the paper was white, the towns distinctly marked; and whenever any town was completely reported, Mrs. Jarvis painted it pink so that he could see, at a glance, what towns were yet to report, and to which he must apply more energy or send more influence. Gradually the map became more and more red until, in November, the white spots were very few and widely separated. At last in December there was but a single spot, Freetown in Bristol County. Dr. Broiley of that place was the only one who had not sent his return. Dr. J. /157/ made a journey solely to see him, obtained his report, and then the map took one unvaried color of pink. The work was complete.

Every physician in the State who was in active practice and reliable, regular and irregular, male and female, had made returns, except two regular physicians and two quacks. Both of the former objected to the plan of inquiry and took great pains to convince Dr. J. of his error. In each case, the other physicians of their towns then made especial inquiry as to all the families that usually employed these recusants, and reported for them; and similar aid was given in regard to the families of the two non-reporting, irregular physicians.

There was much other work required by the law creating this Commission. He visited all the hospitals, all the prisons of the State, the State almshouses and all other places where the lunatics were kept in the State. They also went to the Asylum in Brattleboro', Vermont, and Providence, R[hode] Island. Dr. J. corresponded with several of the best superintendents of hospitals in the United States, in respect to the questions of treatment, whether curables and incurables, paupers and independent patients, males and females, would be kept in the same hospitals; whether large or small hospitals, whether in country or town, and other questions relative to the plan and structure and administration of these institutions.

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He also corresponded with the Commissioners in Lunacy of England and Scotland, and with some /158/ hospital superintendents and political economists in respect to these topics. It was the intention of the Commission to obtain the best ideas of the world for the preparation of their Report.

Dr. Jarvis was allowed to employ two female clerks to aid him in writing. The patients were reported by name and description of age, sex, and eleven other personal items. He compared those who were reported from the same town by two or more physicians who sometimes reported the same patient. When this appeared and any one was duplicated, he erased the name in all the returns except one, so that none should appear and be counted more than once. Miss Davenport then abstracted the whole, and digested and arranged them in tables as they appeared in the report.

When the returns were all made, the correspondence with others completed, and he had examined all the hospitals, prisons, &c. and made a memorandum of facts, topics, and principles which he had entered in several note-books, then in January he began to write the Report which occupied six weeks. Mrs. Jarvis and Miss Davenport copied it for the government as fast as it was written, and when finished with the many and long tables, it covered nearly seven hundred letter sheet pages.

In the first week of March it was ready to be presented to the Commission at a meeting in Worcester appointed for this purpose. It was seldom that Dr. J. felt the weight of a mission so heavily. Here was the /159/ result of nearly nine months labor, of greater earnestness and anxiety than any of his life. Although he had been in frequent consultation with both of his associates, and they had known his progress from time to time, and approved of his methods and were satisfied with his progress, yet it was still to be seen how far the whole work, the results, the facts, the arguments and the recommendations would be satisfactory.

He went to Worcester with this burden on his heart. Gov. L. received him with his usual courtesy, was pleased that the work was done, and that so soon it would be given to the government. Mr. Sumner did not arrive in the morning train. Gov. L. was anxious to hear the Report and proposed that Dr. J. should read it to him alone. Never had he a more attentive or courteous listener. As Gov. L. was a scholar and a critic, he would occasionally stop at a word and examine the dictionary to see if another would not better convey the meaning; but he objected to none of the statements, to none of the reasoning nor the conclusions, but gave his constant approbation, and more than this, his pleasure, that the work was done in the manner presented.

It took all day and until evening to read the whole. The Governor not only manifested no impatience nor weariness, but seemed to enjoy the whole as if it were a pleasant entertainment. He was apparently happy that the work in which he had felt great interest and concerning which he had felt great anxiety, was finished and in accordance with his ideas. This look a great load from Dr. J.'s mind, and he was relieved of his /160/ oppressive burden. The next day Mr. Sumner came. Dr. J. proposed that they should go to a room in the hospital as Gov. Lincoln would not wish to hear the Report a second time. To this the Governor objected. He wanted to hear it again; and again it was read, the six hundred and more pages, from beginning to end. This took another day. Both gentlemen gave the same careful attention and manifested the same interest as the Governor did at the first reading. They had frequent discussions as to words and points of detail as before. When finished they both expressed their kindly agreement with him, and thanked him for the work that he had done for the Commonwealth and for humanity.

The Report, in separate tables, showed the number of lunatics and idiots in each town of the State, arranged according to sex, to conditions as to mildness or excitability (or violence), to probable curability or incurability, fitness for hospital, whether pauper or independent.

It discussed the question of keeping the males and females, independent and pauper, curable and incurable, honest and criminal in the same hospital.

It described all the places where lunatics are kept in the State and showed their degree of fitness for this purpose. The Report showed, also, that, beside those who were in the hospitals, there were over six hundred lunatics and idiots—mild cases and probably curable, or violent cases needing guardian and custody—for whom no proper accommodations were now provided, as the present hospitals were filled to overflowing, and for /161/ whom another hospital should be built. It advised that a new hospital be established in one of the four western counties for the convenience of the people of that part of the State, sufficient to accommodate two hundred patients. In this connection one recommendation especially pleased the other members of the Commission. In the selection of sites for public institutions, it was advised that the State make selection of town and place solely with a view to the interest and convenience of the patients, ask and receive no favors of town or people, but pay the usual market price, and be under no obligations. The common way had been to practically put the institution up at auction, by inviting towns to make bids by offers of land. The town of Worcester gave the site of the hospital twelve acres. The people of Taunton gave the site for the hospital there. Sometimes these are given for the use of the institution only, so that if the State afterward should think it best to remove it, the land is lost; and even when, as at Worcester, the land is given in fee, the town claims, as a purchased right, that the institution should remain forever there. Dr. J. proposed that the State should, like individuals, go into the market, pay the proper market price, and be independent, thereafter, of all claim to permanence in a place.

This was new to the Commission, for the practice had been very different, and various towns had usually strained their utmost of generosity or calculation to buy the presence of hospitals, &c. by gifts of sites, farms, &c.

The Report was accepted and immediately carried /162/ to Governor Gardner who sent it at once to the Legislature who referred it to the Committee on Charitable Institutions.

Here again was a new field of labor. This Committee wanted very much advice and many consultations. They accepted the Report and all its propositions cordially. They advised that it be printed; and the Legislature ordered 10,000 copies to be printed, one copy to be deposited with every town and city in the state, and one to be sent to every physician and other person, in and out of the State, at home and abroad, who had aided the Commission in any part of the work.

The Committee farther accepted all the propositions of the Commission. They would advise that a new hospital be erected in the western part of the State. They asked Dr. Jarvis to write their report for them, and the law for the establishment of the new hospital. He wrote both.

From the late survey they determined the proportion of lunatics to population in the four western counties, and from the past censuses the probable population for the next fifty years, and that the number of patients needing hospital treatment and guardianship would

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not exceed two hundred within that period. He therefore wrote the law requiring the hospital to be built sufficiently large to accommodate two hundred patients; but some friends of the measure in the Legislature, said that legislators and politicians had a notion that it should be large enough for two /163/ hundred and fifty and that the bill would be more sure to pass for that than for a less number. The Committee accepted the correction. Dr. J. conferred with his friend, Dr. L. V. Bell of the McLean Asylum. He concurred with Dr. Jarvis as to size and proposed a grant of \$200,000 for the purpose as he said that it was generally received as a rule that a hospital should cost a thousand dollars for a patient. The Committee then reported as Dr. Bell and Dr. Jarvis proposed.

There was no known objection to the measure in the Legislature, but it was thought best to proceed cautiously, and make the progress sure. A meeting was called of all the known friends of the plan, and the matter discussed in all its bearings. These agreed to talk with others and ascertain the views of all. The whole Legislature was divided among those then present who were severally to confer with those assigned to them, to explain if need be, to urge and argue if required, and create as many friends as possible.

Again a meeting was called of all the members from the western counties and of all others interested in the measure. At this meeting a full and free discussion took place, great interest was universally manifested and much enthusiasm by some, and they parted in happy confidence of success.

In due time the bill came up in [the] regular course of proceedings. There was but little discussion; none was adverse to the plan. It seemed to be a foregone conclusion with all, and when the vote was taken there was /164/ not a dissident. Every one voted in favor. The law was established and the hospital made sure.

Dr. J.'s work did not end here. By general opinion of the Commission, the Committee, the Governor and Council, the final correspondence of thanks to co-operators in the first work, and the distribution of the Reports to those friends, should fall on the commissioner who knew to whom these should be sent. This was then his work and responsibility and occupied him a month longer.

From first to last he was about a year engaged in this work in the service of the State. The Commonwealth paid him \$5 per day, the usual reward of common commissioners. For this he suspended all other business and took no patients, sane or insane. In no part of his life has he labored so much, so intensely and anxiously, so continuously and so long, as he did in this survey and carrying the matter through the Legislature. He rose at five in the morning and wrought at the desk as many hours as the brain could be compelled to labor until 10 o'clock at night. He could not have had more useful or acceptable associates in this Commission than Messrs Lincoln and Sumner, both men of high intelligence, generous in their sentiments, cautious in their judgment of men, yet having satisfied themselves as to the character of others, they were ever confiding, courteous and kind. They gave him all the aid which their great general knowledge of men and things enabled them to do, and never /165/ interfered in any professional plans or doings. Thus while they added to his efficiency by their unvarying support, their great weight of character and command of public confidence, they left him to pursue his own way without question or interruption.

EFFECT OF THIS WORK ON HIS HEALTH

This incessant and anxious labor was exhaustive to his health and strength. He became dyspeptic, nervous, and could not easily apply his mind to hard study; and for more than a

year afterward he was unable to do his usual average work. He had also palpitation and irregular action of the heart, so that he feared he had organic disease of that organ and consulted his kind friend Dr. James Jackson who, after very careful examination, said the trouble in the heart was not organic but functional, depending on dyspepsia and nervousness consequent upon overwork of the brain. In the course of a few years this passed away.

Yet he looks upon this work as one of the most successful of his life. He accomplished a very desirable purpose and produced a census of the insane such as had in no other way been obtained. Some of the remoter results disappointed him. As long as the work was in the hands of the Commission, it went on smoothly for the exclusive good of the insane. After their vocation and their office was ended the site was yet to be selected, and the hospital to be built. Then the matter fell into the hands of politicians. The law provided only \$200,000 to build for two hundred patients. /166/ The hospital was built sufficiently large to take over four hundred patients. The counties for which the hospital was established offer no more patients than was anticipated in the Report, but a large part of the inmates of the institution are state paupers from the eastern counties, carried by Worcester to find a place of healing or custody nearly, or over, one hundred miles from home.

The building Commission wishing to have a public celebration at the laying of the corner-stone determined to have it on the 4th of July, 1856, with oration, procession, public dinner, and masonic ceremonies. The Grand Lodge was invited to take charge of the laying the corner-stone, and Dr. Jarvis was asked to deliver the oration in the church. He was willing to speak on the occasion for he had some things to say on the relation of a hospital to the people, of the people to a hospital, and to show the citizens of Northampton and the western counties that to them would be entrusted much of the fate of the new institution, and they could do much to make it useful, prosperous and comfortable, or the reverse. This was much of the burden of his speech. But it was a misnomer to call this speech an oration. It was merely a scientific essay which alone was appropriate to the occasion. Still less appropriate was it to have this in the church, with all the parade of procession. It should have been on the spot with the associations of the new promise all around and affecting the people. He felt when /167/ he was speaking in the pulpit, that he was in a false position and had not the entertainment that the people might reasonably expect on the 4th of July, and that his matter and manner ill-befitted the day and the associations that everywhere belonged to it; and he felt that his hearers who had come to be entertained, must be disappointed when they heard a scientific lesson of duty.

WRITINGS ON INSANITY

He wrote an article on the tendency of misdirected education and the unbalanced mind to produce insanity. He felt a deep interest in this matter for he had seen so many whose education seemed to have led the way directly to mental disorder. He had then in mind the daughter of a wealthy family whose indiscreet mother was so training her that it seemed that insanity must ultimately be her unhappy lot. He knew not how soon this would happen. He supposed possibly in some eight or ten years; but within two years her mother consulted him in regard to her mental obliquities.

He read this article to the Association of Superintendents of Hospitals at Baltimore, and again to the Norfolk Teachers' Association. It was printed in Barnard's *Journal of Education*.

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An article on the causes of insanity in the misuse of the cerebral and mental powers, was published in the *North American Review* in 1859.

At request of the Superintendents' Association, he wrote a long report on the distribution of their reports, and gave a list of the institutions and libraries to which /168/ they should be sent. This was printed in the *Journal of Insanity* in 1857.

He wrote a long article on the law of insanity in Massachusetts showing its imperfections and inconsistencies in 1861. As it then stood there was legal provision for the admission into the state hospitals of but a very small part of the lunatics of Massachusetts. The law provided for, 1. those who were so furiously mad as to be manifestly dangerous to be at large could be sent by the higher courts; 2. a foreign pauper could be sent by two magistrates; 3. any poor person whose case was recent, could be admitted by the trustees; 4. a person indicted and tried for crime, if acquitted by reason of insanity, could be sent by the court. These would not include one fourth of the native lunatics of the State. Two magistrates could send any mild patient, not a pauper, to the county receptacle for the insane which, in Middlesex, was the old jail in Cambridge which had been abandoned as unfit for criminals; but when the law in 1836, ordered the counties to provide receptacles for the insane in correction with the houses of correction, this old jail was, by the county authorities, appropriated for the use of these patients, and convicts had the care of them. Two magistrates could send any respectable, independent, tax-paying citizen to this receptacle, and this old jail, at his own cost for travel, to board and the care in this prison. But they could send any state pauper—an Irishman—to the State Hospital, to enjoy the best means of healing at the cost of the Commonwealth /169/ for travel, board, care, &c. All these inconsistencies and imperfections were pointed out at length in the article which was printed in the *Law Reporter* of Boston, and also in separate pamphlet form for distribution, 1861.

In 1862 Mr. Sewall⁵¹ and others petitioned the Legislature for reform in the law of insanity. The matter was referred to a select committee of ten, of whom six were lawyers, one farmer, one auctioneer, one coal dealer and one country trader. Although there were several intelligent physicians in the Legislature, none was in the committee. The chairman of the committee, Mr. Richardson, of Lowell,⁵² asked Dr. Jarvis to prepare a code of law for insanity and the lunatic hospitals, suited to the wants of the insane, the present state of medical science and the demands of humanity. He did so. His code embraced all the points and relations, and the whole legal administration of the hospitals which was presented to this committee. They had many and long sessions, many discussions and questions difficult for them to settle. They had very vague and some strange notions concerning the nature of insanity and the way of dealing with it, not more strange, probably, than as many physicians would have had in respect to the most abstruse principles of law. He had a constant struggle to defend and retain the several points of this code. He lost some, but the main and important principles were preserved, and the law opened the hospitals to all classes of the insane.

⁵¹ Charles C. Sewall, ALS to E. J., Boston, BCLM, 25 March 1862. Sewall asks E. J. to provide him with some facts and figures on public health, sanitation, disease, etc., that may be used in an effort to pass legislation to create a Board of Health in Massachusetts. He also describes his symptoms after several apoplectic attacks.

⁵² William Adams Richardson (1821-1896), jurist, described as being "of Lowell" because "admitted to the bar in July 1846, he entered partnership with his elder brother, Daniel Samuel, who had a large practice in Lowell",

He wrote also for the superintendents reports on the Functions of Private Asylums, and on the Criminal /170/ Insane. He felt a deep interest in this last matter. It is an unjust and cruel thing to send insane thieves, burglars, and other criminals to live with the honest lunatics, to compel one, where he is diseased and cannot help himself, to associate with the wicked and vulgar whom he had ever been taught to shun, and had faithfully shunned, in health, when he could select his companions, is an abuse of power, and violation of the best principles of social morality. But inasmuch as the criminal in prison has a right to be healed of his maladies, as well as the honest lunatic, Dr. J. proposed that hospitals be provided for this class of patients, and as there are not enough of these in the State for the organization of even a small establishment, he proposed that all New England combine and have one criminal lunatic hospital for the whole.

In the Worcester Hospital Report in 1862, he earnestly urged this separation of the honest and criminal patients; but thus far, 1873, nothing has been done here or in any state except New York which has a hospital for criminal lunatics at Auburn.

He wrote a paper on Labor in Hospitals, showing how much the patients suffered here for want of occupation, and how much was gained in England by the very large employment of lunatics in the mechanical trades. The public asylums in Great Britain are provided with a series of shops for carpenters, tinmen, blacksmiths, shoemakers, &c. as a matter of course; and they have no trouble therefrom. The Commission in Lunacy in England told Dr. Jarvis that only one /171/ accident had happened from putting sharp tools in the hands of lunatics, and this did not prove serious.

All these were published in the *Journal of Insanity*.

TRUSTEE OF WORCESTER HOSPITAL

In 1861 Governor Andrew⁵³ appointed Dr. J. as one of the trustees of the Worcester Hospital, an office very agreeable to him, and one in which he hoped to do some good to the patients and the Commonwealth. The Board met monthly and passed through the wards of the institution; went to the stables and discussed the rare breeds of elegant and beautiful cattle, and some talked of the fiscal interests and other matters connected with the institution; dined, and went to their several homes.

Beside these formal visits Dr. J. went through the wards alone, talked to the patients, listened to their tales and occasional complaints. He went also at other times to Worcester, stayed over night, went into the wards at all times of the day, and late at night and early in the morning, when the men were rising and saw them in all conditions, eating, sleeping, working, playing, lounging, which last was their most frequent way of spending time. He was there at the daily prayer, and on Sunday. The government of the hospital procured lectures for the patients which half or more of the patients attended. At about twenty of these meetings, in place of a lecture, he read from his diary or letters written while he was in Europe. He usually read an hour at a time. He never had a more quiet and apparently

DAB, vol. 15, p. 577, see also Samuel Hoar, *Autobiography of seventy years*, by G. F. Hoar, 2 vols, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905, I, p. 328.

⁵³ John Albion Andrew (1818-1867), Governor of Massachusetts 1860-1866, was one of the organizers of the Free Soil Party whose slogan was "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, Free Men". After the "John Brown himself is right" affair, in 1860, he became one of the most popular men in Massachusetts and was elected governor by an even greater majority.

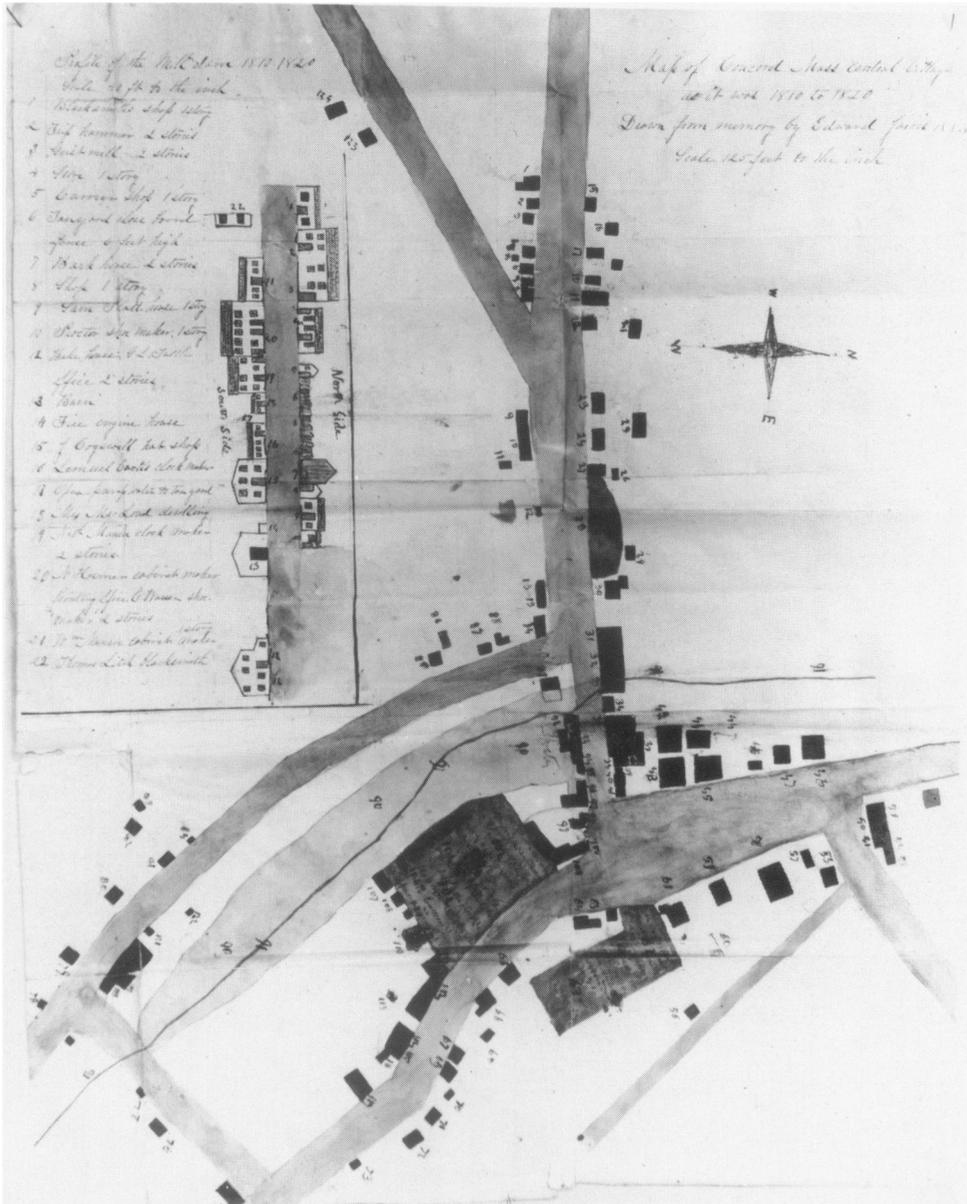


Plate 1: Map of Concord, Mass., central village as it was from 1810 to 1820, by Edward Jarvis.



Plate 2: Ezra Ripley.



Plate 3: Concord town center, 1840, by J. W. Barber



Plate 4: Concord in 1865.



Plate 5: Edward Jarvis, photograph taken in 1884.



Plate 6: Almira Hunt Jarvis, photograph taken in 1884.

attentive audience. They seemed interested. He was frequently asked by the /172/ patients if he would lecture that evening. The officers said that, when it was known that he was to lecture, the patients talked of it in anticipation, and they discussed the topics for days afterward. It was a variety in their dreary monotony of life; and, as the diary was the daily minute record of his hourly experience and observation written to his wife, it gave a familiar insight into English, Scotch, and French scenes and manners, which was new to most of the hearers.

He wrote the reports for the Board in 1862 and 1863. In these he presented the hospital to the government and the people, its strength and its weakness, its deficiencies, its wants, and its claims upon the Legislature. Especially did he discuss the wrong of sending lunatics from the prisons to the hospitals, and urge the advantage of introducing mechanical labor as a part of the treatment by diverse occupation of body, and almost necessarily of mind, and consequently, diversion, for the time, from their delusions and vagaries.

He sought out and wrote the financial history of the hospital, showing all the grants from the state, the gifts of benefactors, the cost of additions, and that many of the improvements and all the repairs were paid for out of the current receipts of the institution, that out of the excess that the patients paid over the actual cost of their board, provisions, fuel, lighting, &c. He found that but little more than half of the hospital as it then was, was paid for by the State Treasury; the /173/ rest was due to the profit on patients and their labor, and to the gifts of friends.

Mrs. Johannot gave nominally \$44,000, and with this two new wings were built and called after her name, and she had the credit of so much generosity to the institution; but she had burdened this gift with annuities which, at the time, could have been purchased for \$31,349; add to this the life support of her old and worthless horse, estimated at \$375, leaves the actual worth of the legacy slightly less than twelve thousand dollars.

In 1865, by direction of the Board, Dr. J. wrote a long memorial to the Legislature, setting forth the embarrassments, the debts, and weaknesses of the hospital, and asking that the State pay the debt and the full cost of the State paupers, and make a new grant beside, for a working capital. It was a manifest wrong that the State should charge more than the actual cost for the support of her diseased children in the public hospitals. The State paid only a part of the cost of its own wards that it placed there. The hospital must be carried on; and, like any other business, the whole body of customers must pay the whole cost, and if any part fail to pay their share, the others must pay an excess to make up the deficiency. In regard to the hospital, the State is the deficient customer, and leaves a deficit in the finances which the institution must charge to its more willing and freely paying customers. Consequently boards of trustees of all the State hospitals, voted to charge \$5 a week to all paying patients which was about 25 per cent. more than /174/ the cost. Dr. Jarvis alone resisted this measure. A large portion of the families in the State and in every civilized community, have but just means sufficient for support in the period of usual average health. They are independent, but have no surplus beyond their common wants. There are many master and journeyman mechanics, small farmers, ministers, teachers, many traders, &c. who cannot pay \$5 a week, beside the usual expenses of their families, for the support of one of their number in a hospital, especially if the patient be the head of the family. Consequently some—probably many—of these retain their disordered member at home as long as possible; often until the disease becomes fixed beyond the power of restoration.

This is shown by the very small number of native patients, and the large proportion of foreigners, in the state hospitals, and the great army of the chronic insane in the State. Therefore the trustees asked that the native insane should not be burdened with any part of the support of the foreign; that they be taken at the cost; and, moreover, that an annual grant be made to aid those who were unable, in the payment of their bills, as most of the States did.

The memorial still farther disclaimed the propriety, or even honesty, of the hospital earning money to create a surplus, or to pay past debts, which is but overcharging the patients of the present time for the benefit of those who shall come afterward, or to make up the deficiency of those who went before. The trustees could /175/ not understand that their office authorized them to lay a tax on one man, or family, for the benefit of another; and this is just the meaning of a hospital's making money, or paying off old debts out of its current income.

It is to be regretted that, although the Board voted to accept these propositions and to present them to the Legislature, they gave but a cold support. Some said they were useless; some, that the Legislature would not grant them; some, that the reports were too long, and would not be read; one told the Committee to whom the matter of the memorial was referred, that the proposal was Dr. Jarvis's and, although they voted for it, it was an act of courtesy to him rather than from any conviction of the necessity of the measure he proposed. Moreover the Board of State Charities, or rather their two active officers, interposed and resisted the measure; and the Legislature refused it.

Dr. J. was on good and courteous terms with all his associates in the Board. They had no open difference, yet they had different notions. Some of them thought it best to take matters as they were, and merely watch the hospital as they found it. It seemed to him that they should bring all the intelligence of the time to improve it, and to watch with untiring care to see that the community, and especially its suffering members, derive the utmost advantage from its operations. He was unwilling to be a passive officer, and not content until every improvement attainable should be adopted.

Although it was common to re-appoint trustees /176/ at the end of their periods of five years, yet when Dr. J.'s expired another was appointed in his place by the Governor, and only one of the trustees, Mr. Sewall, expressed sorrow at his leaving them.⁵⁴ It seemed then that his notions of official responsibility differed from those of his associates and of the state authorities.

Beside these in connection with insanity, he wrote in 1856, a long article on the influence of distance of residence from a hospital on its use by the people. He analyzed the patients that had been admitted into hospitals, into classes according to the distance of their homes from the institution, and compared these numbers with the average numbers of the people that sent them. The result showed that the same numbers of people living near to hospitals, sent more patients than those living farther off, and the proportion decreased

⁵⁴ It is possible that one of the reasons for Jarvis's not being reappointed had to do with the Masonic component, which had many medical associations, and with which E. J. never had anything to do. He was held in high esteem by Charles C. Sewall, according to later correspondence (cf. ALS to E. J., Boston, 25 March 1862, BCLM, B MS c 11.2); as well as by Lucy Sewall (1837-1890) whom he supported in her successful campaign to allow women to be admitted to the Massachusetts Medical Society on application for membership by Susan Dimock (1847-1875) in 1873.

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as the distance increased. In 1866 the Legislature of New York had under consideration the question of creating more hospitals. Their Committee asked him to re-write this report with all new facts and reasons. He did so, including all the State hospitals of the United States and those of Upper Canada, and their history from their beginnings to that year. The result established the conclusions of the former article, that it is impossible to diffuse the blessings of any large hospital over a large territory, that for this purpose there must be many small hospitals bringing their opportunities as near the homes of all the people as possible. /177/ This was printed by the New York Legislature and in the *Journal of Insanity*. A large number was sent to Dr. J. for distribution.

In 1868 he had long and extensive correspondence with Sir James Clark of London, physician to the Queen, in respect to the hospitals of the United States and their management. He (Sir James C.) was writing the life of that excellent philanthropist, scientific scholar, and manager of the insane, Dr. John Conolly, who was his warm friend, and who had treated Dr. Jarvis with the most cordial hospitality when he was in England.

He wrote Sir James Clark a full statistical account of all the hospitals and of their principles of management.⁵⁵ In 1870, when his Life of Dr. Conolly appeared he sent Dr. J. a copy which the latter reviewed in the *Journal of Insanity*. He was glad of this opportunity to pay his tribute of respect to one who had done so much to alleviate the condition of the insane, and showed that they could be treated without mechanical restraints. This article was re-published in a pamphlet of sixteen pages.

ATTENDANCE IN COURT

For many years Dr. Jarvis was called as a witness in court in cases of insanity, criminal and civil, murders, wills, &c. Of course none but doubtful and difficult questions of this kind are brought into court. The plain cases of insanity offer no ground of dispute. In all cases there are parties who have opposite notions, or wish to establish opposite positions. In cases of crimes the government endeavors to prove sanity and therefore criminality, and the defending counsel try to show insanity and therefore innocence. Each party calls /178/ only for such as will establish his side, or only with the hope that such will so determine. As usual with partizans, the counsel on either side know the facts mainly that work for them; and so they, or the friends of that side, represent the case to the physician whom they desire to enlist. In all cases Dr. J. sought all other light attainable from examination of the patient, or consultation with others who were acquainted with the cases, and, in many cases, reserved his opinion until he should hear the evidence that should be adduced in court. In a good portion of the cases his opinion was adverse to the party that called him. He has disappointed several by thus informing them in advance, and others by telling them after hearing the evidence, that he could not sustain them in their assumed positions. This seemed to be the habit of all other experts. So far as he knew them they were independent in their judgment and would not be persuaded to testify contrary to it. They might differ in opinion as to any particular case. Physicians, as well as others, have different habits of thought. They may look at any object or subject from different points of view, or give different values to details, and hence come to different conclusions as to a case of

⁵⁵ Sir James Clark (1788–1870). See letters from E. J. to Sir J. C., Dorchester, 28 June 1868, BCLM, vol. 9, ff. 56–99; 21 July 1869, ff. 196–8; 9 August 1869, ff. 200–2.

questionable insanity. Probably they differ in this matter no more than lawyers, or even judges, as to the things that come before them. Frequently one court overrules the judgment of another. Benches of judges often decide by majorities. In the trial of Andrews when a question was proposed to the court by the differing counsel, after some consultation the chief justice said, "The /179/ court, four judges, is equally divided."

TRIAL OF ANDREWS

In December, 1869, Dr. Jarvis was called to Plymouth to examine Samuel M. Andrews, in prison for murder. Going into his history, that of his family, and the minute details of the killing, Dr. J. concluded that this was a case of momentary mania, *mania transitoria* of Lanier, Devergie, Marc, and other French and German writers.⁵⁶ He went to the trial, which occupied eight days, and heard all the evidence, and was confirmed in the opinion first formed, that Mr. A. under the terrible assault and provocation, was excited to mania and completed, in atrocious murder, what he had begun in self-defence. So he testified, and under the very persistent cross-examination of the attorney-general, he could give no other opinion.

Dr. Choate,⁵⁷ an able and honest alienist, gave the opposite opinion. The government counsel could hardly admit that Dr. J. was honest, or of sound judgment, and so said in his address to the jury. This was the first and only time that he had been treated discourteously by the opposing counsel. He had often been very hard pressed to give different opinions. All sorts of cross-questions and sophistical propositions had been offered to entrap him; and one lawyer said after such long and persevering trial, "Dr. Jarvis is not to be caught." Yet this had been invariably courteous, until the trial of Mr. Andrews.

There is a very general complaint by the experts, both in this country and Great Britain, of the improper bearing of lawyers in court toward those who are called /180/ upon to testify in cases of insanity, and the frequent and discourteous, and sometimes even insolent, pressure to compel them to testify in accordance with the lawyers' notions, or to break down the scientific witness and discredit him in the opinion of the court and jury. But Dr. J. had no such experience as this, until he went to Plymouth, and even then it was very slight.

⁵⁶ He also quoted Henry Maudsley (1835–1918), the prominent British alienist, and editor of the *Journal of Mental Science*. Books by two of the authors he mentions are: Charles Chrétien Henri Marc, *De la Folie*, Paris, J.-B. Baillière, 1840; Alphonse Marie Guillaume Devergie, *Médecine légale, théorique et pratique*, Paris, Germer-Baillière, 1840; see also *Annales d'hygiène publique et de médecine légale*, 1859, 11, 2nd series. Other relevant works were P. Boileau de Castelnau, *De la Folie affective considérée au point de vue médico-judiciaire*, Paris, J.-B. Baillière, 1856; Jean-Baptiste Cazauvieilh, *Du suicide, de l'aliénation mentale et des crimes contre les personnes*, Paris, J.-B. Baillière, 1840; Jean Étienne Dominique Esquirol, *Les Maladies mentales sous le rapport médico-légal*, Paris, J.-B. Baillière, 1838; J. C. Bucknill, *Unsoundness of mind in relation to criminal acts. An essay*, London, Samuel Highley, 1854; J. C. Bucknill and D. H. Tuke, *A manual of psychological medicine*, London, John Churchill, 1858.

⁵⁷ George Cheyne Shattuck Choate (1827–1896). Jarvis and Choate corresponded on a variety of matters such as statistical reports and clinical cases of epilepsy (see Letters to E. J. 1856–1875, BCLM, B MS c 11.2, 2fd, card 1, 2, 3, 4, 5), but there are no letters on the Samuel M. Andrews case, which E. J. had to defend and to interpret a difficult matter where emotions and morality interfered. It concerned a homosexual relationship, in Plymouth (Mass.), between the "timid" Samuel Andrews and the "exuberant" Cornelius Holmes, which ended in the murder of Holmes and further violence to his corpse. E. J. was supplied with evidence that the killer (Andrews) was trying to defend himself from the sexual violence of Holmes, who "grasped A's long beard, and pressing upon his neck held him firmly to the ground, while with his right hand he opened A's pantaloons and drew them

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Andrews was convicted, wrongfully Dr. J. thought, but there was a very general, perhaps almost universal determination that he was atrociously guilty.

After this Dr. J. wrote the article on 'Mania Transitoria', to be printed with the account of the trial written by Mr. Cha[rle]s G. Davis, the counsel for the defense. He also wrote an account of the trial, and his own argument for the defence on the principle of temporary insanity, showing the correspondence of Andrews' acts in their minute details, with the theory of insane and ungovernable excitement, which impelled him; and that, upon this alone, can his previous life, spotless, tender and even timid character, be reconciled with the facts of his killing his companion, and his doing this so atrociously and with such rude instruments, the stones that happened to lie about him at the moment. Both this account, and the essay on 'Mania Transitoria', were published in the *Journal of Insanity* and the *Boston Medical [and Surgical] Journal*, and also an edition for distribution. They made pamphlets of thirty-two, and twenty-five pages.

/181/ WRITINGS ON INSANITY

In 1869, he was requested by the superintendents to prepare a system of tabular forms for the publication of the statistics of insane hospitals in the annual reports. He consented. For this purpose he consulted ninety-eight sets of reports, including all the American hospitals, most of the English and Scotch and some of the Irish Asylums, to determine what facts should be presented for the use of the government, the instruction of the people, and for the benefit of the students of mental science and pathology. He then prepared a system of forms for tables, and wrote an explanatory report. He read this at the meeting in Hartford in 1870. It was received very kindly but the Association very properly thought it required careful consideration before adoption, and, with his consent, voted to print an edition for the use of the members who should examine it during the year, and at the next meeting it should be discussed and decided upon. The next year, 1871, at Toronto in Ontario, it was discussed and finally recommended as a basis of reports of the members.

Different superintendents have different ideas as to reporting. Some go into statistics and give them largely; some think statistics of little value, and some even that they cannot be accurately learned and reliably presented, and are, therefore, apt to mislead rather than edify and enlighten. Some give prominence to one class of facts; others have different classes in their minds. Dr. J. found a great diversity in the great number of hospital reports, and although in all the reports were sixty different specific facts given as titles and descriptions of the tables, /182/ or as headings of the columns, yet no hospital shows all these facts in its reports, and only six of these facts appear in all the reports. The others are given in various proportions, and no two hospitals have the same system of tables.

For the study of insanity through all its conditions and manifestations, it is important that all of these be published by all the authorities that have the charge of patients; and, at least in respect to the essential facts, they should be the same in all. He therefore selected all the facts of this class, and arranged them in thirty-four tables. The report occupied twenty-nine pages.

down and forced his hands between his limbs and next to his skin." Cf. 'Trial of Samuel M. Andrews for the murder of Cornelius Holmes', by E. J., *American Journal of Insanity*, April 1870, pp. 1-23, p. 8.

In 1869 Dr. Brown⁵⁸ asked him to write his ideas of a perfect hospital, its structure and arrangement. It had long seemed to Dr. J. that there was an error in hospital architecture which had for its first basis the element of security. Hence all hospitals are made strong throughout all the parts and wings have the same thick walls, strong guarded doors and grated windows. A large part of the insane are mild, quiet, manageable by the influence of the guardian, and of delicate sensibility. They not only do not need these strong and close repressions, but they are grieved and some are offended by this want of confidence. The strict confinement is not only not necessary, but it is a bar to the cure, beside making the process more needlessly painful. As in physical diseases and injuries, the mentally disordered should be allowed and encouraged to use and enjoy all the faculties that are not diseased, or all whose exercise will not peril the restoration of health, and the patient permitted /183/ to live as nearly in the ordinary manner of life as is consistent with the means of recovery.

The hospital should be diversified in structure. In the best condition it should be of several separate parts. The mild and trustworthy should dwell in houses as near like their homes as possible. Those not trustworthy need houses a little stronger, and more watched. The wild, the violent, those prone to escape, need strong walls, and the ordinary means of custody that are now provided.

He extended these ideas in a long dissertation covering forty or fifty letter sheet pages, and instead of sending it to Dr. Brown as he at first intended, he preferred to present it to the Association of Superintendents. He read it in Hartford. The Association heard it with courteous attentiveness. Some expressed approbation of its doctrines; some expressed decided dissent. It was the last day—almost the last hour of the session. It was a matter of great importance. The members were not prepared to accept it, nor were they ready to reject it. With his consent they voted to print this, as that on statistics, for their personal examination during the year; and then to discuss it at the next meeting in 1870. At that next meeting at Toronto it was discussed, objected to by most, misunderstood by some who represented it as advising almost, or quite, a Gheel system, and as a proposition not accepted by a large majority. Some spoke very warmly in its favor. It seemed to him that they generally looked with favor on the general character of its doctrines, although unwilling to accept it as a whole.

/184/ This is the tendency of the general treatment of the insane. It is more and more discriminating, and adapted to the varied conditions and necessities of the patients; yet the grated windows, the impenetrable walls, the ever secure doors, are the same for all. The architect has not yet got courage to ameliorate in his plans of custody. The time for that has not yet come, but it cannot be deferred much longer.

In 1871 the National Commissioner of Public Education sent a circular to the superintendents of lunatic hospitals asking their views as to the relation of education to insanity. He sent one to Dr. Jarvis perhaps not knowing the limit of his experience, and that he was no longer in charge of the insane. He could not answer the specific inquiries which related to hospitals; yet as the general topic interested him, he wrote a long essay on that, and told the Commissioner he had done so rather to gratify himself and to say some things

⁵⁸ Francis Henry Brown (1835–1917), see E. J. Letters, Dorchester, 30 November 1870, BCLM, B MS b 56.4, vol. 10, f. 65.

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that were on his mind, than with any expectation of enlightening him; and asked him to return the manuscript if he should not use it, that it might be published elsewhere. He looked for an early return of his paper; but, instead of that, he (the Commissioner) sent him more than warm thanks accompanied with a check for \$110 for the eleven pages that it filled in the report.

His interest in the idiots led him to write a long account of their personal and social condition, and of the schools established for their training, and of what was done for them in these establishments. /185/ This article was published in the *Philadelphia Medical Journal* in 1849, and republished in the *Psychological Journal* in London. He also wrote the Annual Report of the Idiot School of Massachusetts in 1867. In this he pointed out what had been done for these poor children and how it was done, and the difference in their mental and moral condition before and after they had been subject to the training here offered them. He also made an analysis of the residence of families that sent children to this institution, and found that the idiots, as the insane, were sent to the place of improvement in diminishing proportion with the increase of travel from home.

In the same year he wrote the report of the Blind Institution and showed from examination of the records from the beginning, that the number of these children sent to the asylum, was great in proportion to their nearness to it.

From special interest in insanity, he wrote a long review of Mr. Bowditch's *History of the McLean Asylum*, and published it in the *Christian Examiner*.

WRITINGS ON HEALTH AND VITAL STATISTICS

Beside the lectures and books on physiology and health already mentioned, he wrote articles for journals, &c. on topics that at the times interested him, and on which he had some ideas which he wished to give to the world, or which he was asked to prepare and publish. In 1845, at the request of Dr. Hays, editor of the *Philadelphia Medical Journal*, he wrote a review of Dunglison's new work on health⁵⁹ giving his /186/ views as to the sanitary law and self care, and adding also his own ideas as to diet, exercise, &c. This filled twelve pages in the Journal.

In the same year he wrote a long review of Mr. Chadwick's new and interesting work, or report to the British Government, on Interment in Towns.⁶⁰ This was new and had hardly been thought of here, but a feeling of dissatisfaction had begun to arise, as to burials in cities and under churches in this country. He was glad, therefore, to present Mr. Chadwick's views and give his facts and representations of the evil effects of burial in the midst of dense population. This article covered _____ pages in the Journal.

In 1848 he wrote a long review—thirty-two printed pages—of the great report of the

⁵⁹ Isaac Hays (1796–1879), see BCLM, B MS b 56.4, vol. 1, ff. 28–30. The reference is to Robley Dunglison (1798–1869) who, in 1824, introduced François Magendie to America with the translation, prefaced and commented by C. T. Haden, of his method of preparation and use of morphine, iodine, and quinine. He also wrote *A new dictionary of medical science and literature* (1833), which was revised by his son Richard in 1874 and published under the title of *Medical lexicon*. Jarvis refers to his *Human health, or the influence of atmosphere and locality; change of air and climate; seasons; food; clothing; bathing and mineral springs, exercise, sleep on healthy man*, Philadelphia, 1844.

⁶⁰ Edwin Chadwick (1800–1890), *A report on the results of a special inquiry into the practice of interment in towns*, Philadelphia, n. p., 1845. For the following correspondence with E. J. cf. BCLM, B MS b 56.4, vol. 3, ff. 15–20.

British Commission on the Health of Towns. This was a new revelation of the great amount of sickness, and terrible depression of life, and great mortality in some cities, and especially in some districts of towns, universally connected with bad sanitary conditions, narrow and crowded streets, untrained, uncleaned, dirty, foul, with foul emanations from court, alley and yard, and very close and crowded dwelling with air foul without, and stenchy within. These were conditions which the public authorities could improve, and thereby earn health and longer life for the families that suffered from them.⁶¹

In 1848 he proposed to the American Statistical Association to petition the Legislature to cause a sanitary survey of the state to be made. The proposition /187/ was accepted and a Committee was appointed of which Dr. J. was chairman, to prepare a memorial setting forth the reasons for and advantages of such a measure, and to present it to the Government. The State of Massachusetts had caused several important and valuable surveys of its territory, as to its geology, its beasts, birds, insects and fishes, showing their bearing on the wealth of the people; and it seemed desirable to make a survey of man and his condition, his health, longevity and working power, in the various parts of the Commonwealth, in the various domestic and social conditions of the people. The subject was new to the Legislature. Such inquiries had been made in Europe with great advantage, but they had never been thought of here. The matter was treated very respectfully, and referred to the judiciary Committee. They listened kindly to Dr. J. They held long discussions with him. They admitted the importance of the measure, but as it was new and not understood by this community, they recommended that a large edition of the memorial of twenty pages, be printed and distributed among the people, and the matter referred to the next legislature for more intelligent consideration. This proposition was accepted.

In 1849, the Councilors of the Massachusetts Medical Society voted to petition for the survey, and directed Dr. J. to write the memorial in their name, and to present it to the Legislature. The House of Representatives ordered the new memorial to be printed and the former one of the Statistical Association to be reprinted together, making thirty-nine octavo pages; and also /188/ referred the matter to a Committee for hearing and consideration. After much consultation they proposed a bill authorizing the Governor to appoint a Committee who should devise a plan of such survey, and report to the next Legislature in 1850. This was adopted.

Gov. Briggs, according to his usual custom, appointed one from each of the three political parties, Lemuel Shattuck, Whig chairman; Jehiel Abbott of Westfield, free soiler; Nathaniel P[rentiss] Banks, democrat. Mr. Shattuck had given much attention to the matter and was interested in it, and could therefore do the work well; and on him the whole burden fell. Immediately after his appointment he wrote Dr. Jarvis asking him to devise a plan, and even to write the report. This he declined. Mr. S. wrote also to the Councilors of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and to the consulting physicians of Boston, asking their advice and co-operation. The Councilors voted to refer the matter to a Committee of which Dr. J. was chairman, to answer the Commissioners' letter, and co-operate with them if need be. Dr. John C. Warren, chairman of the board of consulting physicians, also wrote Dr. Jarvis in behalf of the board, enclosing Mr. Shattuck's letter, and asked him to answer

⁶¹ 'Sanitary reform', *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, April 1848, 15: 419–50.

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it for them. He declined doing this; but he wrote a long letter to Mr. S. in the name of the Councilors of the Medical Society, giving his own views of the objects, plans, and probable means of the sanitary survey. This letter was published in Mr. Shattuck's Report. He was very frequently in consultation with Mr. Shattuck both at /189/ his own house and in that of Mr. S., and was cognizant of all that he did in this work. He did not agree with him in all his recommendations for he feared that Mr. Shattuck's plan would prove impracticable and useless. Mr. S. produced a long report of 544 printed pages, octavo;⁶² and although Dr. J. thought his propositions were all good yet it seemed to him that they could not be put into operation until the State and the people should be cultivated and have grown to it by many years of trial and experience. The result was that the whole terminated in nothing. The Report was made, printed, distributed, and there was an end of this movement. The Legislature took no action.

Dr. J. wrote a long review of the Report in the *Boston Medical [and Surgical] Journal*, but the people were not ripe for the plan of the Commission.

In 1851, he wrote an article for the *Philadelphia Medical Journal*, covering nineteen printed pages, reviewing Mr. Shattuck's Report. He gave an analysis of Mr. Shattuck's whole plan of a Board of Health for the State, and Boards for each town and city. Dr. J. could commend his principles and general plan, but feared that, as proposed, it would not be adopted; and although such was very desirable yet the world must be trained to it by years of trial of less complete systems which it seemed to him had better be begun now, with such measures as could be obtained, with the probability that, if successful with small beginnings, more and more would be added by the several legislatures, with the growth of interest in the system.

/190/ In 1849 he wrote for the *Philadelphia Medical Journal* a review of Drs. Bell⁶³ and Wyman's⁶⁴ works on ventilation. He wished to press this need of more fresh air in our dwellings, shops, and public buildings, and the duty of physicians to urge it among the people who employed or confided in them.

In the same year he was appointed to deliver the annual address before the Massachusetts Medical Society. This is an honor usually accorded to men older than he was. He was glad of the opportunity to set forth some of his ideas, yet he was in great doubt as to the topic he should write upon. There were three that interested him on which he would gladly speak; first, Causes of Insanity. He wished to show their frequency, their intermixture with the ordinary exposure and experience of life, their insidiousness, and destructive power, and to lift the voice of warning, and to urge the professional duty of guarding families against these common and unnoticed dangers to mental health. Second, the uncertainties of medical principles, their mutation, the want of fixed axioms in medical practice. The whole history of the treatment of disease from the earliest records and even traditions, has been that of change. Nothing has, as yet, been permanently established and maintained. That which has been adopted and followed with acknowledged success and

⁶² Lemuel Shattuck (1793–1859), statistician and genealogist, was a founder member of the American Statistical Association. *Report of a general plan for the promotion of public and personal health, devised, prepared, and recommended by the Commissioners appointed under a resolve of the legislature of Massachusetts, relating to a sanitary survey of the state*. Presented April 25, 1850, Boston, Dutton, 1850.

⁶³ John Bell (1796–1872).

⁶⁴ Morrill Wyman (1812–1903), *A practical treatise on ventilation*, Boston, J. Monroe, 1846; London, Chapman Brothers, 1846.

apparently demonstrated by the best minds of the time, as the certain cause of healing, as a determined means of overcoming disease, in one age, generation, or shorter period, has been forgotten in the next, and its place taken by a new method apparently equally well founded and established; /191/ and this has met with the same fate as its predecessors. So it has been in ages past, and so it is now. The fleeting theories and methods of therapeutics, have passed and are passing in rapid succession, and we are yet standing on slippery ground apparently knowing as much as our fathers did of the nature of disease, with apparently as sure means of removing it, but with no better promise than they had that our knowledge is sure and our practice as fixed as the movements of the stars. This was in harmony with his lifelong doubts as to the efficacy of a large portion of medicinal agents on disease, which had not diminished with his steady observation. If a certain remedy cured fever in 1810 and was so shown by the best scientific minds of the time, why could it not do the same in 1820? Why did the best minds of the last time, give it up and try another? Was not the disease the same? the change to be produced the same? the agent the same? If so, was there not an error in the judgment of the first physician? and as the agent adopted, approved, and apparently proved by the second generation of physicians, was discarded by a third, and then by a fourth generation, was there not an error in the conclusion of all in respect to the power of the agents they severally selected? Nevertheless he was not prepared to enter the arena of contest. He could only throw out doubts and show negation. He thought we were doing no better than the fathers, and he feared this dullness would only follow their cause in new and useless inventions. Third, production of vital force, the laws of health, the ideal of a perfect physical man, the advantage of this /192/ study; the duty of the profession to so teach the world that they would be drawn to learn and obey the laws appointed for self-administration, and thus increase their vital force, avoid disease, and increase their longevity. This is not the fault of the profession alone. The people are equally in error. They do not want instruction and guidance to keep them in health. They want physicians only when they are sick to raise them up again to strength. They do not ask their advice as to the means of preventing sickness, as they consult lawyers as to the way of avoiding legal errors, and difficulties; nor do they pay for such advice as they pay lawyers; nor do the physicians prepare themselves for this responsibility. They bring no unsalable professional qualities to the market; they provide such as the people ask, and are willing to pay them for. A few had consulted him as to their dangers and liabilities—whether they could venture safely on this or that work, enterprise or indulgence; yet they seemed to do so with the same feeling as they would consult about the fashion of a coat, and with as little feeling of the responsibility of payment for his advice.

After much reflection and doubt, he selected the last topic as probably the most useful, and, to him, the most interesting. So he wrote on this subject. The Society received the address very kindly, and his friends were pleased to have these principles put forth; but some said, although he was correct in his statements and propositions, he was fifty years in advance of the profession and the people—it would be half a century before his principles would be adopted by physicians, and by the world at large.

/193/ His address covered forty-seven pages in the *Medical Society Communications*. By consent of the committee of publication, he added thirty pages of notes. Beside the usual edition for the members of the Society, they printed a large extra quantity for his use

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and distribution to others. He sent many to friends in America and in Europe. There were many applications for copies, and, in a short time, all were gone and now he does not know where a copy can be found.

In 1850, Dr. J. wrote for the American Medical Association, a paper on the 'Vital Statistics of Massachusetts and New England', showing the various common and prevalent diseases, their comparative destructiveness, their effect on various ages, the chances of life and its duration in these states, in comparison with the same in other states and countries so far as the records gave the means of judging. This paper, covering twenty pages, was printed in the third volume of the *Transactions* of the Association in 1850.

In 1852 he wrote a review of the Massachusetts Registration Report, showing its virtues which were many and its imperfections which were few and could easily be remedied. He compared it with the English Reports which were more complete, and with some others in the United States which were far inferior to those of Massachusetts. These were by far the best of any in America, and having accomplished so much, the way was open and the want was manifest for a farther improvement. This was very unsatisfactory to the secretary of state under whose authority the last reports were prepared, and to Dr. Shurtleff /194/ who was the immediate superintendent of the report for a few late years.

In 1855, three years later, he wrote another review of the whole matter of registration, including notices and analyses of the reports of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, South Carolina and Kentucky, which had begun a similar work and gave promise of a permanent series of investigations and reports of the movements of their population.

In 1855, at the request of the Board of Health of Dorchester, he wrote a code of health laws for the town, which was accepted by the Board and by the people in public meeting, and printed as a part of the fixed regulations of the municipality.

In the same year the Massachusetts Medical Society Councilors voted to petition the Legislature for improvement in the law of registration of births, marriages and deaths. Dr. J. was appointed to write the memorial and present it to the Government. He did so.

In 1857, he was appointed by the American Medical Association, on the Committee on Vital Statistics and Registration; and in the next year he wrote a report setting forth the objects and principles of registering the great facts of human life, birth, marriage and death. He described the circumstances in connection with these events that should not be omitted, and the larger number that could profitably be reported. He spoke of the comparative value of all these, and urged that each state adopt the system and obtain /195/ as large a proportion of these facts and circumstances as possible. To the question what machinery should be used for this purpose, he could make no answer for all. The various states were differently circumstanced. They had different internal organization. Some were divided into towns each of which had a set of local officers; some had counties only, with different methods of administration. In Massachusetts and most of New England the selectmen of the towns, and in Kentucky where were but few municipal organizations, the county assessors, have been registrars, and with considerable success. Some cities had Boards of Health; some had Registrars especially appointed for the collection of these facts. The Medical Association could adopt no universal rule, but it should advise each state to establish by law a system of registration, and to execute by such means and agencies as each should determine for itself. This report was printed in the Association *Transactions*, vol. 11th, in 1858, covering twenty-three pages.

In 1859, he wrote for the *Philadelphia Medical Journal*, an article filling twelve printed pages, reviewing Dr. James Wynne's late work on Vital Statistics. He was glad of this opportunity to set forth some facts which were in his possession, and which gave a much wider basis of deduction than those that had been within Dr. W.'s reach, less than half a million of both sexes, and coming later, he had found the records of over one hundred and twenty-five millions of births where the sexes were given, and now (1873) this field of /196/ observation is very greatly enlarged. Dr. J. has probably in his library the reports of two hundred and fifty millions of births of children whose sexes are stated. In other points he was enabled to give a much broader basis of calculation, but it is thought, in all, these greater numbers confirmed the inference of Dr. Wynne.

In 1860, while attending the International Statistical Congress, as delegate from the American Statistical Association, he wrote a long report on the vital statistics of the United States, and gave, in detail, the laws that were established in six states for the registration of their births, marriages and deaths, and the plans of eight cities that took account of their mortality.

In conversation with Lord Brougham,⁶⁵ Dr. J. gave him an account of some investigations that he had made in respect to the crimes and misdemeanors to which they were subject. Lord B. asked him to write out what he had said, in the form of a report, and he would read it to his section of Judicial Statistics. Dr. J. did as Lord B. wished, and stated that he had examined the records of committals of over 60,000 convicts to prison, whose sex in connection with their crimes were given. The number of males greatly exceeded the females. Among the males the majority committed crimes against the person and against property. Among the females the very great majority were transgressions against the law of police, errors of sensuality, intemperance, &c. The majority of the transgressions of males were those of plan and purpose requiring the use of /197/ the intellect; the majority of those of females grew out of their physical organization. The majority of men's crimes were intended to benefit or gratify themselves at the cost of others. The majority of women's transgressions were those in which there was no intention to injure others, but they were sure to suffer themselves. Those of men were crimes of selfishness; those of women were transgressions of self-sacrifice. Lord Brougham read this essay himself to his section of the Congress.

Dr. Jarvis also wrote a paper on a farther inquiry in the census to show more completely a sustainment of the value and power of the population. It is usual to leave the sex, age, &c. and to give the total numbers of the people. They are simply counted, not described; and then one nation is compared with another by these enumerations, the highest figures apparently representing the greatest power and efficiency. People are not all of equal value; some are sick, some are halt, some are invalids. It is important in estimating the worth of a nation not only to know how many people there are, but what strength and efficiency they have; how many are weak, sick, and disabled, and these are to be deducted from the total numbers. He suggested that a column be added to the schedules of inquiry under which it should be asked if he (or she) enjoys the usual health and strength of persons of his (or her) age. If not, what is the condition? to which would be answered the disease or disability, fever, consumption, &c., broken limb, wound, &c. The numbers of these severally, would

⁶⁵ See above, Introduction p. xvii.

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show the number of persons suffering from each /198/ and every disease, ailment and injury, and their prevalence in the state or nation; and the amount that must be deducted from the total number in order to determine the actual effective and productive population.

All of these three papers were printed in the volume of *Transactions* of the Congress.

Spending the night with Mr. William Newmarch, the editor of that Statistical Society's Journal, Mr. N., made many and minute inquiries as to the principles, methods and practice of taxation in the United States. Dr. J. explained all the points at length, and they compared the American with the British system of raising money for public purposes. The next morning Mr. N. asked him to write out what he had told him the evening before, and go with it to the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and read it to the assemblage. Dr. J. wrote it as proposed, but sent it by Mr. N. to the meeting where he read it. He only showed the system in Massachusetts; the purposes for which taxes were levied by state, county and town for the support of government, justice, schools, roads, police, &c. The report was kindly received and printed in the *Transactions* of the Association, filling nine pages octavo.

In 1861, the Statistical Association voted to ask the Legislature to establish a Board of Health and Vital Statistics which should have the care of the registration of births, marriages, and deaths, and superintend the decennial census of the State, and prepare the annual registration and decennial census report. The Sanitary Association voted the same. Both of these associations appointed /199/ Dr. Jarvis, as chairman of the committees, to write the petition and urge it before the Legislature. The councilors of the Massachusetts Medical Society voted to join with these two associations for the same purpose. Dr. John More was chairman of their committee. Dr. J. wrote the memorial setting forth the interest the body politics had in, and its responsibility for the health of all its members, its duty to watch over this great interest, to look for all the dangers that threatened it and to warn the people against them, and the advantage of having a body of intelligent sanitarians for their purpose. This work is closely connected with the registration of births, marriages, and deaths, by which the Board would become familiar with all the diseases of the people and their localities, and they, or their secretary, would thus have an indication of the first steps toward learning the causes of sickness and death, and also the health, productive power and protracted life of each one of its members.

This was referred to a large committee who gave many hearings. The bill was adopted in the Senate but lost in the House. In this case, as in every attempt to improve registry law and to persuade the State to take active sanitary measures, there was active opposition from the secretary's department. The registration was done there, but the work was far from being complete and satisfactory, not from any fault of the clerks who did it, but from the imperfection of the law which was written in the earlier years when less was known or thought of in respect to sanitary matters. The clerks were now /200/ long in office. Some of them had been in the Legislature. They were men of character. They were constantly in the State House. They knew the Legislature and had influence with them. Moreover from long habit of working in one way, they became men of routine, and were not willing to change their course, and looked with dissatisfaction on all plans that would turn them from their fixed habits. Besides they had prepared the registration and other reports which had excellent reputation and were satisfactory to the people, and they considered propositions of improvement were rather meddlesome interferences, than suggestions of sound

philosophy. Hence, from their own view of the matter, they thought it proper for them to use all their influence to resist the amendments proposed by the committee, to the law and plan of registration, and the character of the report.

There might have been another motive for their opposition to the changes proposed. As the petition asked that the registration be transferred from the office of the secretary, to which it had no natural affinity, to a new board or superintendency especially adapted to it, they might fear that new clerks of different qualifications would be required, and their occupation then be gone. This was indicated by the statement and proposition made to Dr. Jarvis on one of these occasions by one of these clerks, Mr. Pulsifer. Whether he spoke from his own opinion solely, or from his knowledge of the opinions and feelings of his associates, is unknown, but he said /201/ the officers in the secretary's department would withdraw all their opposition to the new law proposed if Dr. J., or the friends of the measure, would assure them that they would be employed by the administration of the new scheme. To this Dr. J. could only say that he could give no assurance. He was then simply the agent of the Association and Society. He had no authority to speak for those who would be appointed by the Governor to administer the new law if it should be established, and it was extremely probable that Governor Gardner,⁶⁶ who did not like him, would not appoint him as one of that Board. He could only suggest that the new Board would probably select as their coadjutors and clerks, such as were best able to do their work, and if the clerks now employed in the registration were the most fit, as they should be and apparently were, from their experience, they would be retained in the work, on the new plan.

In 1861, Mr. Fields⁶⁷ asked Dr. J. to write for the *Atlantic Monthly* Magazine, on some of the topics most familiar and interesting to him. He was glad of this opportunity to speak of the health of the army, and the little regard that has usually been paid to it by governments. He had become much interested in this by reading the reports of the Sanitary Commission that went from England to the Crimea in 1855.⁶⁸ He wrote a long article on the sanitary condition of the army of the United States. He stated the inexorable and unvarying law of health which demanded obedience from all men whether civilians or soldiers; that Government /202/ had hitherto disregarded, or, more properly, had ignored this law, and seemed to suppose that men in armor, in barracks, or in the field, needed no more care than their guns or cannon, and could endure exposure and privation as well as they; that consequently the losses by sickness in armies, were very great, and that invalidism—the number on the sick list—still more diminished the efficiency of armies; that the danger of suffering and loss from wounds and killing in battle, was much less than from sickness and death in tent and hospitals. The comforts and conveniences of house and home, the regular, varied and properly cooked food, the protection from the severities of the weather, cold, storm and extreme heat, by shelter, fire, and suitable clothing, were not mere luxuries, but the necessary means of developing and sustaining daily strength and health. The army life

⁶⁶ Henry Joseph Gardner (1818–1892) was Governor of Massachusetts 1854–1857. Cf. BCLM, B MS b 56.4, vol. 4, ff. 75–6, ALS, E. J. to H. J. G., Dorchester, 15 January 1855, notifies him of the election of officers; awaits his appointment of trustees to the corporation of the Massachusetts School for idiotic and feeble-minded youth for 1855.

⁶⁷ James Thomas Fields (1817–1881), editor of *Atlantic Monthly* 1861–1870.

⁶⁸ Florence Nightingale's reports between 1854 and 1856 on the sanitary conditions of the Army and the horrors of the Crimean War had an enormous impact on public opinion. Monica E. Baly, *Florence Nightingale and the nursing legacy*, London, Croom Helm, 1986.

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insofar as it varied from domestic life, was injurious to the human constitution, laid it open to attacks of disease, and lessened its power of resistance. It was for the interest of the Government to make the conditions as nearly like that of the civilian as possible.

This was ready for publication in 1862, but that was a time of depression in regard to the war of the Union. More soldiers were wanted, and they were not obtained as easily as the national necessities demanded. He feared the presentation of this dangerous state of soldiers' life, would increase the /203/ difficulties of enlisting men; so he held the article back for a year, and then printed it in thirty-four pages of the magazine.

In 1863, the Sanitary Commission appointed him as one of the agents to examine military hospitals of the United States, and sent him to Ohio, Kentucky and Indiana. He was absent more than a month, and examined forty-six hospitals, in Cincinnati, Louisville and New Albany, and along the borders of the Ohio River. This was a very busy month and required constant labor early morning to late evening to make the visits, inquiries and records; but it was made comparatively easy and very pleasant, by the intelligence and the invariable courtesy of the surgeons and other officials of these establishments. An army hospital—especially an extemporaneous one—is not like a civil hospital at home; nevertheless he found universally comfortable accommodations and good surgical attendance and nursing. The officers seemed to be all competent, faithful, kind, with only one exception who was a surgeon already under suspicion, and was immediately discharged. Dr. J. concluded that the patients in these hospitals had better [than] average surgical skill and attention, and a better opportunity of recovery, than they would have at their homes, some of which were remote from any physician, and many out of the reach of skillful surgeons.

He was directed to make a very close examination and careful record, and full and minute report of the condition of these hospitals. His report covered over /204/ 250 foolscap pages.

In 1866 he wrote a dissertation on the connection of intemperance with disease, and its effects on life. He had Mr. Nelson's⁶⁹ elaborate calculations and conclusions as to this matter, and gave an analysis of his statements of the dangers of alcoholic indulgence. He stated that the effect of this habit is accumulative, and increases with the repetition of drinking, each indulgence adding to the power of its precursor; that though it is often said that the last debauch, or the last dram, destroyed life, yet this was only the finishing blow and would not have been fatal if the constitution had not been wasted, and its power of resistance exhausted previously. The last dram was only one of the links in the chain of destructive causes, and probably did no more evil, and annihilated no more vital energy, than the others. He wished to show that all of these indulgences had each its proportional part in the exhaustion of life. This was printed in the *Boston Medical [and Surgical] Journal*.

The work that perhaps interested him as much as any other, was his article on 'The Increase of Human Life'. In this he was able to show from records going back to the time of the Roman Emperor Alexander Severus, two hundred and thirty-five years after the Christian era, life tables in different centuries, tables of mortality and the history of diseases, all confirmed the opinion that human life has increased with the progress of civilization, and that civilization includes all the ameliorations of [the] human condition that sustain vitality,

⁶⁹ This must be a reference to Charles Wilson (1804–1883) and his work *The pathology of drunkenness. A view of the production of disease: founded on original observation, and research*, Edinburgh, Adam and Charles Black, 1855.

lessen the destructive power of disease, and /205/ increase longevity. The increase of intelligence, the advance of wealth, the addition of comforts, the improvement of dwellings and clothing, the better supply of food, all contribute to this result. Epidemics have diminished in frequency and power. Diseases are better managed. Fewer are made sick and the sick are treated more tenderly and managed more skillfully. The world's affections are more warm and generous toward each other. The rich lend more help to the poor; the intelligent more to the ignorant, the powerful more to the weak, and thus the blessings of earth are more equally distributed to the advantage of those who suffered from low vitality. This was published in three separate numbers of the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1869. The Statistical Association printed it in their *Transactions*, and the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company printed a large edition for distribution. It made a pamphlet of fifty-five pages.

In 1872, he wrote an essay on 'Immigration'. He was led to this first from having examined the question of the power of the foreign population in the United States, and second from reading an address of Mr. Kopp before the Social Science Association in which he made some very extravagant and even wild statements of the numbers of the foreigners now living here, and of their children who were of foreign blood, though born in America. There were others who thought the foreign element was very great, and the native element must soon be in the minority. Dr. J. had all the reports of the National Government in regard to the arrivals by sea since Oct. 1, 1819, when the law of /206/ registering arrivals went into operation. He had also all the essays, reports, and calculations of writers on this subject in respect to arrivals from 1790 to 1819, also the Canadian Reports of immigration, and British Reports of emigration, also the censuses of the United States, showing the nativity of population in 1850 and 1860, the census of Canada and the other British N[orth] American Provinces and the birthplace of the people. From all these he could calculate the numbers of foreigners who came to this country by sea and by land from or through Canada and New Brunswick, from 1790 to 1820, and their survivors or foreigners living here, in each decennial year of this period, and finally compare his calculations with the numbers actually found here in 1850 and 1860.

The result of his calculations varied only one fifth of one per cent. from the numbers of the census in 1850, and only one hundred and fortieth of one per cent. in 1860. It was safe to say that these calculations were correct.

He found that the rate of mortality was much greater among foreigners than among Americans. This was due in part to the fact that the immigrants were nearly all of the poorer classes whose death rate is always larger than that of the comfortable classes; also to their living in cities, and in their most closely inhabited, foulest, and most unhealthy districts, and also to their frequent dissipation, especially the Irish, who are very much given to intemperance, and also to the very general habit of smoking tobacco, and /207/ living, they and their families, in their crowded and unventilated rooms, in air naturally befouled by their continued respiration and their cutaneous excretions, and also by the smoke of their tobacco pipes. Add to these depressing conditions that the foreigners are strangers in a strange land, often homesick, subject to many privations, and exposed to suffering from cold, malaria, and to accidents, since they do the most dangerous and the most unhealthy work, on railroads, blasting rocks, and digging in mud and in wet places. Moreover the Celtic constitution in Ireland, judging by their life tables, is feeble. The

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expectation of life is less at any period, than that of most other nations—much less than that of the Scandinavians and the English, less than that of the native Americans.

A part of this article, especially the table of arrivals and survivors, is copied in the new edition of Appleton's new *American Cyclopaedia*. This was examined in manuscript before publication in the *Atlantic Monthly*, by the Census Department and the Bureau of Statistics at Washington, and warmly approved as a means of refuting some errors that have been spread in respect to the composition of the population of the United States.

He had long been interested in the matter of frequent deaths of little children, and when, in 1872, the Board of Health of Massachusetts asked him to write a paper to go into their Report, he was glad to write on this subject. He wanted to show the extent of this loss of infants, and that it differed in different countries and among different races of people. /208/ He had the record of the births and mortality of eleven nations and two states, so that he could show the proportion of those that were born in each and died before they completed their first year. These proportions varied from 10.71 per cent. in Norway, which seems to be the healthiest country for little children, to 34.04 per cent. in Bavaria which was the most fatal country of which he had any account. It is not climate, for countries with the same climatic character were found to have different rates of infant mortality, as in Prussia it is 17.94 per cent., and the Netherlands 24.17 and Scotland 13.55 per cent. It is greater among the poor, than among the prosperous; greater among the ignorant, than among the educated. It is much greater among the class of illegitimates, than in families of the well born. Ignorance, carelessness, negligence, are very fatal to the tender life of infancy. This applies to ignorant nurses as well as mothers, and the wealthy or selfish who employ untrustworthy nurses for their little children increase their danger of sickness, and their chances of death. He wanted to place the responsibility for infant health and life, where nature placed it, in the mother to whom the little one is entrusted. It requires all her tender love, her watchful anxiety and devotion, to give the child the greatest opportunity of developing its constitution, and to guard it against the attacks of disease, and whenever she delegates this trust to an inferior intelligence and trustworthiness, she increases the perils that surround childhood.

/209/ In 1872, he wrote for the United States Bureau of Education, an article on the advantage of common education to common labor. The purpose of this was to show that simple brute force—the power of the bones and muscles—is but one element in physical effectiveness; that this power or energy needs to be directed to produce the desired results; that this direction implies the co-operation of the intellect and that, without such aid, the efforts of the hand are made at random, and the plans may, or may not, reach their mark and effect their intended purpose. Education, however little, quickens the brain and mind, and gives them readiness of action, habit of observation, and co-operation with the physical powers. The mind directs the hand so that its movements are in the right direction, and reach the intended point. Hence the efforts accomplish their purpose. Education is, therefore, the economy of force by preventing its waste through want of direction. These views were illustrated by minute descriptions of the operation of the shoveller who, with torpid mind wastes some of his efforts in spilling on the way a part of the material he intends to move from place to place; and the thoughtful workman who throws the gravel he takes up, into the cart. The thoughtful carpenter who strikes with his hammer in the line of the nail, makes every blow carry the nail in the right direction. The

ignorant mechanic does not so direct his movements. He strikes sometimes obliquely, turns the nail, loses that blow, and another to re-direct the nail. The weaver if bright allows but few accidents, sees and arrests them quickly /210/ and prevents their increase of injury, is as quick to repair, and thus loses little time. The reverse is the experience of the stupid weaver. In some factories where weavers are paid by the yard they earn from \$7 to \$11 a week, according to their quickness of perception and power of mental co-operation with the work of the hand. Most of the value attached to substance in the world, is due to labor. Every blow rightly directed upon it adds to its worth. All the original material of a house in a state of nature, before the human hand is moved to develop, change, or shape it, the metallic ore of the iron, the copper, lead, tin, in the undeveloped mines; the clay of the brick, the lime, the stone, the marble in the earth, the wood in the remote forest, all are originally of very little value; but the labor of many human hands gives them their final value in the building. It is, therefore, of great importance, as a matter of political economy, to educate this immense amount of labor, and enable all its exertions to effect their purpose by giving it, in every workman, a mental guide and co-operator. This was printed in the Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Education, covering fourteen pages.

In 1861, he wrote a lecture on Housekeepers; their position and their responsibility for the health of their families. They administer the expenditure for domestic support. They must take what is devoted to this purpose and distribute it over manifold matter, food of many kinds, clothing in great variety of elements for each and all /211/ the members of the family, furniture, utensils; these in numberless items, must have each its due proportion so that there be no excess in one nor deficiency in another. It must require a great mental discipline and co-ordination to accomplish this purpose, even more than are required to carry on the ordinary operation of a mechanic's shop to buy the materials—leather, thread, pegs, &c.—to manufacture into boots and sell them. The office of the housekeeper as a mere business matter, requires intelligence, thought, combination, all the elements of mind and preparation as much as the office of the husband who works in his shop.

Beyond all responsibility for the fiscal affairs, there is a higher responsibility on the domestic head of the family for the health and power of its members. She provides the food that gives them life and strength. She buys it, cooks it, puts it in form to enter the stomach. She must do these in such manner that the food can be converted into blood the most readily and with the least cost of nervous force, and this blood can be converted the most certainly into living flesh of the various kinds that make up the animal body. The food thus provided is very various. It may be difficult of digestion and give pain and heaviness. It may make the brain dull and the mind indisposed to action. It may produce dyspepsia and other derangements of the digestive organs. The whole power of action, mental and physical, of the family—and even their health—is thus affected by the manner in which the housekeeper feeds them.

But although women are almost universally the housekeepers, they are no more cooks or domestic administrators /212/ by nature, than men are carpenters, clockmakers or merchants. Instinct no more guides one than the other in their several employments. Men learn the art, vocation or calling which they intend to pursue, before they take the responsibility of managing it on their own hands. They are apprenticed to bakers, blacksmiths, printers, to merchants, engineers, &c. in their youths, and when they have

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gained sufficient knowledge of the trade or business to carry it on independently, they begin their appropriate business for themselves. Without such preparation, even with any aid from subordinates, the operator would be deemed rash by the world, and almost certainly fail in his undertaking. So every wise father puts his son in the way of preparation for some occupation by which he may obtain the means of support.

Such preparation is not always considered needful for the daughters who are to be housekeepers and administrators of the domestic affairs of the family. A large portion, especially in what are deemed the favored classes, are educated sufficiently well in the schools. They go into society, visit and receive visitors; they are intelligent as to the world's general affairs; they are accomplished, lovely, amiable, agreeable, and when they propose to marry they enter the office as readily and with as little preparation as if the domestic machine had a self-directing as well as self-propelling power.

Dr. J. read this first in a course of lectures on human improvement got up by Mr. Warren Burton and others, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, /213/ before such of the Legislature and others as could be induced to attend. He afterward read it before the Boston Social Science Association, and again before Dr. D. Lewis's large school of ladies in Boston. He has promised to revise it for the *Atlantic Monthly* Magazine, but has not yet found time to do so.

EFFECT OF CONDENSATION OF POPULATION ON HEALTH AND LIFE

He wrote, in 1869, a lecture on this topic showing the great tendency of mankind from the early ages, to gather into masses and live in cities. This is attended with a lower vitality, an increase of sickness, more frequent death, especially of children, and diminished longevity. This is proved by the comparison of city and country in most of the European nations, and especially in England from which we have the most abundant records of sickness and mortality. It is farther shown that the mortality increases with the density of the population, both by the comparison of one city with another, and of one part with another part of the same city. This is due, in great measure, to conditions that may be neutralized even in the city. There is the most sickness and also the most death in the parts where the streets are narrow, where people live in closed courts, in narrow alleys, and in cellars. But in parts where the streets are wide, where are open commons, where the streets are well drained by underground sewers, where the pavements are well cleansed and swept, and the people dwell in ample houses, sickness is less frequent, and the death rate is lower. The advantages of the town in higher culture, /214/ in chances of wealth, in higher intelligence of the more favored classes, are compensated by the lower vital force and the shortened duration of life. These evils may be in some degree obviated by improvements. This has been done in several towns of Great Britain, with marked good effect on health and life.

This was read before the Massachusetts Medical Society in May, 1869, and also before the Social Science Association. It is now (1873) yet in manuscript. He has held it in reserve for more facts from Europe to substantiate his deductions. He now has these, and will soon revise and complete the article for publication.

CRIME AND ITS ORIGIN. PHYSIOLOGICAL ORIGIN OF CRIME. CRIMES OF MALES AND FEMALES

Recently having had many more prison records than he had in 1852, he has digested them, and with them enlarged his paper which he first wrote twenty years ago. He has now

the record of 806,739 persons; 508,536 males and 298,203 females committed to prison, in which the sex is given in connection with the special kind of transgression. These confirm the deduction formerly made.

He read this before the Social Science Association in Boston, in May, 1873. He declined the request of the publishing Committee to have it printed in their *Transactions*, for even with this great accumulation of facts, he had not all that are within his reach. At his earliest convenience he will examine the British and other European records more extensively, and again draw /215/ his deductions so that they may be founded on the broadest possible basis.

EFFECT OF WAR AND OTHER CALAMITIES ON BIRTHS

He wished to see the effect of the late civil war on the birth rate among the people, and for this purpose examined the proportion of births before, during and after the war in those states which took and published accounts of these events within their borders. In Massachusetts, which kept the most complete records, the births were in ratio of the living population annually,

six years before the war,	1 in 33.6
four years of the war,	1 in 40.5
five years after the war,	1 in 37.8

In Rhode Island the average annual numbers were in these periods,

before the war	4,191
during the war	3,909
after the war	5,172

In Connecticut the numbers were respectively 11,166
10,150
12,347

He wrote a paper setting forth these facts and deductions corroboratory of similar principles and facts in Europe, in respect to the effect of the famines and good crops on marriages and births. He read this paper to the National Health Association in Cincinnati, Ohio, May 2nd, 1873. He has reserved it for further investigation and more extended facts and elaboration, and when this shall be done, intends to complete and print the paper.

/216/ CENSUS OF 1850

His interest in anthropology, in whatever concerns man's development, growth, power and decay, naturally led him to inquire about population, census methods, and results of enumerations of the people.

In 1849 Mr. Kennedy,⁷⁰ the superintendent of census of the United States, sent circulars to societies and persons asking for advice and suggestions as to the objects of the census, the points of inquiry, and the methods of conducting it. One circular came to the Statistical Association, and another to Dr. J. personally. The Association referred the matter to Dr. J. to answer. He wrote a report in the name of the Society, and a larger report for himself, as he could say some things on his own account for which he could not hold the Society responsible. He draw up a plan of inquiry, and a schedule of inquiries in relation to

⁷⁰ Joseph Camp Griffith Kennedy (1813–1887), Secretary to the Census Board 1849–1853.

population which was very nearly a copy of the English schedule. He, however, consulted the reports of many other European censuses.

Mr. Kennedy wrote back that the schedule and plan sent were adopted very nearly as he sent them, but he wished farther that Dr. J. would advise in regard to the other matters that the law ordered to be inquired into: agriculture, manufacture, trade, education, &c. He answered that he was not familiar with those subjects as he was with the law of population, and was not competent to advise in regard to them; but that Mr. K. should consult the proper authorities in regard to them who would speak from their special acquaintance with the matters in question.

/217/ Again Mr. Kennedy wrote and said that all the topics of the census were under Dr. J.'s supervision and he wished Dr. J. to consider and advise upon any point. Dr. J. answered that he had only one point to speak of, and that was in respect to the agents who should be employed in collecting the facts. They should not be politicians merely who are in the habit of looking at facts as raw material to be altered, curtailed or expanded to suit an ulterior purpose, and to be made up according to order. But these agents should be men of honest minds, and exact discipline, who look on a fact as a naturalist looks on a specimen in nature, to be respected, preserved and transmitted exactly as he finds it. They should be accountants, book-keepers, school-teachers, used to figures, and careful and trustworthy copying. The employment of this class of minds would prevent some of the loose statements that have crept into some of the former censuses. Dr. J. did not know how far the census board followed this advice, but they were obliged to use the marshals and their deputies who are usually men rather of political aspiration and habits of thought, than of the rigid discipline most likely to get true, and complete reports of the condition of the people. There were some sad irregularities in that enumeration. Mr. De Bow,⁷¹ the superintendent, wrote Dr. J. that the deaths were very imperfectly ascertained; some whole counties were omitted. Mr. Kennedy soon went out of office and Mr. De Bow succeeded him. The latter soon began to write to Dr. J. asking questions in regard to the work before him. He sent the report of Maryland as a specimen of the proposed plan, and asked Dr. J.'s criticism and advice; and again /218/ the mortality of that state, with the same view and request. To these Dr. J. gave much time for thought and examination and answered at length. From the beginning to the end of his publication of his report Mr. De Bow proposed frequent questions for solution, all of which required much time for investigation and answer, and some of them required many days; one of them, five weeks. The answers covered from three to sixty-five pages of letter sheet. When Dr. J. was about half through, Mr. De Bow told the Secretary of the Interior that he (Dr. J.) had written six hundred pages for him.

Copies of all these communications are preserved in his letter books for these several years. Some of the topics were: Plan of publishing the returns of the Population, arrangement of the facts, principles to be deduced, schedules, &c., Examination of the number of Foreigners in the United States, as stated by Mr. Chickering,⁷² and published by

⁷¹ James Dunwoody Brownson De Bow (1820–1867) succeeded Joseph Kennedy in 1853 as Secretary to the Census Board. For Jarvis's letters to him see BCLM, B MS b 56.4, vol. 3, ff. 39–40; *ibid.* ff. 52–72, 73–93, 94–104, 106–109, 110–115.

⁷² Jesse Chickering, *Immigration into the United States*, Boston, C. C. Little and J. Brown, 1848; *A statistical view of the population of Massachusetts from 1765 to 1840*, Boston, C. C. Little and J. Brown, 1846.

Mr. Kennedy in the 'Abstract of the Census, 1850'; Criticism of the schedule of the return of North Carolina proposed by Mr. De B. and sent to him as a specimen; General and Specific Purpose of the Census; use to be made of the Facts; Report of the dwellings in the Nation and their ratio to the people; Amendments needed in the plan prepared at Washington; Increase in the foreign element by the excess of births over deaths in foreign families; Probable number of Foreigners and their children living in the United States in 1850; Natural Increase of the foreign element between 1790 and 1850. Criticism of the first volume *Statistics [219] of the United States*; Examination of the Statements of the Census of 1840 quoted in 1850; Plan and Method of calculating the annual number of the people of each state in the intervals of the census; Pauperism in the several States, errors in the statements of the census; Pauperism legal, explanation; Private Charities; Proposed Plans of ascertaining or calculating their cost to the people; Calculation of the number of foreigners who arrived from 1790 to 1820, and of those who came afterward, but not reported to the Government, and the numbers of all of those who were living here in 1850; Calculations of the numbers of descendants of all these foreigners—children, grandchildren, &c.—who were born here and were alive in 1850; Revision of the Compendium of the Census; Nosology, Nomenclature of diseases; Plan and Philosophy of a proper nomenclature of the diseases of the United States; System of Nosology drawn out at length; Examination and Revision of the Mortality volume; Revision of the whole work; Errors of the press.⁷³

Mr. De Bow seems to have resorted to Dr. Jarvis in his difficulties in regard to the philosophy, the principles and the details of his work. He wrote much, very much, and wanted immediate attention and answer. The subjects were pleasant to Dr. J. They accorded with his tastes and his voluntary labor, and were not out of harmony with his profession, at least with his view of what the profession should do in respect to the value of human life and the means of extending it. Mr. De Bow's letters were urgent. He wanted answers at once /220/ for the use of the department, and Dr. J. therefore gave immediate attention to these setting aside other matters and doing that work before his own. In this way, he gave to Mr. De Bow, and practically to the Government, about one third of his time for three years. At first the matter seemed necessary, and for a long time he would gladly give this aid to the cause of human science; but after two years frequent calls of this nature, which pre-supposed that he must be constantly ready for the service of the Government, and taking such a large proportion of his time, and using that professional skill and acquirement that had been the labor of his mature life to obtain, it seemed to him that he should be placed on the list of acknowledged and paid agents of the nation. Nevertheless Mr. De Bow said nothing of compensation, and as the end was drawing near, Dr. J. deferred the matter until the work should be finished. Then he wrote to Mr. De Bow who answered that the appropriation for this purpose was exhausted and even he and some others were not paid, that he should petition Congress for himself and advised Dr. J. to do the same. This seemed wrong to Dr. J. He thought that Mr. De Bow should assume the whole responsibility of standing between him and the Congress. He was not known as an agent of the Government. Mr. De Bow alone knew of that fact. He had employed Dr. J. and should put him in the category of himself and the others whose works were in the regular

⁷³ See below, List of Writings.

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course of official employment. Dr. J. made a bill of \$1,500 for the three years services. This /221/ was but about the salary of a common, unskilled clerk for one year. But Mr. De Bow thought differently, and left him to carry his own claim to Congress in which, however, Mr. De B. offered to aid him. He petitioned Congress through Mr. Damrell,⁷⁴ Representative, who was sick and away, and always feeble until he died. Then in 1859, he put the matter in the hands of Mr. Charles Adams,⁷⁵ Mr. Damrell's successor, who at once carried it through the Committee on Claims, and it was almost carried by a unanimous vote on no-objection day, in the House. It was then lost by a single objector. This was the last day for this purpose, of that session of 1859–60. It went over to the next session of 1860–61. That session came on and absorbed all the interest of Congress, and nothing of a private nature was done. After this was the war of the rebellion during which Dr. J. would ask nothing for himself. In June 1866, while he was in Washington in regard to the census of 1860, he consulted Mr. Geo[rge] S. Boutwell⁷⁶ of the House, who took much interest in the matter, and brought it up in Congress. It went before the Committee on claims who reported in favor. The House voted in the same way and sent it to the Senate. There Mr. Howe,⁷⁷ chairman of the Committee on Claims, objected and persuaded his associates or a majority of them, and they reported adversely. This seemed to end his hope of reward for service on the census of 1850.

/222/ CENSUS OF 1860

In May, 1863, Dr. Jarvis was in Washington. Mr. Kennedy, then superintendent of census, said he was just about to write him to ask his assistance in preparing such philosophical parts as would be needed to make the census—especially the volume on mortality—the most useful to the world. Mr. K. said he wished him to give his entire time and mind to the work in investigating the whole subject included in the law of population and mortality, and write such facts and draw such deductions, and such philosophical essays, as would be proper for this purpose. Mr. K. would send abstracts of the facts, or tables of mortality with the number of deaths in each state, from each cause, at each age and in each month. He said, farther, that he could not compensate Dr. J. as such professional and philosophical work should be paid, but he would do the best that his position allowed; he would place him on the list of higher clerks at a salary of \$1,800 a year to be paid quarterly. For the same reason for which he entered the service of the former superintendent without any hope of reward, he was willing now to do this to him very pleasant labor, and the small reward was an additional motive, although it would not have drawn him to the work in any other field.

⁷⁴ William Shapleigh Damrell (1809–1860), see BCLM, B MS b 56.4, vol. 4, ff. 289–94; *ibid.*, vol. 5, ff. 14–15; *ibid.*, ff. 48–9; *ibid.*, vol. 5, ff. 87–9; *ibid.*, ff. 66–167, 166–73.

⁷⁵ Charles Francis Adams (1807–1886), see BCLM, B MS b 56.4, vol. 5, ff. 296–305; *ibid.*, vol. 6, ff. 45–6; *ibid.*, ff. 168–70.

⁷⁶ George Sewall Boutwell (1818–1905), see BCLM, B MS b 56.4, vol. 8, ff. 280–7; *ibid.*, vol. 9, ff. 176–8; *ibid.*, vol. 10, ff. 49, 51.

⁷⁷ Timothy Otis Howe (1816–1883), see BCLM, B MS b 56.4, vol. 8, ff. 157–9, 160–2: two letters of E. J. to T. O. H., Dorchester, December 15, 1866, and December 17, 1866, marked in red ink “not sent” give details of his attempts to obtain payment for his work on the mortality report; they refer to numerous people with whom he has had contact; see also *loc. cit.* vol. 9, ff. 21–9, Dorchester, January 1, 1868, concerning E. J.'s claims for compensation for his work on the census.

He immediately began the service. He examined minutely the previous censuses of the United States, saw what they had presented, and observed their deficiencies. He also examined the censuses and mortality reports of England, Scotland, Ireland, France, and those /223/ of several other European nations; read treatises on the law of population and of mortality, and other works bearing upon the subject. Then he determined the topics which, beside the bare facts in the tables, should be presented in the mortality report.

Beside the statements of the deaths, causes, ages, sexes, and months, of each state which would be prepared at the office in Washington, he proposed to add the same for England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Germany and Sweden in order to compare our mortality with theirs. He proposed to examine the vitality and mortality of the whites and colored people; to show their comparative power and susceptibility of disease and death. The same as to city and country to show the effect of condensation of population on life, disease and death. The same for natives and foreigners in the United States. The same for males and females, to determine their relative vitality and mortality, and the several diseases to which they were respectively liable.

He proposed to investigate the rates of mortality of other countries and their comparative vitality; the value of life in past ages in comparison with the present; the effect of civilization on life; the comparative health, sickness and mortality of the comfortable and the poor classes; the connection of intelligence and ignorance with health and sickness, life and death; the cost of man's development and his value as a productive agent; the average probable duration of his working years in this and other countries; the interest of the body /224/ politic in the life and health of each one of its members, or the political economy of health.

He wanted to ascertain and to show whether human life had gained, or lost, by being transported from the old world to the new; and to compare life under a free government where each one chooses his own sphere and manner of living and each one has opportunity of expansion to his utmost ability, with life under the more rigid, even absolute, governments, where each is restricted in his way and plan of living, where law, custom or tradition, bind successive generations to the place, purpose, occupation and manner of their fathers.

He had note-books in which he entered the facts, reasoning and deductions which he made, quotations, references, &c. filling many pages in each. These became the storehouses of the ideas upon these various topics. They are labelled "Life in different Ages of the World"; "Effect of Wealth and Poverty"; "Natives and Foreigners"; "White and Colored"; "City and Country"; "Mortality"; "Population". From these elementary materials he intended to write the several chapters and commentaries on the census of population and mortality, and append them to Mr. Kennedy's tables whenever he should finish them and be ready for these. With these investigations, preparations and digestions he was two years occupied.

In June, 1865, it appeared that, from an accidental omission in the appropriation bill, Congress had /225/ made no grant for the census department. In this condition the Secretary of the Interior broke up the entire department dismissing all that were employed. The Government found that there was a permanent provision and appropriation for many more clerks in the Land Office, and determined to turn the whole census work over to this

office, and such of the clerks then in the census department, were transferred to the Land Office, to work under the Commissioner of public lands.

As Dr. Jarvis had been at work for two years for the Government and had rendered no result of his labors for which he had thus far received pay, it seemed to him to be his duty to give the Government the benefit of what he had done. He accordingly wrote out a schedule of the mortality report in which he described all the subjects that he supposed should be included, and stated against each one, what had been done in regard to it and whether it had been done by Mr. Kennedy and his clerks in Washington, or by himself in Dorchester; and what was yet to be done upon each. He offered, whenever the Government should wish to complete the work, to send the result of his labors to Washington.

The Secretary after examining the schedule and plan, said he was pleased with it and wished him to execute it in the census office in Washington. Dr. J. told him he was willing to do it, but could not go to Washington. The Secretary offered him the assistance of as many clerks as he should need if he would come there and superintend them. Dr. J. told him that the /226/ report as he proposed could be written only in his library, as the authorities necessary were not elsewhere to be found in the country. To this the Secretary said that if he would come to Washington and do the work, he would send to Dorchester for his library and return it to Dorchester when the work should be completed. Still Dr. J. had a decided repugnance to going from home and living in Washington, especially in the summer. He had still further objections which, however, he did not mention to the Secretary. The work as he proposed, required much mathematical skill and the most rigid accuracy. He wanted, therefore, rigid and exact mental discipline in the clerks whose intellectual habits were sufficient guaranty that their work could not fail to be correct. Some of the government clerks were mere politicians, men whose office followed from their zeal in the cause of the party in power. Although they were, doubtless, men of respectable character, and of good general intelligence, they had not the training needed for this work, and their statements, calculations, and results must be loose and often untrustworthy.

After much urging on the part of the Secretary, and still farther consultation with his coadjutors, he said he would then engage Dr. J. to do the work in Dorchester according to the plan he had given. He authorized Dr. J. to employ female clerks as many as should be necessary, at \$60 a month, and he said the whole must be finished and in his hands, to /227/ be presented to Congress at its meeting on the first Monday of December next. The work was to be done under the general superintendence of the Commissioner of Public Lands who had no special knowledge of the subject, and Dr. J. and the girls whom he employed were constructively clerks in the Land Office.

Dr. J. consented, but said he could not give assurance that the work could be completed in that period. He feared it could not, but would give all his energies to it. On his return he went to the High Schools in Dorchester and Boston and asked the heads to find for him girls that had been educated under their care, who had, first, absolutely honest minds, and saw things exactly as they were presented; second, who had thorough mental concentration and would fix their attention on the subject before them, and be drawn aside to nothing else; third, who were accurate mathematicians, and could work with algebra and logarithms, and were therefore facile and reliable calculators; fourth, who could read French and German.

He began with six and soon added two more, and at length he had ten of these co-operators.⁷⁸ They came daily to his house; they wrought intensely for seven hours a day. He found, after a while, that this was more than their health and working power would bear. He then reduced the time to six hours, daily. Their work is in the last, or mortality volume, of the eighth census—that of 1860. The abstraction of the tables, the arrangement of the whole country in nine districts according to their climatic condition, the calculations and arrangement of all the tables of /228/ mortality and of population; to show the various conditions of life and death—all these were done by these girls. Beside these there was much else to be done, many books to be consulted in English and French, for specific facts and principles. The records of the several catholic and Mount Auburn cemeteries were to be analyzed, to determine the comparative age at death of the comfortable or prosperous, and the poorer classes.

The discipline and the intelligence of these girls enabled them to do these works under his direction. They were very facile and effective agents for his purposes. They entered into the work heartily, and became interested in its accomplishment. He felt that he had willing and zealous co-operators; and, although the subject was almost exclusively mathematical, and, to ordinary minds, very dry and repulsive, it became to them, attractive, and they labored cheerfully and successfully. He assigned and superintended all their work, and revised it to confirm its correctness. The numbers of the living population and of the deaths were rigidly established, and it was required that all combinations, tabulations, and arrangements of these facts, should result in these numbers. One day one of the clerks said that a combination and table she had made in two or three days labor, resulted in a variance of one: "What shall I do?" He told her to go over the whole again. She did so, and found the mistake and then all was in harmony and correct. Several little incidents showed that it was well to have such minds as these for his co-operators.

/229/ The basis of this work was nearly one hundred and fifty tables prepared at Washington showing, in regard to each state and territory, the deaths (males and females separately) from each cause, at each age, in each month, also violent deaths in the same categories. These were the materials with which they operated. They had no other authority for their facts; yet even these were sometimes called in question. The girls asked if a person of fifty years or more, could die of teething, or one less than a year old, of delirium tremens or intemperance. These were asked several times. Dr. J. could only answer "No!" but they found it so stated in the tables from Washington. As he found, in the category of diseases and months, the same number of deaths from these causes, as in connection with age, he concluded that the number of deaths from teething and from intemperance was correct. He therefore put these in the column of unknown age. They had also occasion to ask if one in Texas could be frozen to death in July, or be sunstruck in Maine, in January. This also was impossible. As he found that the total deaths from these causes in connection with age was the same as when in connection with the season, he concluded that the number was correct, but there was an error only as to the month. He therefore put these in the unknown month. These girls at once discovered these inconsistencies, but they had passed under the eyes of four or five clerks at Washington

⁷⁸ E. J. to John Worth Edmands, Dorchester, December 4, 1865, encloses a bill for services concerning the use of rooms in his house by his aides and refers to work on the report, see BCLM, MS b 56.4, vol. 7, ff. 273–7.

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unnoticed, or certainly uncorrected, before they reached the tables in which they were sent to Dr. J. There were many arithmetical errors, so many that he felt it necessary /230/ to cause all the columns to be again added. Several hundred corrections were thus made.

In November the Secretary, fearing that Dr. J. would not be able to finish the work by the first of December, sent Mr. Wilson, chief clerk of the Land Office, to aid him. Mr. W. was with him a fortnight, and did good service in copying. The Secretary also wrote offering to send some clerks from the census office to assist. Mr. Wilson, after seeing the intelligence, discipline and effectiveness of these girls, said that it would not be well to send to Washington for any of the old clerks, for there were none in Washington who could render such good service as those Dr. J. then had.

Mr. Wilson took the main body of the report to Washington on the first of December, and it was presented to Congress on the first Monday as the completion of the census report. Nevertheless Dr. J. worked through the month, and sent several more chapters which were incorporated in the document.

The time allowed did not permit him to prepare and write upon several of the topics which he wished to include in the work; the comparative value of life in past and present periods of the world; the comparative value of life in city and country; the comparative vitality and longevity of males and females. These seemed appropriate to a document upon human life like that of the census.

He prepared the contents in January and February. He superintended the printing and correcting proof /231/ from that time until the first of June when his vocation in that field was ended. The Government allowed and wished him to help distribute the census volumes both at home and abroad. The latter were sent by mail to a great many societies, libraries, and individuals that would profit by them. He gave a list of those in Europe that should receive them, and they were sent through the Smithsonian Institution.

NINTH CENSUS—1870

In 1869, Mr. David A. Wells,⁷⁹ then Superintendent of Internal Revenue of the United States, wrote to Dr. Jarvis asking many questions concerning population, property, &c. in the United States. Mr. W. wanted him to calculate the probable approximate amount of personal and real estate, and also the approximate population of the northern and southern states, in June, 1870. The answer to these inquiries required about a fortnight's labor and covered fifty-four pages in his letter book. The population according to his estimate and calculation, was 39,613,118 which was 1,054,747, or 2.7 per cent. in excess of the numbers found at the enumeration in 1870. He had made too high [an] estimate of the rate of increase from 1860 to 1870.

GEN. JAMES A. GARFIELD

In February, 1869, Gen. James A. Garfield,⁸⁰ chairman of the Committee on the Ninth Census, in the House of Representatives at Washington, wrote asking Dr. Jarvis to examine five questions in reference to the /232/ census:

⁷⁹ David Ames Wells (1828–1898), see BCLM, MS c 11.2, W. D. A. to E. J., Washington, October 3, and December 1, 1869.

⁸⁰ James Abraham Garfield (1831–1881). This particular letter could not be found, but five letters from E. J. to Garfield do exist, sent from Dorchester, on February 16, 19, 23, 24, and March 3, 1869 (BCLM, B MS b 56.4, vol. 9), concerning the taking of the census, particularly whether changes should be made.

1. Whether the census should be taken by the marshals or assessors and their assistants respectively?
2. Whether the former compensation for the takers is the best?
3. How long should be allowed for this work?
4. Should the tables be modified and how?
5. Make any other suggestions in regard to the census.

This required an examination of all the previous censuses as well as those of most European nations. He thought it best that the assessors and their assistants should take the census as they were more numerous, more among the people, better acquainted with their persons and conditions, and their mental faculties better fitted them, than those of the marshals, to take exact account of men and things. He saw no reason to change the method of compensation. He advised the census to be taken by prior family schedules as in most other countries, and within, at most, one week; in Europe this is generally done in one day; but that more and ample time be allowed for the preparation of the report which should include all the calculations, deductions and lessons relative to the law of population and of mortality, that the facts would offer. He gave accounts of the census of England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Sweden, Prussia, Hanover, Austria, Bavaria, Holland, Norway, Portugal and Australia, and of some others, showing the topics and the sub-topics of which they treated in their tables, discussions, and reach of observations, and the time between the enumeration, and the publication of their last volume.

/233/ Although the best censuses were taken in the shortest time, they were the fullest in the matter of instruction, and had the longest time for their digestion and completion. He advised that time and opportunity should be allowed for the preparation of life tables on different bases, for the white and colored, North and South. He repeated what he had before written to Mr. Kennedy in respecting the character of the census taken.⁸¹ He referred to the errors and inconsistencies of some of the former censuses, as warning of the danger of employing incompetent agents, and urged that the law require the selection of fitting and trustworthy officers for this purpose.

In another letter he urged that the Government send suitable agents to Europe to examine the systems there pursued. He afterward had much conversation with the Committee on this point. He was then, and is still, convinced that this would have prepared the way for a better plan than would otherwise be adopted, would have produced a much better census, and the work would be done more economically.

Another letter of the 1st of March,⁸² he pointed out the manifest deficiencies in the census of 1850, as shown by comparing the numbers at definite ages reported in that year, with the numbers of the same persons ten years older ten years later, in 1860. These last numbers in some ages exceeded the former, and some others were nearly equal, showing not only apparently no deaths, but even some gain instead of losses in this period. The error could not be by including in /234/ the last census more persons than were found alive, for they are taken by name and by description; but it is easy to suppose that some—even

⁸¹ See BCLM, B MS b 56.4, vol. 5, ff. 269–77: E. J. to J. C. G. K., Dorchester, August 26, October 20, 1859 discussing methods of obtaining statistics for improving census taking and the law of procedures relating to the taking of the census.

⁸² E. J. to J. A. Garfield, Dorchester, March 3, 1869, BCLM, B MS b 56.4, vol. 9, ff. 65–170.

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many—especially children, might be overlooked by the original informants who were often servants, sometimes strangers of the family.

These letters covered fifty-three pages of his letter book. They were printed by the House of Representatives as a part of the report of the Committee. The House then referred the whole matter of devising a plan of, and law for, taking the census, to a Committee who were to sit in the recess, and report at the next session in December, 1869.

This Committee wrote to Dr. Jarvis asking him to devote all his labor from that time until June, to the investigation of the whole matter of the census, and report a plan, with the reasons therefor, to the Committee at their meeting in Washington in June, of which he would be notified.

This gave him an opportunity to offer to the government a digest of the best European plans and the results of the experience of the civilized world in this field of inquiry. He had the censuses of England, Scotland, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Russia, Prussia, Saxony, Hanover, Bavaria, Baden, Frankfurt, Switzerland, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Austria, and all the eight censuses of the United States in his library. He re-examined all these, and digested their subjects of inquiry and report. He made a table of all the personal inquiries /235/ made in all nations, showing what were made by each. He described the official authorities, statistical boards, census department, branches of some of the ministries, and the machinery, agents and methods that each country employed in collecting the primary facts. He urged the advantage of accuracy and speed, from the use of the family schedules. He drew up plans of these schedules as to families and persons, as to institutions, almshouses, colleges, hospitals, and prisons. His report covered one hundred and twenty letter sheet pages which Mrs. Jarvis copied for the Government.

Early in June the Committee notified him of their intention to meet on a certain day, and he made preparations to start Friday, at 3 o'clock, to be with the Committee on Monday, as appointed, at 12 o'clock. Friday he received a telegram from Washington, "Be at the Capital, Saturday, at 5 p.m.!" In three hours he left home, and was in Washington Saturday, at 5 p.m., and saw the Committee that evening. He spent some ten days with the Committee. They received his report with great courtesy, thanked him for his labors and information, approved his suggestions and said they should incorporate most of them—perhaps all of them—into their report to Congress. His report was appended to theirs made to the House in December, 1869, and printed.

He had afterward a considerable correspondence with this Committee. Their report and bill was almost completely in accordance with his recommendations. They omitted the inquiry as to personal health which /236/ he had proposed to the Statistical Congress at London, in 1860, and which he now had put into his schedule. This was the only thing of importance wherein they varied from him. He thought it probable that they were correct in this, for the world might not be ready for such inquiry, and the answer to it might not be sufficiently definite and accurate to be of value as a basis of calculation and deduction.

The bill thus prepared with great care and elaboration, was passed in the House; but in the Senate it met with little favor. The Committee's attention seems to have been given only to the cost, and on that ground it was reported upon adversely, and the Senate concurred with their Committee, and this opportunity for a great improvement was lost, and the old law of 1850, with its imperfections, was held in force to be rule of the census of 1870.

After Dr. J. had made his report to the Committee, and finished consultation with them, they told him that, unfortunately, they had no means of paying him for his nearly two months service, and the law allowed none, except for this travel to Washington and attendance there as a witness. He was, therefore, entitled to the ordinary mileage, 10 cts. a mile, and \$2 a day for the time he was absent from home on this account. This made \$100 for travel and \$24 for twelve days time; but they wished him to make out a proper bill for his whole service, and they would get it adopted by Congress. He made a bill of \$500 which Congress /237/ readily allowed at the next session, making \$624 for twelve weeks professional labor and [the] journey to Washington, where he paid \$4 a day for board.

He had correspondence with Gen. Walker,⁸³ the superintendent of the ninth census, and made some suggestions. He was in hope that Gen. Walker would carry out his plan of report adopted for the mortality statistics of the eighth census; but he did not see his way clear to adopt it, and hence this opportunity of establishing the sanitary condition of the various parts of the country by the report of districts was lost. He did not separate the white and colored people in the account of deaths, nor the foreigners from the natives; and thus another means of discriminating the vitality and mortality of the races, was given up.

As far as it goes the ninth census is excellent: better, more accurate, and reliable than any of its predecessors; yet it does not teach much that Dr. J. had hoped it would.

/238/ STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION

The Statistical Association was incorporated in 1838, when Dr. J. was in Kentucky. He was elected an honorary member, and when he returned to Massachusetts, in 1843, he was made an associate member, and took an active part in its proceedings. It offered a field for his most familiar and pleasant labors. His heart was most drawn to, and he felt the most interest in vital statistics—those which concerned man, his development, his power and disabilities, his health and sickness, his longevity—and although the scope of the Society included Statistics of property, finance, commerce, and every other matter, yet the greater part of the papers which have been presented, were in relation to anthropology, population, vitality, mortality.

Several of his essays herein mentioned, 'Census of 1840, 1850, and 1860', 'Increase of Human Life', 'Physiological Origin of Crime', &c. were read to this Association. He read, also, a Life of Dr. George C. Shattuck,⁸⁴ the second president. This was printed in the *Transactions* of the Association. In 1852 he was elected president, and has been elected from year to year, and is still in office.

This Association seemed to promise to be a very extensive and attractive field of usefulness to many others, as well as to himself. Here they hoped to gather a large class of earnest men of wide comprehension, warm and ready sympathies, and deep interest in all that concerns mankind. Like the London Statistical Society, they hoped theirs would be a central /239/ union of philanthropists and political economists, and that their works would be a treasure of knowledge and wisdom in respect to the ways and interests of mankind,

⁸³ E. J. to Francis Amasa Walker (1840–1897): five letters, one undated, Dorchester, June 25, 1869, February 3, 1871, April 15, 1871, November 24, 1871, see BCLM, B MS b 56.4, vol. 10, ff. 12–23; *ibid.*, vol. 9, ff. 194–5; *ibid.*, vol. 10, ff. 67–8, 75–9, 89–93.

⁸⁴ *Memoir of the life and character of George Cheyne Shattuck M.D. read before the American Statistical Association*, April 12, 1854, 7 pp., Boston, 1854.

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and that their meetings would be full, and laborious, and instructive to the members and to the world. This has not been their happy lot. They have enlisted but few, and have not retained all that have joined. Their subjects of inquiry and instruction, or the manner of presenting them, their prestige, have not been attractive to others who, they supposed, had similar interests and sympathies, and would gladly join and co-operate with them. They are, and have been, but a handful. Twelve is a large meeting which they seldom have. Eight and ten make a good meeting; sometimes they have not even a quorum. Dr. J. has repeatedly asked them to elect some other and more magnetizing president, but they say no other will work so much for the Society; and so they continue to elect him.

They have very pleasant meetings, often earnest discussions, yet very few papers beside those presented by Dr. J. He does not personally wish to monopolize the field, nor does he desire that field should be limited to his pet subjects of man and his interests. He wishes the commercial, financial, educational men, and others, to give essays in connection with their peculiar objects of interest. He has great fears for even the continuance of the Society after he leaves it. It has no home. They have always held their meetings by the courtesy of other associations in their rooms, in the Historical Society's, the Congregational Library, the Revere Bank, /240/ and now in a room of the Genealogical Society. The library was first in the room of the Historical Society, then in those of the Congregational Library until they moved about ten years ago. Then they packed their library—perhaps three thousand volumes—and stored them, and books and pamphlets still remain in boxes; and they see no immediate prospect of a place for them where they can be reached for use.

It is Dr. J.'s wish to leave his own statistical library to this Society; yet this part of his library which has been the work of his life to gather, and which embraces probably more in relation to the statistics of man and his personal being and interests, than any other library in the country, and cannot be replaced if lost (neither money nor interest can gather them), this treasure he therefore hesitates to leave to a perishing society, and is now in doubt whether to give it to the Statistical Association, or to the Public Library of Boston.

SOCIAL SCIENCE

The British Association for the Promotion of Social Science has been in very successful operation since 1856. It began with the co-operation of a very large number of the best minds of the nation, philosophers, philanthropists of every kind, political economists, noblemen, men of wealth and of poverty, women, clergymen, &c. and such have continued to belong to it, and attend the annual meeting. They have had annual gatherings with lectures, discussions, and reports which have /241/ been published in seventeen large volumes, and spread through the country and world.

The great success of this association seemed to indicate that it was a national outgrowth of the present state of civilization and that it would grow here as naturally and as vigorously as in Europe. Accordingly in the autumn of 1865, after much preliminary consultation, a meeting was called at the State House in Boston, of all who, in any part of the country, felt an interest in the matters connected with social science. There was a good assemblage from many States, even as far as Michigan. Gov. Andrew⁸⁵ presided. There

⁸⁵ John Albion Andrew, see note 53 above. E. J. to J. A., Dorchester, November 24, 1862, BCLM B MS b 56.4, vol. 6, f. 200; April 30, 1867, vol. 8, ff. 197–247.

the American Association for the Promotion of Social Science was formed and organized. There this broad field of usefulness was thus opened. The cultivators were ready, earnest and skillful, and there seemed to be every promise of success. It was supposed that if, in the old, aristocratic countries of Europe, such schemes of the higher and more intelligent charity had prospered satisfactorily, here, amid a broader intelligence and more comprehensive charity, prosperity would attend the society in a much higher degree. They expected the wide and almost universal sympathy and co-operation of the wise and the benevolent.

Unhappily the people were not ready for this scheme, or at least in the form in which it was presented. The meetings were small, forty, fifty or sixty persons; once they had over a hundred; but never a church full nor a chapel full, nor yet a hall full. The Association had meetings in Boston, Albany, New /242/ Haven and New York. They had lectures among the best in the land. Dr. J. read papers on the 'Interest of the State in the Health of the People'; 'The Increase of Human Life'; 'Responsibility of Housekeepers for the Health of their Families'; 'Effect of Condensation of Population on Health and Life'; 'Physiological Origin of Crime'.

Like the Statistical Association, this society had no vigorous life, and that has waned from the beginning. The subjects have not attracted the attention of the American people as they do that of the people of Britain. Although a few of the best minds have joined in the enterprise, the great world of such have kept aloof, and the institution has a very doubtful title to life, and is only brought into occasional action by the energy and great exertion of the small member of friends that cling to the forlorn hope.

SANITARY ASSOCIATION

About the year 1858, this association was formed in Boston. Josiah Quincy⁸⁶ was president, Dr. John Ware,⁸⁷ vice-president. The object was to gather and diffuse information as to the laws of health and the sanitary condition of the people; to create an interest in these matters; and to persuade men, families, and governments to use the means of preventing sickness, and promoting the best health, in the community. They had occasional meetings, generally at the house of Mr. Quincy. They had public meetings in the Representatives Hall of the State House. At their anniversary Dr. J. was appointed to deliver the address. He wrote /243/ it on 'The Claims of the Law of Human Health on the Attention of the Government and the People'. On the day of the meeting he was taken suddenly with such hoarseness that he could not articulate a loud word. He carried his address to Mr. Quincy who readily offered to read it for him which he doubtless did very much better than Dr. J. himself could have done. Never had any of his papers been read so distinctly and impressively as that was then in the State House.

The Society had not much vigor. The members were very earnest and intelligent, but they were few. In 1861 the war came on and absorbed all their sympathies in the care for the health of the army.

⁸⁶ Josiah Quincy (1772–1864). As mayor of Boston from 1823–28 he installed municipal water and sewerage systems and made tremendous efforts to clean up the city.

⁸⁷ John Ware (1795–1864) was one of the founders of the Boston Society for Medical Improvement in 1839 and president of the Massachusetts Medical Society from 1848–52.

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These three societies last named, Statistical, Social Science, and Sanitary, had similar purposes, the amelioration of the personal and social condition of man, and they all fell far short of the hopes of their promoters. The anthropological questions which employ much attention in Europe, do not find a similar response here. There is much legislation in the British Parliament in behalf of human health, and but little in this country. Very many laws passed there for the protection of human health and life, are not thought of here. The Diseases Prevention Act of England, and many others, would be laughed at in our State House.

When Dr. J.'s pamphlet on the *Tendency of the Unbalanced Mind and Misdirected Education to produce Insanity* [sic] was printed, he sent copies to the Boston papers thinking that it would be interesting, and that teachings profitable to the people, would be drawn from it, and published; but not one of the papers noticed it. He sent it to London and there the *Psychological Journal* republished in entire. When it came back to Boston in the *English Journal*, some papers then spoke of it, not referring to its contents, nor drawing lessons from it for their readers, but as a matter of national pride that one of our American essays was thought, in London, fit to be presented to the English public.

Supposing that our people generally would be interested to know the value of life among people in the various occupations, he sent copies of his article showing the average longevity of men in most of the several callings, to the Boston papers. But it shared the fate of the others, and was noticed by none. It was, however, noticed, and its principles were published in some London Journals.

Our people are as humane and as intelligent as those of Great Britain, but they do not manifest these elements of their character in this way.

MEDICAL SOCIETY

Dr. J. is, and has been, a member of several other learned or scientific societies. In 1833 he joined the Massachusetts Medical Society. He was elected councilor in 1848, and annually ever since.

When the Norfolk District Medical Society was organized in 1851, he was elected secretary. He had the office, by annual election, for twenty years, and then declined re-election. The office was a pleasant one. It brought him into frequent intercourse with all other members, and their unvarying courtesy made this association ever agreeable. There was considerable labor and much care needed to fulfill all the duties of the position, but his habits of discipline made them easy. His peculiar kind of practice in connection with insanity, enabled him to control his time and movements so that he was not absent from any of the quarterly meetings except once when he was in the supreme court as a medical expert witness in [a] case of murder when insanity was pleaded, once in attendance on the funeral of his brother-in-law, and twice when he was in Europe.

Although he discharged the duties of the office easily and happily, yet after twenty years of service he thought that if there were honor in it others should share it, and if labor, they would gladly bear it. He therefore declined re-election. He was then elected vice-president, and again, the next year; and in 1872, he was elected president which office he held one year. During his administration it seemed to him that one who was in active practice and conversant with the present ideas and principles of managing disease, and who had a motive for, and a habit of, keeping himself acquainted with the new discoveries

and new notions of the profession, would be a more useful head of the Society, and contribute more to its advancement. He therefore declined re-election.

He was elected a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences whose monthly meetings he has generally attended and finds them interesting. He has read /246/ there papers on 'Immigration', on 'The Omission of Children in the Census', on 'The Plan of the Census of 1870'; all were in relation to man and his condition. He did not feel sure that his papers, or their subjects, were interesting to the members. No other member had read papers on these topics. These others referred to mathematics, philosophy, natural science, with which they are very familiar.

He is also a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society of the Harvard College.

When he was gathering books and historical records of Kentucky and the West, for the Kentucky Historical Society in 1838 to 1842, he gathered also as many duplicates as possible, and sent them to the Massachusetts Historical Society. He was then elected an honorary member of this Society, an honor that can only be conferred upon, or held by, persons out of the State of Massachusetts; and when one so honored abroad, moves into the State, his honorary membership ceases. His connection therefore with the Society, ceased in 1842, when he returned to Massachusetts.

While in the West he took pains to gather the seeds of wild flowering plants, and sent them to the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. They elected him as an honorary member.

He has for many years been a member of the Antiquarian Society, to which he has read some historical and statistical papers.

He is also, by courtesy of the several societies, made honorary or corresponding member of the Vermont /247/ Historical Society, the Buffalo Historical Society, the Wisconsin Historical Society, the New York Historical Society, the Washington Historical Society, American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, Statistical Society of London, British Association for the Promotion of Social Science, and British Association of Superintendents of Insane Asylums.

SCHOOL COMMITTEE

In 1846, he was elected member of the School Committee of Dorchester, against his will. In 1845 he was nominated for the office and informed of the fact, but being intensely occupied with his profession and in writing the *Physiology*, he declined. In 1846 another was nominated. Dr. J. did not attend the town meeting, but there, people dissatisfied with the nomination, declined to vote as proposed, and cast their votes for him. The first intimation he had of his election was an application, by a lady, for a vacancy in the school near him. He regretted that the town had taken this liberty, but it was too late to decline. He therefore attended to the duties of the office which required more time than he felt that he ought to have spared from his other avocations.

One little event at the first meeting of the Committee was perhaps unsatisfactory to his associates. It was the duty of the Committee, at the beginning of the school year, to make report of the state of the Schools during the previous year. The report had been prepared by a committee and was offered for the signature of each member of the new committee. When it came to Dr. J. he thought of /248/ his long cherished principle that he should not sign a paper which he had not read, as he should not assert anything which he did not

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know. But then he thought, "This is a statement of facts by those who know them. The document is very long, and cannot be examined in any short time". He spoke of his objection to the others. They said it was a mere matter of form, the old committee, and not Dr. J., were responsible for it. He then cast his eye over some of the items and saw that all the money raised by the town for schools, was put under the head of "*Wages of Teachers*". He then said he would sign it if a note were added stating that the item of wages included also the other expenses of the schools. This was done, and he signed the report which was then sent to the Secretary of State. The Secretary sent the report back asking that the expenditures be analyzed and each item of wages, fuel, repairs and other incidental of expense, be separately given.

Owing to his other occupations, Dr. J. declined re-election.

MILTON ACADEMY

In 1845 he was elected a trustee of the Milton Academy. This institution incorporated in 1799, went into operation in 1808, and was reasonably successful for nearly forty years. Then, when common schools were improved and met the wants of the people, few scholars came from other towns, and the school had a very meagre support. The duties of the trustees consisted in attending the annual meetings and visiting the school once or twice a year. The other twelve trustees were /249/ intelligent and agreeable gentlemen, and they lived in perfect harmony. The president, Mr. Robbins, who had been very many years in office, was son of the first president, Lieut. Gov. Robbins who was the originator of the school, and president from the beginning to his death. These two gentlemen, father and son, have held the presidency most of the seventy-five years of the existence of the Corporation.

About five years ago the town of Milton opened a high school for their children, and thus took away five sixths of the pupils of the Academy. Then they hired the teacher, the Academy, and the boarding-house, and left the Corporation with nothing but the funds which they do not know what to do with. They cannot be used for any other purpose than to maintain an Academy, which they cannot do. Most of the trustees would ask the Legislature to convey the funds—except such as the town gave in the beginning—to the Board of Education, for the benefit of needy pupils in the Normal School at Bridgewater; but their excellent and beloved president is grieved at the thought of giving up this Academy which his father, whose memory he reveres, established; and he hopes that by some turn of fortune, it will be revived, and enjoy its primitive prosperity. Therefore, out of deference to him, the Board defer all action, until he voluntarily consents to it.

/250/ OTHER ASSOCIATIONS—HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY

Another very agreeable association to Dr. Jarvis is the Committee of the Harvard College Library. About a dozen or fifteen gentlemen appointed by the overseers, are required to visit the library once a year, examine its condition and wants, and report to the electing Board. For about twenty years he has met with them. He has a natural, hereditary and cultivated taste for libraries, and he watches the growth and character of this collection with great interest.

He made one of the reports, and for this purpose he made especial inquiry of the profession and others, of their probable future wants from the library, and what it would

cost to keep it completely supplied with the new books, journals, and other publications, in their several departments, so that they could ever draw from it the latest knowledge of facts and principles for the best instruction of themselves and their pupils. The result of the inquiry was that at least nine or ten thousand dollars a year would be needed to keep the library supplied with all the new additions to literature and science.

DORCHESTER CONVERSATION CLUB

One of the pleasantest and most improving associations of his life, has been the Conversation Club. In 1848 he proposed to six of his friends in Dorchester—John G. Nazro, Samuel Downer, Increase S. Smith, John J. May, William N. Foster and William Pope—that they form a club like that of Louisville, to meet at each others houses, weekly, for conversation. /251/ Mr. Foster and Mr. Pope declined; the others approved the plan, and met at Dr. J.'s house. They formed a club with a very simple constitution, to meet, weekly, during the cold season, to discuss some question previously selected; to elect members after previous nomination; to have very simple entertainment, and never wine, spirits or any alcoholic drinks. They determined to establish the character of the Club, according to their own ideals, to be a nucleus around which others might gather and conform themselves to the model already made. This constitution has not been altered or varied from. After this they elected members, and have ever kept the number—twelve—full.

It is now twenty-five years since the Club was formed. It has enjoyed unremitting prosperity. All the first members, except Dr. J., have left. Mr. Smith and Mr. Nazro have died; Mr. Downer left on account of ill health; Mr. May for domestic reasons. Some of the earlier elected are still in the club, and most of the members remain many years. Some find, on trial, that it does not suit their taste; these, however, are but few. Some find it inconvenient with their domestic condition or business arrangements; more have left the town; some on account of health, and one on account of advancing age, have left, and created vacancies. Their places have been filled after very careful consultation in order that the new member shall be in entire harmony with the rest.

The subjects are of every sort: religious, moral, literary, scientific, political, social, financial, on private and public matters. There are many hundreds on the record. In the whole twenty-five years, Dr. J. has not /252/ known a discussion to fail, rarely does any one wander from the subject.

The members are men of the best minds and moral sentiments. They have been ever selected with great care. The law requires that the candidate shall be proposed one week before election, and shall, at least, receive every vote but two. When a question of filling a vacancy occurs, every one suggests any candidate he may have in mind, and tells what he knows about him, and he is then discussed; but if there is the slightest objection, if not agreeable to every member, he is dropped. Then where they find one the most acceptable, he is entered on the record as proposed. In consequence of this thoughtful inquiry and sifting, there has never been a negative vote at the election. Every candidate has been chosen unanimously; there has not been a disagreeable element in the club and all have worked in harmony. The members are the average business men living in Dorchester, most of whom, however, do business in Boston. They have been, and are, merchants, financiers, bank officers, manufacturers, lawyers, clergymen, physicians. Most of them when notified

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of their election, have said they would gladly join to learn, they could not talk nor contribute to the instruction of others. But the pleasant experience was that they all soon found that they had a plenty of ideas and could present them.

The discussions are carried on with simplicity and truthfulness, and with such mutual deference and courtesy, that the new members are put at their ease, and /253/ their thoughts flow readily, and language is ready for expression. Every one seems to bring forth his highest mental and moral element, and these only are brought into action. A sophistical argument, a misstatement or an unkind or discourteous word are never heard in the Club.

The object of the Club was not to sharpen the intellect merely, but to acquire discipline, and to search for truth. It was not a debating club as such usually are. They had no antagonism, no division on the affirmative and negative, with parties struggling merely for victory; but their topics are selected for general discussion each one looking at them in their broad and true character, and presenting ideas that seem to him most truthful and interesting.

The effect on the mental and moral discipline of the members has been elevating and great. They have been led to observe and reflect upon a great variety of subjects in their intrinsic character and relations, to form opinions and to find expression of their ideas. They had, or acquired, the habit of taking broad and liberal views of things, with a rigid regard to truth; and they have acquired a great facility of arranging, and of putting them forth in clear and intelligible manner.

There is no law as to the number of members, but twelve has been the habit which is sufficiently large for the discussion, and more would be inconvenient for entertainment. They meet early in the evening, have supper immediately, which is simple, like their ordinary supper at home, such as would be no burden on the housekeeper in advance, nor on the digestive powers of the members afterward. /254/ It is not to be a luxurious indulgence in addition to the food already sufficient for the day, but to take the place of the ordinary supper, and to make a necessary part of the nutrition. The members sit, by regulation, an hour at the table, in most genial and pleasant conversation. Then the secretary, who is the only permanent officer, adjourns them to the parlor where he calls them to order and selects a president, in alphabetical order, for the evening, and the business then begins, and continues until their adjournment at 10 o'clock.

To Dr. J. this association affords unqualified satisfaction. In no other way has he obtained so much enjoyment with so little cost.

/255/ VISIT TO EUROPE

In all his mature life it had been Dr. J.'s desire to go to Europe, and his confiding dream that, sometime or other and somehow or other, he should be gratified. But this future was totally dark and even impenetrable until the last day of February, 1860, when he was requested to go with a very wealthy, and highly intelligent merchant who was just beginning to feel the effect of over-labor of the brain, and was advised to travel abroad.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Cf. E. J. to Jacob Bigelow, Worcestershire, England, May 1860, concerns the case of Mr. Hemenway with whom he went to Europe in an effort to treat his illness; mentions hydrotherapy treatment taken against his advice, describes the patient's progress, and asks for his help (BCLM, B MS b 56.4, vol. 6, ff. 58–64); see also E. J. to Charles Hemenway, London, June 26, 1860, reporting on Hemenway's brother (*loc. cit.* vol. 6, ff. 65–8).

His wife and daughter were to go with him and take the entire care of him, but they wanted a physician accustomed to mental disorder to go with them to advise and take general charge of his malady. They contracted to pay all his expenses of travel to and from Europe and in Great Britain, and on the Continent, wherever it should be advisable for the patient to go.

They sailed from Boston on the 7th of March and landed in Liverpool on the 20th at midnight, being twelve and half days on the voyage.

The next day Dr. J. went to the market, the docks, and the principal streets. They were in L[iverpool] six days. In that time he went out to the Rainhill Lunatic Asylum, and examined it in all its parts, and saw the workshops where the patients were engaged as carpenters, blacksmiths, tinmen, machinists, shoemakers, tailors, &c. This was the first time he had seen lunatics using sharp tools so freely, and apparently safely. Dr. Rogers, the superintendent, said that no accident or trouble had happened, and he had no fear. Dr. J. rambled /256/ all over the city, rode out to the country northwardly, went to Birkenhead on the opposite side of the Mersey. Liverpool presented very little of interest. St. George's Hall is a magnificent building. He went into two of the courts, and saw the English mode of conducting trials. In one the grand jury was called over. There were perhaps forty or more. They seemed to be the mayors of the cities, baronets, magistrates and men of position in Lancashire. They were large, stalwart, physical men, apparently used to life in the open air, and of great personal dignity. The judges in their robes and wigs, and the lawyers in wigs and gowns, were all new and strange to him, but very interesting.

After walking over all the parts of the city, seeing the exchange, the banks, and other public buildings, he went to old Chester.

They reached this ancient city in the rain. He was eager to see the antiquities and went at once, in the rain, to the wall, and walked on the top of it nearly half round the old city and through the Rows, before he ate. Seeing a walled city, walking on the top of the wall that was built by the Romans 1600 years ago, was an experience most unlike all that had passed him before, and absorbed all his interest. He remained about ten days in that place and saw all its peculiarities. The old Priory church built in the time of Athelston is mostly in ruins. The roof over the great body has fallen in, and all its inner parts crumbled to the dust, while the walls, in part /257/ are standing. Trees have sprung up within those walls, and grown to be a foot or more in diameter seen through the arched windows. The old church still stands, but the tower fell four hundred years ago, and was then re-built. Around the old ruin is a churchyard in which, for more than a thousand years, the dead have been deposited. The stones, ornaments, and parts of the ruin are spread about, but all covered and smoothed over in this yard, and the lawn is as level as any cultivated field. The surrounding land is raised three or more feet above its ancient level. They descended several steps to the floor of the church. The sexton said that, in digging graves, he was continually finding the debris of the old building.

The cathedral, also, is old. Some parts of it, according to tradition, were built by the Romans and used by them as a temple. Other parts were built in the middle ages and were then, a convent. Here are now the cloisters, the refectory, the wine cellar, and the worshipping places of the old monks. Here are evidences of the busy idleness of the monastery people, carving which must have cost much labor, but trifling in purpose, Satan swallowing a sinner, a man quarreling with his wife.

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PRISON

Dr. J. called at the office at the court-house and asked if he could visit the prison. The officer was very courteous, talked much with him about the prisons of England, inquired about those of America, and gave him a letter to the prison superintendent. In a few hours he went to the prison and gave his letter to the /258/ officer. As soon as the officer saw his name he said, "Dr. Jarvis, I am glad to see you. I have been looking for you some time. The magistrate sent me word that you were coming." He then showed him the whole establishment, explained their whole system of management, and expressed a hope that Dr. J. would visit him again before he should leave the city.

One day he met, in the coffee room, a very gentlemanly and courteous gentleman who began talking with him, and soon, in answer to some question, Dr. J. told him that he was but a stranger in England and that he was an American. The gentleman's manner grew more and more cordial. He talked freely as if they were old friends, of the United States, their growth, their power and their destiny, of England and her prospect, of Napoleon who then seemed to threaten to invade England. "In such a calamity," he said, "will not your young, energetic, and strong people stand by us, and help us repel this wild adventurer?" Dr. J. told him that it was not our policy to mingle with the strifes of other nations, but our sympathies would be with Great Britain in any difficulty with France. The gentleman thanked him very cordially. They had much more talk. He expressed much interest in Dr. J.'s visit in England. He said he was a barrister of Liverpool and had just been in the Chester court, and was then about returning to Liverpool. He expressed much pleasure that he had met Dr. J. and hoped they should meet again.

These last two events gave Dr. J. a new idea as to /259/ the people of Britain and the probable comfort of his visit among them. Here was open cordiality instead of the cold, repulsive distance which he had been taught to expect; and this he found in every place and in every society as long as he remained in Great Britain.

He visited Eaton Hall, the seat of the Marquis of Westminster, said to be the richest man in England. They rode a long distance, one or two miles, in his grounds. The Hall, or palace, was magnificent beyond all that he had seen.

MALVERN

His patient's family were advised by a friend in Liverpool that his trouble was simply the result of over-work and with possibly some disturbance of the liver or digestive organs, and that, in such cases of London merchants and members of the Government, ministry or parliament, Malvern, the beautiful place of the water cure, was the usual resort, and there they regained their health; so his patient would find his cure if he would go there.

This, certainly, was very pleasant counsel. A disease of the stomach was less objectionable and more easily and probably healed, than a disease of the brain. They therefore went to Malvern, and into one of the best establishments. This relieved Dr. J. of all responsibility in his case. He went with them to Malvern. At Worcester the railroad ended, and they took coaches for Malvern, eight miles distant. He sat on top with the driver and some other passengers. It was cold; the Malvern Hills were white with snow. A young man at his side spread his shawl over Dr. J.'s lap as well as his own. He proved /260/ to be a late captain in the British Army, going to Malvern which was then his home. He had his dinner at the Beauchamp Hotel which Dr. J. made his headquarters for ten

weeks thereafter. He was, in this time, Dr. J.'s constant friend, and took great pains to inform him as to the matters, manners, and customs of the people of England.⁸⁹ He seemed to feel responsible for his comfort, and to take pleasure in aiding him in any plan, or in finding any thing or place.

From Malvern, Dr. J. radiated through the neighborhood, and also to Worcester, Birmingham, Oxford, London and Wales.

His patient's daughter, as well as he, was much accustomed to and fond of walking. They walked in every direction for several miles around, over the hills, over the stiles and across the fields. The paths across the fields, over the stiles or through the fences, are open to pedestrians all over England. They are exceedingly attractive and delightful. Whenever they came to a stile they climbed it and found a path on the other side. They were sure it would lead to another stile, and to a path in another field, and, at length, into some highway. The fields were in grass or grain. The birds were plenty; the larks abundant, singing the sweetest songs and ever ascending in their spiral, but perpendicular way upward. He watched them often, following them with his opera glass until they were but a speck, and then were lost to sight. They asked for water, or inquired the way at the farmhouses, and /261/ were often invited in. They wished to see the domestic habits of the people, and gladly accepted. They went into yards and barns and examined the farming utensils. The men—master farmers and workmen—were communicative and kind, and apparently pleased with their interest in their manner of conducting their business.

They went to Maddresfield Court, the seat of the Earl of Beauchamp. This is said to be one of the very few old castles or _____ that are preserved in their pristine state, and in good repair. Here was a moat filled with water and a bridge over it, leading to the door. The old building is several hundred years old, of red sandstone, but very much covered with ivy. The family were away, and they had been told that no strangers were allowed to enter the house; nevertheless they rang the bell by a great iron triangle at the end of a very large wire hanging by the side of the broad, oaken, plank, iron studded door, or gate. A lady, the housekeeper, opened the wicket gate or door, asked them to come in, and showed them all over the establishment. She was an old servant of the family, familiar with their history and condition, and interested in their life and character. She told them much of the traditions of the house and the habits of the people. The library, the pictures, the furniture, all were old; one bureau was four hundred years old.

SCHOOLS

Dr. J. wanted to see the common schools. They are under the charge of the church and the direct authority /262/ of the vicar. He wrote a note to the vicar, asking him if he would

⁸⁹ It seemed to Jarvis that the "character" of English women was more emancipated and active than that of American women; he wrote 8 pages to Almira about emancipation and feminism, together with comments on servants and prices:

"Female servants here are English,—no Irish and I think no Welch. All I see were neat and tidy, dress well in calico and all wear a little cap . . . so far as I have seen them, are neat, well mannered, and have a healthy look. I have seen none of the slatternly, awkward, stupid looking girls as some of our Irish girls are; but all are comely and sufficiently bright", Letter 68, from Great Malvern, June 14, 1860, 8.55 p.m. CFPL, pp. 24–8.

He remarked also that: "There are cheap clothes: my frock coat cost \$12.50, pants \$5, vest \$2.50, whole suit \$20. It is a claret colored and thick for winter. Many of these whole suits worn by gentlemen are still cheaper costing only \$15 and even \$12. Clothing is much cheaper here than in Boston and costs about 35 to 40 per cent less. Shoes are not worn here by gentlemen. I have not noticed more than one pair. The short ankle gaiters which

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allow him to visit the schools, and also to call on him and hear from him an explanation of the system. The vicar replied at once, inviting him to call the next day. When Dr. J. called, he received him with the blandest courtesy. He soon asked if Dr. J. was an Episcopalian. He told him that he was a Unitarian. The vicar then spoke of the Unitarians in the kindest manner, said he had Dr. Channing's works in his library, and had enjoyed them. At another time he said Dr. Channing⁹⁰ was one of the best sermonizers in the world. He spoke of Theodore Parker as a man who was doing good for humanity, although he was in error as to some of his prominent notions.⁹¹ He explained the English system of schools, and asked about ours. He said theirs was not satisfactory, nor universal, nor all on a single plan, nor under one general direction. He wished Dr. J. to visit the schools in Malvern and wherever else in England he might be. He invited him to dine with some friends at his house the next day, which Dr. J. did, and met a large party for tea there in the evening. He offered the use of his large library as long as Dr. J. should be in Malvern. While he was there, or about there, the vicar's family sent invitations to him five times to attend little tea parties at the vicarage; and when he left, the vicar gave him letters to his friends in London, requesting them to show him such attention as he might need. Through this family Dr. J. became acquainted /263/ with many others whose kindness was very acceptable.

He went to four of the schools. These were for the poor only, and they pay, if able, a small fee, one penny, two or more pence, weekly. The education is only the rudiment of learning—reading, writing, arithmetic, a little geography, and, more extensively, the church ritual, doctrine, &c. The last seemed to be beyond the comprehension of most of the children, and the whole education, meagre compared with ours.

INSANE ASYLUM

The Worcestershire Insane Asylum was in the neighborhood. Dr. J. called there and gave his name. Dr. Sherlock, the head, knew him by reputation, and received him as kindly as if he were an old friend. Dr. J. dined with him, and was urged to spend the night and to repeat his visit often while at Malvern. He was there many times, spent several nights, and made at home in the family as if they had always known him. From Dr. S. and his wife, he learned much as to the management of insanity and asylums in England, and of English society generally. Dr. S. took him around the country, and gave him a letter to Sir Charles Hastings in Worcester. Dr. J. called on him, and he gave him a letter to his partner, Dr. Bennet, who had immediate charge of a private asylum at Droitwich, about ten miles from Worcester. This was the first private asylum that Dr. J. had seen. It is in an ancient town of the middle ages, and the building, or a part of it, is four or five hundred years old, yet in very good condition. Here he was /264/ received so kindly, and even gratefully, that the private, as well as the public asylum seemed to be open to him.

are so much worn in Boston, are not worn here. I have seen none on gentlemen, nor the half boots such as we wear at home. . . . But short-boots coming just above the ankle and the Balmoral bootees are universally worn. I am surprised to find so many men—almost perhaps quite laboring men—wearing small-clothes and long gaiters generally drab-colored."

⁹⁰ William Ellery Channing (1780–1842) on "this frail man with the light-brown hair, slight built, quick gestures, and melodious voice" who had replaced the famous orator Edward Everett as Emerson's hero, see Gay Wilson Allen, *Waldo Emerson*, New York, Viking Press, 1981, p. 4.

⁹¹ This is a reference to the "Transcendentalists" (Christopher Crouch, George Ripley, and Theodore Parker) inspired by R. W. Emerson.

He went to Worcester frequently. He visited the great Porcelain Factory where four hundred men are employed, and make the finest wares of the kind in England. Here they are prepared to show a stranger all over the works, and send not a porter merely to show the way, but an intelligent clerk, or overseer, who can explain all the processes. At his first visit, he asked in the office, if he could probably [*sic*] see the great Glove Factory in the neighborhood, where twelve hundred male and female workers are employed. They said, "It is not usual for visitors to be admitted, yet you would do well to try; for if admitted you gain your visit, and if refused you lose nothing."

He went, asked for the chief; a gentlemanly man appeared. He told him he was an American and had, at home, heard much of this factory, and being here would like to see it, if it were agreeable to their customs. He said, "It is not our custom to let strangers go into the factory, but you shall see the whole." Then he called an intelligent overseer who went with Dr. J. over the whole establishment, and, showed and explained all the processes, from the first tanning the skins to the last finishing and packing the gloves for the market.

After this Dr. J. met Mr. Binns, one of the proprietors of the Porcelain Factory, at the Hotel in Malvern. While he (Mr. B.) was there for several days, they /265/ lived, ate and daily walked together. He was unmeasured in his kindness, and offered Dr. J. any attention in Worcester that he might want. Dr. J. told him of his visit at the Glove Factory. Mr. B. said they were very strict in prohibiting visitors, and gave admission as a special compliment to America.

Dr. J. went many times to Mr. B.'s factory. He was then making a dinner set for the Queen which would cost £3,500 (\$17,500). The plates cost \$35 each. Those which were finished were beautiful and exquisite beyond all that Dr. J. had ever seen. Mr. B. had had much conference with the Queen who, he said, was an exact, honorable woman of business. Like every careful purchaser, she wishes to know the cost in advance, because she expects to pay; but George IV—who once had a bill there of £11,000 which Parliament paid with the King's other debts—never asked the price because he had no thought of paying.

Mr. B. gave Dr. J. a note to the keeper of the prison, where he was shown all the parts, and the treadmill which he had not seen before. It seemed to him a cruel and degrading method of discipline which is generally disused in England.

Mr. B. gave him, also, a letter to the manager of the workhouse, where he was treated as at other places. It was Saturday afternoon, when all schools are suspended, but the teachers were called and the children assembled to show him their manner of instruction. He was gratified with all that he saw, but was pained to see so many dependent upon the public bounty who apparently, from /266/ their looks, would, in America, earn their bread.

He went to the cathedral and attended service there; and to the museum, and saw the antiquities on the City Hall. In front were the statues of Charles II and Queen Anne, Charles the voluptuary, who did so much to corrupt the morals of his people, little deserved this conspicuousness, unless there were a warning inscribed on his statue, "Be not as I was!"

EXCURSION TO WALES

By invitation of two daughters of Sir John Sinclair of Scotland, who were then temporarily sojourning in Malvern, he went with them and fifteen others, to Ross, in

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Wales, on the river Wye. Among the party were two Episcopal clergymen, Mr. Macpherson of Cluny, in Scotland, a family that had been distinguished for eight hundred years, and Lord Hamilton, a youth of eighteen. About half were ladies. They went, mostly on an old-fashioned English stage coach. Part of the company went in two other carriages. A most cheerful, lively and even jolly set were they, and the ride was charming. They went to Ross; then took a boat and went up the river to Goodrich Castle which had been in ruins for two hundred years. The walls were still standing, broad and high, and the dust and dirt and decayed fabric of the walls, had gathered on the top, and plants were growing there as on the ground. There were also shrubs, and even small trees, one, two, or two and half inches in diameter, growing on the top of these walls far above the earth. The Castle was held by the royalists in the time of Charles I, but taken and burned—at least the wooden part—by the parliamentary troops. The present owner of the estate had built a new castle on the estate, and was said to possess the best collection of ancient armor in England. The party wished to see this valuable museum, and went to the building. The proprietor was in London. They asked the servant to show the armor. He said he had orders to let nobody see it. They pressed and urged, even demanded the privilege; they went from the front door back and into the kitchen, and found other servants, and there pressed their claim as if a right; but these servants also refused. The company seemed to think the owner had overstepped his rights in refusing to let visitors see this treasure. As these were gentlemen and ladies of high position and intelligence, and familiar with the customs and proprieties of the country, they seemed to represent the popular idea that such treasures as these were not the exclusive propriety of the purchaser, but they were held by him, in part, for the gratification and instruction of the people.

They reached Malvern some time after midnight, having had an exceedingly pleasant excursion and seen much of the manners and habits of some of the best of England's people.

OXFORD

He went, Saturday, to Oxford, and first went into a book store and bought a map of the town, and a calendar of the University. Then he went among the colleges. Soon he fell in with a voluntary guide who adhered to him, and gave him unasked explanations with ceaseless persistency. He seemed to know the place, but was otherwise ignorant and vulgar, and became very wearisome. Dr. J. tried to escape from him, and, at length, did so by paying him for his service.

He went into the Bodleian Library where Mr. Bandinel, the librarian, received him with marked cordiality, and showed him the treasures of his house. He had been, he said, fifty years in that establishment. He advised Dr. J. to go the next day and hear the Bampton Lecturer who was one of the most distinguished preachers of London.

Then Dr. J. went to the Radcliffe Library, and into the several colleges. They are mostly on some of the public streets, close to the sidewalk. The lower windows of the older colleges were barred. Probably this was a relic of ancient times when society was rude, and people hostile to learning, when gown and town meant antagonistic, if not real interests, at least, feelings, and it was expedient or necessary to defend the college from assaults. The buildings are all of stone, strong, old, gray, imposing, but not elegant. No entrance opens directly from the street up into the colleges, but an arch, under the building, leads into the quadrangle within, where doors and entries and stairways lead into the house on all sides.

/269/ While there on Saturday and Sunday, he went into the inner precincts of nineteen colleges, and into several of the chapels, some of the dining, and other public rooms that he saw open. He went to prayers in one chapel Saturday evening; in another Sunday morning. He watched the manner and appearance of the students at the windows of their rooms, in the quadrangles, in the beautifully ornamented grounds, in the chapels and in the streets, and they seemed very like the students elsewhere—at Cambridge, Massachusetts.⁹² There were apparently studious youths absorbed in the purpose of their being in College; there were the jovial, the careless, the idle. Some put their heads out of the window, and called to others in the yard or in another room, and said apparently funny things which were answered with a laugh, or grave matter which was answered in the same tone, as we have seen, and now see, at home.

Sunday morning he was out early to see the students go to prayers, and to go also with them. As in his own college life, these youths showed that they had hastily left their beds, and were going with unfinished dressing to the chapel; some were tying their cravats, some buttoning some of their garments, some putting on their gowns on their way through the street. Sunday forenoon he went to the lecture where all the officers, heads, professors, and many of the students, were assembled. A verger, with man [*sic*] and gown, met him at the door and took him to a seat among the high officials. /270/ He had not sat in the midst of so much talent and learning, men of the highest acquirements and scholarship. The chiefs of the colleges were men of remarkable apparent intellectual power, with large and high heads, and expression of great wisdom. The sight of such as these was alone worth the journey to Oxford. The sermon was on the Sabbath—an endeavor to show that it should be kept with about as much religious observance as the present habit of the people of the English church gave to it, and so much relaxation and worthy enjoyment as they then thought best to indulge themselves in. The strait Sabbatarians overdid the matter, and offered more than God asked, and more than his people were willing to give; and the latitudinarians were too loose, and were insufficiently worshipful, and failed to get the good out of the Sabbath, that it offered. But the Episcopalians held the happy medium. They pleased God with just the amount of worship He wanted, and the natural man with sufficient indulgence to satisfy their earthly desires.

Going about afterward, and looking at one of the public buildings, he asked a pleasant gentleman who came along, some explanation. The gentleman answered so courteously and intelligently that he was tempted to ask more, and they fell into a (to him) very

⁹² The Oxford visit, in his letters to Almira, reminded him of his youth and years at Harvard: "In the College courts, yards and rooms the students seemed like ours. Their manner in and out of doors; their easy, cheerful and social bearing toward each other; the sedate and anxious looks of some; the apparently lively and pleasant conversation of others; . . . the singing heard from some of the rooms; music, now and then, of instruments; the talking from their windows to their fellows below; . . . all these and other attitudes and doings, sayings and appearance, all reminded me of our own College as it was in my day and as it is now. The same spirit and hope, . . . and I could easily imagine the students of our time and our university brought to these ancient halls and living, associating, talking, acting, feeling and thinking here as they did there. . . . As usual I looked first at the physique of the students to see their health, vigor, stature, &c. they were not larger than our students indeed not so large—none of them stout as were several in my class and usually belong to our classes, and more of them small, short men. They were not round, ruddy and fat; they were rather thin, but apparently more used to being out of doors and therefore more tanned and brown than our college boys. They were generally older than ours (the average age of the English students at College is greater than that of our College boys. We enter generally too young, many much too young) and more of them had beards". Cf. CFPL, Great Malvern, England, June 11, 1860, Monday eve. 10 1/2 o'clock, pp. 2-3, and 6-7.

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pleasant conversation. He told Dr. J. much of the city and the colleges, and after a while he said, "If you will now go to my house, I can there show you some plans, &c. /271/ which will more completely show you what you wish to know in respect to Oxford." Dr. J. spent another half hour in his library. Then the gentleman took him to a building which he had not seen. After all this he said he regretted that he could not ask Dr. J. to dine with him as he was engaged himself to dine abroad; but he wished him to inform him with whom he had passed this pleasant hour. Dr. J. gave him his card, and the gentleman gave him his, Prof. Leach, Latin instructor in Brazen Nose [*sic*] College. Then they had further conversation about English and American college education. He thanked Dr. J. for speaking to him, hoped they should meet again; and they parted. "Verily," thought Dr. J., "I have been favored in Oxford."

MR. WINFIELD

Mr. John Winfield, A.M. Oxford, partner with his father in a great factory in Birmingham, was then in Malvern and a frequent visitor to Capt. _____ at the Beauchamp Hotel, and there found Dr. J. He was much interested in education, especially of the mass of the people, and wanted to know about American schools. He became Dr. J.'s daily visitor, and was kind to him without end, took great interest in his visits, especially in Oxford and Birmingham, and gave him letters. He took him to ride, and when at last Dr. J. left Malvern, he came with his carriage to take him to the station.

BIRMINGHAM

Mr. Winfield wished him to see Birmingham, /272/ and gave him letters to his father and others, with request that they send Dr. J. to the pin and pen factories, the papier mâché and glass establishments. Dr. Middlemore offered him every attention; and what was the most convenient, his man and carriage, to take him wherever he wished to go, as he said the distances were great, and it would be troublesome to walk. Dr. J. dined and took tea with Dr. Russell, one of the leading physicians of the city.

Mr. Winfield, beside showing him all over his great factory, sent him, with one of his (Mr. W.'s) confidential clerks, with letters to the heads of the other factories. He was received by them as a friend and representative of one of their brothers. In these, the chiefs themselves went with him over all their establishments, and explained all the processes from the raw material to the finished pens and pins and papier mâché ware ready for the market and use. In each of the pen and pin factories, about four hundred persons—principally girls—are employed. Gillott takes great pride in the neatness and order of his establishment and people, and the propriety, good behavior, and gentility of his female co-operators. Well he may! and well may the pin manufacturer! All were as nice as ladies in a parlor. The processes and the machinery are wonderful! It used to be said that a pin went through twenty-four processes in as many hands, and it took twenty-four men to make /273/ a pin, and perhaps the whole sum of a workman's knowledge was how to make a twenty-fourth part of a pin. Dr. J. did not count the processes here, but he thought more than twice as many men and women contributed their labor to the creation of each pin. He can only conjecture now, but it seems to him that the pen required as many to work upon it, from the steel bar to the finished pen ready for writing.

The papier mâché was made into a great variety of household, and ornamental and useful articles. The factory was very extensive, and the men and women employed, a little multitude.

He had not time to go to the great glass house, it was out of the city. Nor could he drive with Mr. Winfield as he (Mr. W.) wished, for he was engaged with Dr. Russell. But Mr. W. seemed to feel responsible for all his wants, and sent his man with Dr. J. to the best hardware, trunk, and dry goods stores, where he wanted to purchase a trunk, knives, and stockings.

LONDON

Whitsuntide was a time for excursions. Dr. J. saw, by the papers, that railways all over England proposed cheap excursions. To London (from Malvern) and back was 16/–, \$4, to go Tuesday and return on Thursday, morning train. This would give him a part of Tuesday, all Wednesday, and an hour or two Thursday morning to see London. Perhaps this would be his only opportunity of seeing that great city. It was /274/ a world, and could not all be seen, not even the most desirable people, and parts. He must, then, select such as were the most desirable and profitable, and would supply most to his mental and moral being. He had a map of London. With this he made his plan, first determining the parts he would visit; and arranging them in topographical order, so as to lose no travel in finding them; also putting them in the order of their importance, so that, if they required more time, the least important should be omitted.

He reached London at 3 p.m., took lodging at the Golden Cross Hotel, Charing Cross, and then went on the top of an omnibus to Baring's to deposit his letter of credit, and get money. In all his travel in Europe, as before in every new place or country, he always, where possible, rode on the outside of stage, omnibus or cab, to see the streets and people, the country and scenery. So he went through the Strand, Fleet Street, Ludgate Hill, St. Paul's Churchyard, Poultry, &c. to Bishopsgate Street Within [*sic*], and found the Barings. They received him very courteously, invited him to their special office, gave the money he wanted, offered him many facilities for seeing matters of interest in London, the Bank, Mint, Docks, Parliament, &c. Their kindness was very convenient as well as pleasant. Thence he went through Holborn, Oxford Street, to the British Museum, on omnibus; made some visits and purchases, and /275/ then back to the Hotel. In the evening he went to Parliament House and Westminster Abbey, but saw only their outside as they were closed.⁹³

⁹³ The *Autobiography's* description of London is quite conventional, unlike that in his letters to Almira, which gives rich descriptions and precise references to people in schools, hospitals, factories, and also in the city slums, which Edward was especially careful to visit, and on which he wrote extensively in July: "... for ages St. Giles has been one of the hotbeds of poverty, sin and suffering. This was a very narrow street bordered with high old houses, old rookeries where men and women and children were packed together. The street was full of people on the sidewalks on the carriageway, men, women and children were sitting, standing, leaning—poor, ill-clad, ragged dirty raiment plainly the tawdry finery of the girls who had got a few shillings to spend in show, or the exhausted rags of past days. Everything indicated a lower life, a life steeped in poverty, in error, in degradation. ... I wanted to walk through the street. I did go a few rods, but I did not know how safe it was at that darkling hour. ... Here children were born in filth, raised in sin and lived in corruption. This is St. Giles. This is what Douglas Ferrould and Dickens and others have described, and here I saw the reeking dregs of humanity who could only say they lived, and had no hope, no thought of life beyond the present moment, ... I hope to go there again. I should like to go into their houses, their dens where they sleep and eat and where they begin and end their days in poverty, in filth and in sin."

Around the St Giles district, in a less poor area, he visited a school: "... about four hundred little children, not the worst, the poorest, not the ragged school: that is a still lower one. These are the dirty merely. They were from five to ten or eleven years old, girls and boys. I had a good opportunity of seeing them and observed first their

The next morning—Wednesday—he went to the Statistical Society’s rooms to which he had been in the habit of sending American statistics. There he was received as a friend, and made welcome to visit as much as he could while in the city. Then the Registration Office where he was received in the same pleasant manner, and the whole system of registration explained to him. Then to the Office of the Commission in Lunacy. He had had correspondence with Dr. Gaskell,⁹⁴ one of the commissioners. He found several clerks writing in the room below. They said Dr. G. was in the commissioners’ room above. Dr. J. sent his card. The clerk soon came back with the message that Dr. Gaskell was in Yorkshire, but the other commissioners wished to see Dr. Jarvis in their room. He went up. Two were there, Dr. Wilkes and Mr. Latridge. They received him with great cordiality, and detained him about an hour, longer than he thought he could spare time, or should occupy their attention. They talked of insanity, and of asylums in England and America, and on the Continent; of the principles of management; the improvements in the course of ages; the non-restraint system. An hour was not enough for all Dr. J. wanted to hear from them, or all they seemed to want to hear from him. They talked on familiarly and freely as old friends, and he could /276/ not help thinking, “Is it possible that we have not met before? and we are holding such ready and pleasant interchange of opinion on matters so important, so clear to them and so interesting to me!” But they had been treading on common ground, and had thoughts and principles and interests in common. Their souls had met unconsciously, and here they seemed to be old friends.

Then he went to the Poor Law Office where he had a similar reception, and an interview of similar character. They discussed questions of pauperism and of personal independence, and the best means of alleviating, and more especially of preventing, pauperism. Mr. Purdy, the secretary, was confident that they had not yet reached the desirable, and, he thought, the possible, principle, or method, of so developing peoples’ powers and characters as to make them as self-sustaining as nature had given them the capacity for being; and Dr. J. was sure they had not; yet they were both hopeful for the future.

Then he went to the Criminal Office, and had a similar conversation with Mr. Redgrave, the secretary, in regard to crime, its causes and retribution, and—more interestingly—its prevention. All these men’s comprehensions are broad, and their hearts are warm in their work. They take large views of the interests entrusted to their supervision, and they bring great intellectual power, and deep philosophy to their work. /277/ They are generous and hopeful, and aim not only to relieve the present evils, but find and spread such light and influence as will diminish the measure of sickness, insanity, pauperism and crime. These moral matters, the sight of, and conversation with, these men, were Dr. J.’s first objects of interest in London. Before sight-seeing, before the grand and the beautiful in art, he wanted to see the great influences that were operating to elevate mankind.

While there he visited the great lunatic asylums at Colney Hatch, Bethlem, St. Luke’s, and the Zoological Garden, and many other places of interest, the Parliament House and

physique. They were not healthy nor robust nor rosy. They are pale, thin and apparently feeble in muscle. They were not clean . . . not even so well dressed as our Irish children.” Cf. CFPL, Letters, III, 8, pp. 124–5, 32 Norfolk Street, London, Tuesday, July 3, 1860.

⁹⁴ E. J. to Samuel Gaskell (1807–1886), Dorchester, August 25, 1854; August 25, 1857; October 8, 1858; January 25, 1860, concerning the exchange of reports on insanity between England and the United States, cf. BCLM, B MS b 56.4, vol. 4, f. 32; *ibid.*, vol. 5, ff. 105–9, 196–205; *ibid.*, vol. 6, ff. 32–4. See also Samuel Gaskell to E. J., London, April 17, 1856, April 24, 1858, July 14, 1860, February 5, 1863, see BCLM B MS c 11.2.

Westminster Abbey, by daylight. His time was intensely occupied until Thursday at 4 p.m. when he left London for Malvern.

Soon after his return to Malvern, he received a letter from the secretary of the Statistical Society inviting him to dine with the Council at the Thatched House Tavern on the 19th of June, which he gladly accepted, and went again as appointed, and there dined with the leading statisticians of the Kingdom. They were marked men, scholars, mathematicians, political economists, philanthropists. He was surprised to find himself so well known there. They received him with marked cordiality and made him feel himself at home with them. After this, they went to the meeting of the Society at 12 St. James's Square, where was a gathering of sixty or more of this class of men. There he met, for the first time, Mr. Edwin Chadwick, /278/ with whom he had had correspondence.⁹⁵ He was very cordial, and from that time forth treated Dr. J. like a brother, and seemed to feel as if he were responsible for his comfort and happiness while he was in England. He was untiring in his kind attentions.

At the meeting Mr. Thomas Hare first read his celebrated Treatise on the more equal distribution of influence and power of voting. Much discussion followed in regard to its principles and their application. Dr. J. was asked to explain the method of conducting elections in the United States, which he did. They asked the effect of our so freely admitting foreigners to vote. They feared that danger to the purity of elections would follow. They asked whether bribery was, or was not, practiced. So these and many other inquiries he answered, at length, making several speeches and explanations. He told them that bribery was very rare among the Americans; that probably there were instances among the foreigners who did not and could not understand the principles that were at stake, and would then vote for some reason which they could comprehend, the reward directly given for this act; that if we would have a perfect political system, none should be allowed to vote who does not understand the nature of the act of voting, its meaning and responsibilities, or does not consider it as a sacred trust, to be conscientiously, as well as intelligently, discharged; yet the spirit of our country /279/ recognizes manhood in every one, and he is presumptively fit to take part in the selection of his rulers, and thereby entitled to vote until he is proved unfit; that bribery, or acceptance of bribery, and some other crimes, disqualified him for this trust; but the very responsibility for voting, tends to fit him intellectually, by creating in him an interest in the objects of voting, and the question of state; and he will be, thereby, led to inquire of those who do know, to talk with his associates, to attend political meetings, and to read papers if he can do so. He then gets to have some knowledge of the parties, or the men who represent them; and if he do not comprehend the whole matter, he will be apt to vote for, or with, the men whom he considers the most worthy to act for him. In this way he feels more interest in the law, more as if it were made for his advantage, and is its more willing supporter, and a better citizen. The enjoyment of political privileges thus tends to fit him for their faithful use, and thus the evil gradually corrects itself.

⁹⁵ E. J. to Edwin Chadwick, Dorchester, January 10, 1853, exchanges information with the Statistical Society of London, see BCLM, B MS b 56.4, vol. 3, ff. 15–20. Their correspondence continued after Jarvis returned home, cf. Rachel Chadwick to E. J., Richmond Hill, Surrey, England, November 23, 1866, which she wrote on behalf of her husband who was ill. She thanked Jarvis for a photograph, discussed current events, and complimented him on his work. BCLM B MS c 11.2.

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Dr. J. was introduced to many of these statisticians who were men of mark in England, and some of whom are well known, by reputation, in America, as well as at home. After the meeting was over he went home with Mr. Newmarch and spent the night. They talked of the subjects discussed at the society; of the policy of their different countries especially as to the right of suffrage; of the effect of its universal enjoyment in the United States and its /280/ growing extension in England which he, as well as most there, looked upon with hope, and generally with confidence, yet not without some anxiety. They talked much of the principles of taxation in England and America. Mr. N. wished to know the whole law and process of our manner of raising money, in nation, state, and town, for all sorts of purposes: education, highways, police, jurisprudence, &c. He was deeply interested; but he thought their system of taxing income rather than property, as here, much better, more just, and less annoying to the tax-payer. It seemed to him more offensive and irritating to inquire as to a man's substance—his money, notes, stocks and real estate—than to inquire into his income. Dr. J. told him that our feelings, opinions, and actions were just the reverse; and now (1873) looking back upon the national income tax, its operation, and subsequent discontinuance in part, he is confirmed in the opinion he gave Mr. N.

The next day Mr. N. asked him to write a paper on this matter as already described in this autobiography.

WINDSOR CASTLE

Dr. J. went to Windsor Castle and saw the rooms that are usually exhibited. The warden who took him about, was very kind and social. He gave much explanation of the purposes of each, the customs of the Castle and the habits of the Royal family so far as he knew them. From his boyhood Dr. J. had read of Windsor Castle, the ancient abode of the English kings; but /281/ little did he expect to go into, and over, it as he was then doing. It more than fulfilled his expectations as to its strength and its grandeur, but he did not expect to find such simplicity connected with the riches of the place. The furniture was of the richest wood with some gilding, yet it was plain and unshowy. All was covered with cloth made to fit, in each room, except one specimen of each kind, chair, table, desk, glass, &c. There were magnificent pictures, portraits, scenes, and (what he had not before seen) the ceilings above their heads, were covered with exquisite fresco and other painting, so that the whole was one continuous sheet of beauty around, above, yet all done in such grace that it did not dazzle nor overpower with display of magnificence. They went through room after room, parlors, reception rooms, banqueting hall, here was a long table, sufficient for two hundred guests, so said the guide, where the Queen sometimes entertained her guests. Along the walls were the escutcheons of many of the nobility, knights, &c., men and families of distinguished honor. Then to St. George's Chapel, within the Castle, though of separate architecture; beautiful and grand is it, and the inner parts are extremely fine. There the Queen sometimes worships, with the officers of high estate in the Castle; yet she is not seen, she has a private box, pew, or separate place for herself. This is the rule and the etiquette; the sacred royalty of the ruler must not, even in the temple of religion, be exposed to common gaze. He was told, however, that she more often attends divine /282/ service in a private chapel for herself and family, within the Castle itself. The tower of stone overtops everything in and about the Castle. He ascended over one hundred and fifty steps he thought, and there was a platform perhaps thirty feet

across, with room for two hundred men to stand, surrounded by a parapet sufficiently high to prevent falling over, but not to prevent one looking abroad over the beautiful grounds of the Castle extending in one direction at least two or three miles, the neighboring country for many miles about, Windsor city, Eton College, the Thames, all were spread before him and paid well for the ascent, even if there had been no prestige of royalty and antiquity associated with it.

The city comes close to the walls of the Castle. A principal street has the royal bulwarks on one side for its border, and stores, shops, restaurants where he bought a lunch and pictures, and where clothes, shoes and tinware are offered for sale. So royalty and the world's common affairs are in juxtaposition, as they should be, morally as well as physically.

HANWELL

He went out on the top of an omnibus to Hanwell, eight miles out of London, the great asylum of twelve hundred or more of London's lunatics. The physician, Dr. Rigby, received him as others had, with the most generous hospitality; showed him the whole /283/ house, entertained him in his house, and begged him to stay the night with him. This is a huge establishment of stone, with stone steps and some stone floors. Here hundreds are gathered and crowded. The rulers prefer such large asylums. They think them economical. They save the pay of more superintendents, physicians, and other upper officers; but they diminish the healing powers of the hospital, they defeat the medical and sanitary influences, and they lessen the chances of restoration. The economy is not wise, nor successful. More fail to be restored to health, to power of self-sustenance; more are left in permanent disease, or lifelong dependence on public or private charity. The gain is small; the increased cost of supporting insanity is great, very great.

DR JOHN CONOLLY

Every one conversant with the history of mental disease, knows Dr. John Conolly,⁹⁶ by reputation. He lived at Hanwell. He is, and has been, at the head of his branch of the profession. He was the great leader in the discontinuance of mechanical restraints upon insane patients, and in the amelioration of their condition and treatment; and one of the most intelligent and accomplished physicians in the world. Dr. J. wanted to see him and proposed to himself to call upon him; yet he hesitated. What claim had he to intrude upon one so distinguished and so occupied? But his desire to see him prevailed. He rang the bell. A servant came. He sent in his card. Dr. C. /284/ called him into his library, and with the most courteous cordiality (he was the second most graceful man he saw in England) said, "Dr. Jarvis, I am very glad to see you! I was but just reading one of your publications. You are very kind to call on me!" His doubts were at an end. He sat at his ease with the great and good man. Never had he met with one more attractive, genial, or social.

Soon Dr. C. said, "Have you been to tea?" (It was 8 o'clock.) "No!" He rang the bell, whispered something to the servant. She brought in a cup of tea, and a plate of sliced bread

⁹⁶ John Conolly (1794–1866), see three ALS to E. J., 1 page recto/verso each, London, July 13, 1860, July 23 (4 p.m.), July 24, BCLM, B MS c 11.2. See *Treatment of the insane without mechanical restraints*, London, 1856, reprinted with an Introduction by Richard Hunter and Ida Macalpine, London, Folkestone, 1973; and E. Showalter, *The female malady. Women, madness, and English culture, 1830–1980*, London, Virago, 1987, pp. 44–9, 101–3.

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and butter, such as Dr. J. had found common in England, thin slices spread, and imbricated, or laid like shingles on a roof, on a waiter. She set this on a little table or stand. There was no parade, no labor, no interference with their conversation.⁹⁷ After a while Dr. C. looked at his cup, rang the bell, and another cup of tea was before Dr. J. Such a simple way of entertaining an accidental friend would save families much trouble, and visitors much fear and embarrassment as to calling. Dr. C. wished him to stay over night. It was eight miles to London and eleven miles to his hotel. He declined and must go in the 9.30 train. Then he said, "I will watch for you and see that you do not lose it", and the conversation went on, genial, charming, learned, wise, generous, like his own heart and intellect. Dr. J. had read his writings with great profit. Dr. C. had read Dr. J.'s. They knew each others' views /285/ of things respecting man and his dangers, and the proper way of restoring him. The time fled. They took no note of it—at least Dr. J. did not. What was time in such attractive company and with such rich intercourse! but suddenly the train came roaring along. Dr. C. started, "I was thinking it was to come at forty minutes after nine, but here it is at half past. Perhaps we can get it before it goes. The station is at the foot of my garden." So they ran through the back door and the garden; but before they reached it, the train went to London. The good Doctor was grieved, and chid himself for his inattentiveness. Dr. J. told him it was not of the least consequence, he could go as well in the 11.30 train. "Is it no disappointment to you?" "No! I only feared intruding upon you." "Is that all? Then I am thankful I made the mistake! Now we will go back and finish the evening." So they did. The hours flew along richly laden with his wisdom, his loving spirit, his generous charity for the world. He said that the British Association of Medical Superintendents of Insane Asylums would soon meet in London, and he wished Dr. J. to be present, and dine with them as his guest. In the course of the evening he said, "When you

⁹⁷ He wrote to Almira about Conolly from Great Malvern, Thursday, May 21th, 1860: "Went to Dr. Conolly's. . . . He has been long at the head of this part of our profession. He has written several books on insanity and published one recently. He was long at the head of an Asylum, though not now. He has been the leader in the mild, non-restraint practice. His last work recently published, is intended to set this forth, its principles, its philosophy and its success, and the ill-success of the old, severer and less confiding system. I have all his works but the last which is just published. I sent my card to him. He met me as if I were an old acquaintance. Soon he wanted me to have tea and supper: 'No! I must go at 9.40. I preferred to talk with him!' The railway station is just back of his house. He would keep watch and tell me when to go, but regretted that my time was so short. We talked freely and easily, first upon that most dear to his heart the mild treatment of the insane. His notions are those we have, such as we have practiced at home, generous, confiding, always tender and respectful and thereby receiving more self-respect in and confidence from the patients. We talked of the philosophy of disease and its means of removal. He spoke very kindly of my report and rejoiced to see such evidence of opinions in America in such accordance with his own. He got my book out his library to refer to it; said I must take his home with me and gave me copy. We talked of writers in America, of Americans. . . . He spoke of Bryant, of Longfellow; yet he said he did not enjoy poetry as he wished he could. He had been so much devoted to science, psychology, mental disorder, that he could not give the thought to poetry as he ought, to enjoy it. We talked busily, very busily. . . . Dr. Conolly is apparently seventy or more, yet hale and vigorous; . . . Having ever cultivated the higher moral and intellectual, he manifest a beautiful spirit. He has retired from active practice and devotes himself to study, writing, social enjoyment and some consultation practice. He is the most valuable consulting physician in mental disorders in Great Britain, and, I suppose, in the world. The other two hours were very short. Our conversation ran as smoothly and sympathetically and apparently as familiarly as if I were with Peabody, Bowditch, Hosmer or Dr. Jackson . . . I left this delightful old man, feeling happier that I had met him, and had his book, his last book, the treasure of his life in my hands, the gift of his own heart. I omitted to say that he said he thought of writing another book, the resumé of his opinions and experience in respect to the causes of insanity and the best way of meeting them in their very beginning." CFPL.

come again to London, I want you to dine with me, for I have several friends who will like to know you, and whom I want you to know." And, at length (why not say *at broad*, when there was so wide and comprehensive charity? or *at depth*, when there was such a depth of philosophy and wisdom?) /286/ at length, half past eleven did really appear, and with it the train. They were at the station in good season. They could talk as well there as in the parlor. Dr. C. stayed until the engine dragged Dr. J. away; and thus passed one of the richest evenings of Dr. Jarvis's life.

TOWER OF LONDON

Was his next attraction. Everybody enters and sees the whole for a fee—sixpence or a shilling. The warder, or guide, is dressed in the style of the middle ages, and seemed to have been long at that post. He was familiar with, and explained everything. They saw the horse armory, a row of kings and princes for several hundred years, on horseback, with the armor, defensive and offensive, of their times; and some had their knights or attendants by their sides. Here were the centuries past brought back, and shown to him. The grim, dark, cruel ideas, and means of destruction of the more savage ages, were before him.

In other parts of the Tower were the arms, the killing instruments, the old battle-axes, the spears, the swords, the different firearms as they began and improved. The old were more cruel than the modern. The ancients were more reckless of life than the people of the latter time; they were more ready to destroy and inflict pain on their enemies; their instruments of death were coarser, more fitted to a bloodthirsty intent, than the arms of our day. There were the instruments of cruel /287/ justice—the axe with which Lady Jane Grey was beheaded and the block on which her beautiful head was placed for this purpose.

They went to Sir Walter Raleigh's dungeon. The door was closed upon them in total darkness, to show what he suffered for twelve years. Dr. J. saw his writing still preserved upon the wall.

These and many relics of antiquity were shown to them. They are evidences of the rudeness and the savageness of former ages. Then they were shown the crown jewels, the crowns which kings and queens have worn, their diamonds and other precious stones and metals, the great Koh-i-Noor diamond which makes one feel rich if he thinks of it, but adds no power, no sustenance, no alleviation of ills to mankind; and, even if it were dissolved and annihilated, would mankind be any poorer?

He returned to Malvern, and took his trunks and again went to London. Then there was a great military parade which attracted multitudes to the city, and filled the hotels. The cabman who took him from the station, said he had carried passengers in vain to the Golden Cross and Morley's Hotel. He took Dr. J. to the Brunswick, where he could have a room in the fourth story to lodge and eat, for the coffee-room was filled with lodgers. There were two events soon to happen in London of deep interest to him: the meeting of the British Association of Medical Superintendents of Insane Asylums, and of /288/ the International Statistical Congress.

DR. CONOLLY

Dr. Conolly soon found him out, and said that the meeting of the Asylum Superintendents would soon take place and he was glad Dr. J. would be with them. Dr. J.

went with him to the meeting, and was elected an honorary member of the Association. There he met many whom he had known by reputation and whose reports he had seen. The meeting was for a single day only. The time was consumed in business, and by two addresses by the retiring and incoming presidents, both of the highest character.

The dinner was magnificent, of every sort of edible [*sic*] and luxury, and wines of various kinds. Dr. J. was placed at the upper end of the table, the second from the right hand of the president and next to Dr. Conolly. Some toasts were given and speeches made; then Dr. Bucknill,⁹⁸ the president, referred to his American friend now present, whose writings on insanity and whose report on the condition of the insane and asylums in Massachusetts, had done his own country honor, and given him a reputation throughout Europe, &c. Dr. J. was surprised. He had not supposed that he, or any of his writings, were known in Europe, except to a few to whom he had sent them, or that he had any reputation as a psychological philosopher. Nevertheless he was obliged to speak in answer to the warm compliment of the president.

/289/ Dr. Conolly had his dinner party at Hanwell. There were seven of them; the others were mostly superintendents of hospitals, one or two London physicians among them. Cheerfully, pleasantly passed the evening with these intelligent and benevolent men, but when they left, Dr. Conolly said to Dr. J., "This is not the party to which I proposed that you should come. There are others who want to see you, and you must come again."

Soon that opportunity arrived, and Dr. C. had another dinner party like the first, with pleasant, genial, intelligent company; and when that was over he said as before, "There is yet another company for you to meet, and you must dine here again." During Dr. J.'s stay in London, of about eight weeks, Dr. C. invited him to five dinner parties, and when he left at the end of July, Dr. C. called and said, "I intended to have you dine with me once more." He gave Dr. J. five of his large photographs, one for Miss Dix,⁹⁹ one for himself, and the others to be disposed of as Dr. J. might wish. One he gave to the National Hospital at Washington to represent Dr. Conolly in the whole country; one to Dr. Kirkbride as the best personal representation of Dr. C.; and the third to the Northampton Hospital which was the result of his own labors on the Lunacy Commission.

PRIVATE ASYLUMS

Dr. J. went to many private asylums for the insane, in and about London, and was received as /290/ if he were an old and familiar friend.

In these private houses for the insane in England, most of the private or pay patients are kept. Few of them are built for their present purpose. Most of them were the dwellings of former private, noble, or large families. They have their parlors, sitting-rooms, sleeping chambers, as other private houses. He saw in none the barred windows, strong doors, locks and bolts, that are here deemed needful for the custody of these patients. They seemed to be treated as other people are, confidingly. There were then one hundred and thirteen of these private asylums in England, in which were 2,828 patients—seven twelfths of all the private or pay patients in the kingdom.

⁹⁸ J[ohn] C[h]arles] Bucknill (1817–1897), for correspondence see BCLM, B MS c 11.2.

⁹⁹ John Conolly to E. J., London, July 24, 1860, BCLM B MS c 11.2. Dorothea Dix, see above, Introduction, p. xxvi.

He went also to Wandsworth, Colney Hatch, and Sussex Asylums. All these are county institutions for their purpose, and all managed on the non-restraint principle.

LORD BROUGHAM

Leaving Malvern Mr. Winfield gave him a letter introductory to Lord Brougham with whom Mr. W. was intimate, and who made his (Mr. W.'s) house his (Lord B.'s) home when in Birmingham. Mr. W. said very kindly, "I know Lord B. will be glad to see you, and talk of the institutions and especially the educational matters of America." When they parted, he said, "Be sure to see Lord Brougham!"

/291/ Soon after arriving in London, Dr. J. called at Lord B.'s house in Old Bond Street. He sent in his letter and card. The servant immediately returned and took him into the receiving room. This was about twenty feet square, plain, with book-cases about, and two tables spread, covered with books, papers, &c. in rather miscellaneous manner, somewhat like his own, except on a larger scale. Soon a vigorous, pleasant-looking, old gentleman came in and said, "I am pleased to see you here, Dr. Jarvis," and shook hands very cordially. Then they talked: first, about the United States, education and its effect on the development of character and national power; of our growth and destiny; our place in the world and influence on the progress of civilization; and, lastly, of slavery, the relation of which to our state and national government he (Lord B.) seemed to understand. He said this was our greatest bar to progress, civil, social, political, and financial, and he trusted that some way would be discovered whereby we should be relieved of it. After an hour's very pleasant conversation, he said, "I want to show you my favorites." Then he took Dr. J.'s arm and led him to a long room which Dr. J. suspected was his private study. On each side was a row of beautiful busts on pedestals. They were of exquisite workmanship, but that was not his reason for having them there. They were not for ornament, but as representations of men whose character he admired. He took Dr. J. to each one and gave him an account of its original. They were all his friends, but those he seemed /292/ to regard the most were Lord Wellington, and Mr. Watt, the mechanician.¹⁰⁰ When they came to Mr. Watt which was the last, he said, "Now I will tell you how I got that bust. Mr. Watt and I were very intimate. I was associated with him much in many of our plans of public improvement. After he died his son called here and said, 'My Lord, my father was very fond of you and I know he would be pleased that you should possess something connected with him, and I will send you his desk.' Well! I expected the desk as Mr. W. was a prompt man of business; but it did not come. In about a fortnight I met him in the street. He said, 'My Lord, I promised you my father's desk. I was sincere in my promise. I intended that you should have it; but when the time came to send it, I remembered how much I had seen and enjoyed my father sitting there. My heart failed. I could not part with the desk; but you shall have his chair.' So I waited for the chair in confident trust that would surely come. But in a few days I met him with the same apology, the same struggle between his promise and his affection in which the last prevailed. He could not part with the chair, 'but you shall have his pen!' I was sure of the pen. But in a day or two he called here and said, 'I tried to give you the desk, the chair, and then the pen, and lastly the

¹⁰⁰ It seems probable that Jarvis, confused by English titles, is referring to the 1st Duke of Wellington (1769–1852); James Watt (1736–1819) was the inventor.

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inkstand; but I cannot do either. I have not the heart to part with any thing that my father used. But I will tell you what I have done, /293/ instead. I stopped at Chantry's as I came along, and gave him a check for £1,500 (\$7,500) and told him to make the best bust of my father for you.' There it is."

This beautiful son who could not spare his father's desk or chair, or even his pen or inkstand, could give \$7,500 to perpetuate his father's memory in his friend's house!

After some longer conversation Dr. J. rose to go. Lord B. after begging him not to go then, asked him to come again. He went in a few days, and had another interview of similar character in which they talked of matters most interesting to them.

Lord Brougham is a great lover of the United States, and has the highest respect for our character, culture and energy. He thinks we have great influence on the destinies of the world, and especially in the advancement of civilization; and are to have still more. He spoke of slavery several times, always in sorrow and pity for our great misfortune in being so entangled with it. He was genial, free, and though a great, and easy talker, by no means seemed to wish to monopolize the conversation. He asked many questions, listened with attentiveness, and seemed pleased to hear opinions in harmony with his own, from the other side of the ocean, on topics that interested him. He put himself in the attitude of an earnest learner in respect to America.

Dr. J. afterward saw much of him in the Statistical Congress, and found him a most persevering and /294/ agreeable talker.

One day he took the train to Reigate and examined the school for idiots where two hundred and eighty-two were trained. They were of ages from five or six years to forty and over. Apparently some of them were demented lunatics. They were admirably managed, and did much and varied work. They made all sorts of furniture—chairs, beds, bedsteads, bureaux, tables, &c. Dr. Down, the superintendent, seemed to be a man of rare skill and power in his vocation.

Thence about 11 o'clock he took train for Brighton, and went all over the town, saw the beach, the houses of the gentry and pleasure-seekers, and the palace of the former king. It was really a beautiful place to do nothing in but find pleasure.

Thence at 3 o'clock to Haywards Heath, and examined the new Sussex Lunatic Asylum whose friends think it is the best in England. Certainly it is excellent in arrangement, and seems excellent in management under the care of the wise and learned Dr. Robertson¹⁰¹ whose courtesy only equalled that of all others whom he visited. Dr. J. dined with him, and at night took car for London, having done a very profitable day's work.

He was invited by many to visit their asylums, and soon came to think, with the commissioner, that all these institutions were open to him. Many sent him sets, more or less complete, of their annual /295/ reports. Several authors of treatises on insanity sent him their writings—Dr. Conolly, Dr. Winslow,¹⁰² &c.—which form very valuable additions to his library.

¹⁰¹ Cf. a letter from J. Lockhart Robertson to E. J., London, July 6, 1860, inviting him to visit the Essex Asylum with him, see BCLM, B MS c 11.2.

¹⁰² Forbes Winslow (1810–1874), his most recent book was *On obscure diseases of the brain and disorders of the mind*, London, John Churchill, 1860.

STATISTICAL CONGRESS

The congress of statisticians of all nations, held its fourth session in London on the 16th of July and through the week following. Dr. J. was delegate from the American Statistical Association. Judge Longstreet of South Carolina, was delegate from the United States. The Government of Great Britain had general charge of this, and Prince Albert presided; as the Governments of Belgium, France and Austria had charge of the preceding congress, and some of the Royal Family, or high dignitaries, presided. The Government took great interest in this congress, and watched it with anxiety.

There were delegates from the governments of almost every civilized nation, and the representatives of statistical, and other scientific associations, and scientific men, statisticians, philanthropists and political economists who came on their own account, from many countries, principally from Great Britain. The assemblage was large, highly intelligent, with broad sympathies, and high moral aim. They met to discuss questions of man's best destiny and the present means of attaining it. The questions of human depression in every form, and of human expansion in every way, sickness, insanity, mortality, crime, pauperism, population, business, finance, agriculture, all the interests /296/ of humanity came under their review. They were divided into six sections:

1. Judicial Statistics, crime, law, &c.
2. Sanitary Statistics, health, means of preservation
3. Industrial Statistics, labor, agriculture, manufacture, mining
4. Commerce
5. Census, population, army, navy
6. Statistical methods.¹⁰³

Each section sat in the forenoon, apart in its appointed room, and had papers and discussions upon topics belonging to its department; and reported what they had done to the whole congress in the afternoon.

The Congress assembled in the great hall of King's College. There were three or four hundred who occupied the front third of the room, and Dr. J. saw a negro in the midst of the broad and long vacancy behind. After preliminary business, Prince Albert came in and took the chair on the large platform; and at the same time a multitude of perhaps a thousand came in, and filled the hall. Then vice-presidents were chosen, one from each nation, Dr. J. was taken from the United States. They all sat on the platform around the president, with many other dignitaries, British and Foreign ministers, &c.

The Prince read his address in a very clear, distinct, attractive manner. It was a work suited /297/ to the occasion, reviewing the progress of civilization, the elevation of man, the increase of comforts, of means of living, of morals, and the duties of each generation to

¹⁰³ It was reported that Edward Jarvis attended the meeting on Thursday, 19th July 1860, with Wilde, South, Gibson, Neuman. See *International Statistical Congress—Report submitted to the Organization Commission on the programme of the fourth session of the International Statistical Congress to be held in London, on 16th July 1860, and five following days*. See also *Compte rendu général des travaux du Congrès International de Statistique dans ses séances tenues à Bruxelles, 1853, Paris 1855, Vienne 1857, et Londres 1860*. Publié par les ordres de S.E.M. le Comte D'Eulenburg, Ministre de l'Intérieur, sous la Direction de M. le Dr Ernest Engel, Directeur du Bureau Royal de Statistique de Berlin, Berlin, Imprimerie Royale, R. Decker, 1863. In the copy at the Harvard Widener Library there is a handwritten note which reads: "Harvard College Library, 1871, June 7, Gift of Edward Jarvis, M.D. of Dorchester."

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contribute to the advancement of these elements of human being. The Prince could not have written this address unless he were a student and an observer, and had taken interest in the condition of all classes of society. When he finished Lord Brougham, with a eulogy, moved a vote of thanks which was carried unanimously. Then seeing Mr. Dallas, the American minister, before him on the stage, he said, "I am happy to inform our friend, Mr. Dallas, that we have a negro with us," at which the company clapped with applause. The colored man, who was Dr. Delany, formerly of Canada and recently a traveller in Africa, rose and said, "I thank the noble lord for his kind allusion to me. I have nothing to say except that I am still a man." Then the secretary announced that Prince Albert wished all the foreign delegates to call on him at Buckingham Palace.

Hither they went, and Dr. J. found himself for the first time in the king's palace. They were all in a great, elegant, but plainly furnished receiving-room, and they were called in by nations alphabetically, Austria first, United States last, when Judge L. and Dr. J. went in together.

The Prince stood in the middle of the room above them, but four gentlemen in waiting stood in a row on his right, and somewhat in his rear. He was /298/ dressed as most English gentlemen and business men were, everywhere, in a black frock coat and gray vest and trousers, without ornament or badge, or anything to distinguish him from any other gentleman. He was tall, about five feet eleven, rather full and robust, perhaps forty years old. His face was very intelligent, and benevolent and attractive. His manner was simple, very courteous and dignified, such as puts one at ease with him. He bowed and bade them welcome, but did not shake hands. That is not royal etiquette. Then he talked, and they talked, most easily and freely. Dr. J. never felt more self-possessed. This was his grace to make his companions feel so.¹⁰⁴

They talked of the United States and Britain, and their mutual relations; of our common destiny. Prince Albert said, "Your nation, and ours hold the destinies of civilization in our hands more than all other nations. We must, then, walk together in harmony. We must co-operate in the great work of elevating mankind. We cannot separate or quarrel without causing suffering to the great world, and perilling the progress of civilization." Dr. J. said, "We want more and more intercourse; we want not only to know each other better, but to be more familiar; to cultivate more intense sympathy, mutual respect and affection. We come much from America to England; we want more Englishmen to come to us, and share our hospitality and friendship."

/299/ He said, "It is very natural that you should come here more than we go there. We, in Europe, are in the geographical center of culture and civilization. You are on the confines. All gravitate toward, not from, the center. Reverse our position, bring America to the east side, and carry England to the west side of the ocean, then Englishmen would flash eastward, and a few Americans would go westward."

Dr. J. said, "The attractions on this side of the ocean are very great to Americans, and the European hospitalities make them doubly so."

¹⁰⁴ "... the Prince is about my height, a little stouter, 41 years old, dark hair and is slightly bald. He is rather round and in excellent health. He wore a plain black frock coat, I think some black or very dark vest, grey pants and dark, or black, cravat. He is a handsome and graceful gentleman, but not showy. He seemed modest and retiring. He received us courteously, did not shake hands." CFPL, Letters, III, 86, p. 175, King's College Library, London, July 18, 1860.

He said, "We are, however, overcoming the difficulty of visiting America. Steam makes it easy and our travellers westward increase with the increase of the facilities of crossing the sea." Then he added very pleasantly, "We will have a bridge across the sea, by-and-by, and then we will all go and see you." He thanked them for coming, and hoped they would have a pleasant and profitable meeting at the Congress, and find much enjoyment in Britain and elsewhere, and carry home very pleasant memories of this visit to the old world.

This is the substance, or topics, of their conversation. It was not in long speeches, as it may seem from this record; but in short proportions and replies, as in any other very free, easy and familiar talk. Prince Albert did not monopolize the conversation, but gave opportunity for, and his manner invited /300/ them to talk. He seemed as desirous to hear, as speak. Judge Longstreet was diffident, and threw the burden of the dialogue mostly on Dr. Jarvis. Altogether this was one of the easiest and pleasantest interviews that Dr. J. has had. As with the Commissioners in Lunacy, of the Poor, and of Crime, they seemed to be looking at a common object with which they were both familiar, and in which they had long taken a common interest, and their thoughts flowed in similar channels.

The interview lasted about fifteen minutes, when by a sort of instinct, the Judge and Dr. J. thought it time to leave, and they parted, bowing to each other.

JUDGE LONGSTREET AND THE NEGRO

Going away from the palace the Judge said that he had been greatly grieved by the speech of Lord Brougham in reference to the negro. He thought it an insult to our country in calling the attention of the American minister to the presence of a negro. Moreover he could not attend a congress in which such an insult had been given to the United States, in the person of its representatives. Dr. J. told him that Lord B.'s speech had no such intent. It seemed to him that Lord B. was pleased that a colored man was sufficiently cultivated to take interest in these matters, and that he supposed that Mr. Dallas who knew more about the African race, would also be gratified; and that he (the judge) had no reason to be offended. The next morning Judge L. sent Dr. J. a note stating that he had resigned his /301/ place in the congress on account of the speech of Lord B. Dr. J. showed the note to Dr. Farr,¹⁰⁵ one of the secretaries, and he showed it to Lord B.

After the session closed, Lord B. went to Dr. J. and asked him about it. He told Lord B. what the Judge had said. Lord B. said that he had no intention of offending any one, and regretted that he had been misunderstood. He hoped the Judge would change his mind and come back to the congress. "Tell him what I say, and that I want him in my section of judicial statistics to represent American Law."

Dr. J. carried the message, but the Judge was persistent. But at length he said he wished Dr. J. would consult Mr. Dallas, and he (the Judge) would follow his (Mr. D.'s) advice. Dr. J. said it would not be well that his separation from the congress should be known at home; it could not be well understood; its character would be magnified, and angry feelings would be excited among our people toward the British nation. "It has gone already," he said. "Mr. Dallas sent a special dispatch yesterday to the Government at home, representing the whole matter." Nevertheless he wished Dr. J. to consult Mr. Dallas.

¹⁰⁵ William Farr (1807–1883), for correspondence between him and E. J. see BCLM, B MS b 56.4, vol. 1, ff. 133–4; *ibid.*, vol. 6, ff. 141–4; and *loc. cit.*, B Ms c. 11.2.

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This he did; but Mr. D. was even more disturbed than the Judge. He said it was a premeditated, prearranged insult to the United States; the negro was purposely placed conspicuously in the midst of that great assemblage from all Europe, in order that /302/ Lord B. should show him an educated man as a specimen of the race held in slavery by the United States; and then to taunt our country with this reproach. He thought the Judge did right to leave the Congress.

The next day, Wednesday afternoon, Dr. J. was walking in the vestibule of the hall and talking with Judge Hill, of Birmingham, on a matter very interesting to both—the means of repressing crime—when a German came from the hall, and said, “Be you United States?” “Yes.” “They calls you!” Dr. J. went in. Lord Brougham, then in the chair, said, “Your report on the Statistics of the United States comes next in order.” Dr. J. had it in his pocket and ascended the stage and was ready to read, when Lord B. said, “Stop, Doctor. I have something to say first.”

Then to the Congress he said, “The presence of our friend from the United States, reminds me of a remark which I made here on Monday, and which I regret to learn was misunderstood by the other delegate from that country; and now I wish to say that I intended to convey no insult when I saw the colored member here. I felt pleased that the elements of civilization which this congress has labored to diffuse, have even crept into Africa where the inhabitants are in the darkness of ignorance, and educated and elevated at least one man, so that he comes here to take part in our deliberations; and I thought that Mr. Dallas who /303/ knows more of the race than we can, would be pleased as well as I. I did not intend to cast any slur. I could not do so in regard to the United States. I love and respect the people of that country for the great advance they have made in civilization, and in so much that concerns humanity. She has her faults as well as we, but this is not the occasion to refer to them. I regret that her delegate misapprehended my meaning, and I hope he will join us and aid us in our deliberations.”

He made no apology, expressed no regret for his remark, but that his meaning was not understood. Again Dr. J. saw the Judge, and told him what Lord B. said. “That is sufficient for Lord B. but the Congress are implicated. They clapped when Lord B. spoke to Mr. Dallas, and also when the negro spoke. They should therefore, vote to ask me to come back, and then I will gladly return.”

Dr. J. said, “The Congress was happy and good-natured. They clapped everybody and everything. They clapped every one that went on the stage, and every speech that was made. They clapped me when I was elected vice-president, when I went to read my report, and when I finished it, and Lord Brougham when he made his explanations.”

The Judge still thought the audience should be held responsible for apparently endorsing his interpretation of Lord B.’s remark. Yet he said he would take one more counsel, and seek aid in prayer, as to his duty.

/304/ Thursday morning Dr. J. called first on the Judge, trusting that he had changed his mind; but he held to his resolutions. He said, “This matter is, or will be, in the American papers. It will be spread all over the southern states, and create a great interest and much angry feeling in respect to this congress. If I should now go back to the meeting I could not return and live in South Carolina. The people would not permit me to live among them.” Moreover he said, “I think you, for the honor of our insulted country, ought to leave the congress and not go in again.” Dr. J. thought differently on both points.

When the Congress met in the afternoon, Lord B. called Dr. J. and asked, "Has our friend come to his senses yet?" He expressed again his regret, and still hoped the Judge would look differently on the matter and come to the Congress.

The English members were greatly grieved at this event. This was the first trouble that had occurred in all the meetings, and they wanted this in London to be as harmonious as the others. They all hoped that the Judge would change his purpose. Some of them admitted that Lord Brougham was indiscreet in even referring to the negro in presence of Mr. Dallas; yet they said he had no intention to insult, and the Judge had insufficient reason to think so.¹⁰⁶ Dr. J., being the only other American present, was spoken to continually by both the English and the continental members of the Congress; all in the /305/ same way expressing regret that any member should feel aggrieved or take offense, and they should lose his sympathy and co-operation.

Dr. J. saw the Judge daily, and told him what all said; but he persisted in his resolution. When Lord Palmerston sent Dr. J. his invitation to attend the party at his house, Dr. J. asked the messenger if he had one for Judge Longstreet. He had not. Dr. J. stated that Judge L. was a delegate from the United States, and that Lord P. undoubtedly intended to invite him as he proposed to include all the foreign members of the Congress. He was invited and went.

After the Congress closed Dr. J. was asked to meet a committee on the subject of international coinage, weights and measures. As he knew Judge L. had taken much interest in this matter and prepared a paper upon it, Dr. J. proposed that he be invited also. He was, and he attended.

CONGRESS LABORS

To Dr. J. the Congress was full of the intensest interest. Dr. Farr said that any one could join any section that he wished. Dr. J. told him that he preferred the Census, or Sanitary Section. Dr. Farr said he was secretary of the Sanitary Section, and as it was not so well filled as the others, he wished Dr. J. to join him. So he did.

Lord Shaftesbury presided with great ease and suavity. They had papers and discussions, able and /306/ earnest, by the most intelligent sanitarians in Europe. Dr. J. took part in the discussions and made several speeches, and was several times called upon to speak of the condition, the opinions and practice of America. He wrote three reports or essays:

1. On the laws and practice of registration in America, the states, and cities. This he read on Wednesday.
2. On the crimes of males and females. This he wrote at the request of Lord Brougham, and the latter read it to the Judicial Section.

¹⁰⁶ The short editorial in *Punch* of 28 July 1860 is ironic, but does not exaggerate events at the Anglo-American Congress: "An Anglo-American Congress. Noble old Brougham, at one of the late meetings of the Congress which has been held at Somerset House, expressed a fear that he had given offence to Mr Dallas and the United States by calling 'the attention of the American ambassador to the fact—and he thought it was a very interesting fact—that a highly respectable coloured gentleman, Mr Delany, from Canada, was one of the assembled members of the International Statistical Congress. The noble and learned philanthropist entertained a groundless apprehension. Mr Dallas was too glad to be reminded of a fact which he could quote for the instruction of the barbarous part of his countrymen, and they no more care about being twitted on the subject of slavery than Thugs would mind being 'chaffed' about murder."

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3. On the farther inquiry in the census as to the personal health and power of each person, to show the power, effectiveness, and disability of the population. This was prepared at the request of the secretary of the census section, but was finished too late to be read. Yet it was printed in the *Transactions* of the session. The others also were printed in that volume.

HOSPITALITIES FOR THE STATISTICAL CONGRESS

Very many and graceful attentions were shown to the members. Before the Congress Dr. J. was introduced to Lord Ebrington whose work on the Health of Towns he had reviewed in the *Philadelphia Medical Journal*.¹⁰⁷ Dr. J. saw much of him afterward. He was a constant attendant at the meetings of the Sanitary Section. Dr. J. went to a party at his house where was a large collection of sanitarians.

/307/ LORD MAYOR'S DINNER

With other foreigners, Dr. J. had a card stating that the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress wished the company of Dr. Jarvis to meet Her Majesty's ministers at a dinner at the Mansion House.

He went at the appointed time, found in the ante-chamber large maps of the dining hall, tables, and plates, and the name of each guest against his place. With others he went into the hall and found his place with his card in his place. "Dr. Jarvis, United States". Then he went to the hall of reception which was filled, except an open lane from the door to the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress. As others did he gave his name and country to the usher who called them aloud and took him to the dignitaries. The Mayor took his hand, presented him to his wife, welcomed him, and then another came, and went through the same process. He fell back a few feet. Then one seized him by the arm, "Doctor, stand here! it is a good place to see the show." It was Mr. Newmarch,¹⁰⁸ his indefatigable friend. He knew everybody and pointed them out. There was Lord John Russell looking and dressed as we see him in *Punch*;¹⁰⁹ the Duke of Somerset, first Lord of [the] Admiralty, his chest all encased in gold embroidery; D'Israeli with his plentifully embroidered raiment; there were other ministers of the Queen; there were generals, colonels, admirals, captains, and other officers of army and navy all in uniform; there were nobles, knights, gentlemen, /308/ some in antique court dresses with bag wigs, broad coats, small clothes, swords; ladies in costume fitting the occasion; foreign ministers, most observably those from Morocco, with their white flowing robes which gave them an appearance of sageness. It was in all a grand display.

At length they went to the dining hall. As each knew, or should know, his place, the great company went in as quickly as an ordinary family go to the dining-room at home. The feast included everything; first soup, Mr. Newmarch, who exchanged seats with his next neighbor to sit by Dr. J., said, "This is the real turtle soup which is not usual except on such great occasions"; then fish; then roast mutton; then chicken; then pastry; fruits, fresh and dried. Three sizes of glasses were at each plate for as many kinds of wine.

After dinner the speeches from the ministers, British and foreign. At 11 o'clock he went home.

¹⁰⁷ See below, p. 151, List of Writings, 1848.

¹⁰⁸ See 5 ALS to E. J. from Newmarch from New York, 1867–1868, BCLM, B MS c 11.2.

¹⁰⁹ See *Punch*, 1 September 1860.

LAW AMENDMENT SOCIETY

Dr. J. was invited, for reasons that he could not understand, to dine with the Law Amendment Society; and placed at the upper table near to the president, Lord Brougham. There were sixty to eighty present; judges, lawyers, army and navy officers, and other men of note. The president lauded the Queen and family, the judiciary, the army, and navy; and was answered by speeches by the Chancellor of Ireland, and some General and Admiral. Then he toasted the /309/ United States with very complimentary remarks, and said "We have her representative", adding kind eulogies. Dr. J. looked for Mr. Dallas, but the president ended by calling on Dr. Jarvis, and the company called "Dr. Jarvis."

That was not in the contract, yet he was seized and compelled, and he spoke as best he could, stating that in America everything was new and changing to suit the condition and the wants of the time. So our laws were made to fit the present day, and changed with the changing state of the people. We thus had no ancient, unfitting, out-grown laws, like some in England which needed efforts like those of this Society to repeal, amend, and refit.

SOCIETY OF ACTUARIES

This Association includes many of the members of the Statistical Society. They gave a dinner of similar character, to guests from other nations. Dr. J. sat at the right of the president, and Mr. Kopf of Gotha on his left. At length the American was called on for a speech. He had nothing to say, and could only state that his father's ancestors came from Yorkshire in 1648, and his mother's from Kent, in 1635; and he was the seventh generation born in America, and was as thoroughly American as one can be. Yet he had ever felt that his collateral relations were in England, and that he was coming among friends; and so he had found their courtesy and sympathy everywhere.

Mr. Newmarch afterward, in his speech, pointing /310/ to Dr. J. said, "Our friend says he is no Englishman. Never was a greater mistake! He is Yorkshire all over: in his look, in his manner, the tones of his voice, his sentiments and principles, he is a Yorkshire man. He has been gone only seven generations, and come back. We recognize him, we know him", &c.

The London Statistical Society gave a dinner to the Congress at the Freemason's Tavern, which was grand like the Lord Mayor's.

The party at Lord Palmerston's was an assemblage of the nobility and gentry—male and female—with the Statistical Congress. Lord Palmerston was a free and easy, and rather a jovial gentlemen, very affable and kind, but not amusing. The ladies, old and young, were noticeable for their fulness of health, their round and ruddy countenances, and simplicity of manner. This he everywhere noticed in regard to the ladies of the upper classes. The entertainment was very different from what we see at home for such occasions. In one corner of one of the parlors was a table with a few cakes, and on a larger table at the end of another parlor were a few cakes of the same character, and some dried fruits, and tea.

MISS NIGHTINGALE

Among the pleasant hospitalities were three breakfasts at the house of Miss Nightingale,¹¹⁰ about twenty guests at each, English, French, German, Swedes, /311/ and

¹¹⁰ Florence Nightingale (1820–1910). The fevers she caught in the Crimea, and the stress of her work from 1854 and 1856 had dire consequences on her health. Very reserved, she became one of the myths of Victorian

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others. They were changed in part, but Dr. J. was present at all these. Miss N. was not seen. She had disease of the heart which prevented her mixing in much company but did not lessen her sympathies with humanity. She took much interest in the Congress, and sent papers to the sanitary section. She invited these companies and was said to be in the room next the breakfast room, with the connecting door partly open, so that she could hear all the conversation. Her niece, Miss Carter, a lady of great suavity and intelligence, who talked French and German, presided.

When the company were assembled in the parlor for the first breakfast, Miss C. took Dr. J.'s arm to lead the way in and said, "You will sit at my right hand at the head of the table." Dr. J. said, "You do me great honor." "No!" said she, "it is not I; Miss Nightingale directed that Dr. Jarvis, of the United States, should sit there by me." This doubtless was intended simply as a compliment to our country. The company at each time were such as Dr. J. would have selected as the most in accordance with his own principles and tastes.

Miss N. had for him the great report on the Sanitary Condition of the Army. Then she sent him all her writings. She could see no company only in the best states of her health. When he returned from Paris he found a note from her asking him to call and see her the day previous. He went that day. /312/ Unhappily she had had a paroxysm of her disease that morning, and could see nobody. That was his last day in London, his only chance to see Miss Nightingale.

He spent one Sunday in the family of Dr. Joseph John Fox, a Quaker, member of the Congress, at Stoke Newington, whose home and style of life, and whose tastes and pursuits were very similar to his own.

Many other courtesies, dinners and teas, were given him, and invitations which he could not accept, were offered, so that when he came away he seemed not to have half enjoyed the hospitalities that were thrown open to him.

He saw much of Mr. Hastings, secretary of the Social Science Association. He sent Dr. J. all the publications of that body, and since that time he and his successor have done the same, so that he has a complete set of their *Transactions*.¹¹¹ Very valuable are they to him, and a great help in many of his investigations. Once, at his office, they talked of prisons, English and American. Dr. J. said he should be pleased to visit the Pentonville prison. It is difficult to obtain entrance there. The next morning the postman brought an envelope containing orders from the Secretary of State on the Governors of the Pentonville and the Holloway Prisons, to admit him and show him those establishments. These are large and excellent establishments intended to be reformatory /313/ rather than punitive. One of the Governors said they hoped to so change the character of their inmates that they would never appear there again. He thought that England has to learn prison discipline from America rather than America from England.

England, and a symbol of good citizenship, as the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* put it: "The story of Miss Nightingale at Scutari is one of the highest pages in English annals. . . . Soon she had 10,000 men under her charge, and the general superintendency of all the hospitals of the Bosphorus".

¹¹¹ George W. Hastings wrote two letters to E. J. from London, August 17, 1864, February 8, 1867, BCLM, B MS c 11.2.

The Zoological Garden interested him very greatly. The secretary of the society gave him a package of tickets, for what reason he has yet to learn. Nevertheless he was abundantly grateful for this act of kindness.

He visited many other places of interest: Greenwich Hospital, Chelsea Hospital, where he talked with the old pensioners. Some were Wellington's men; some served under him in Spain or at Waterloo, and they seemed to delight in telling their stories and fighting their battles over again; the Bank where he saw them weigh by machinery carried by steam, where he held a parcel of fifty cancelled one hundred thousand pound notes, five million of pounds (\$25,000,000) in his hands at once; Kew Gardens; Richmond; the Crystal Palace, a world of wonders in itself; Thames Tunnel, he walked half way through it; Billingsgate Market where the fish-women were as well behaved as other laborers elsewhere; Somerset House, Westminster Hall, where he saw four courts in session; Westminster Abbey, and went to the thirteen chapels and saw the Coronation chair and the stone of Scone; British Museum, National Gallery of Paintings, and Geological Museum.

/314/ The Commissioners in Lunacy were indefatigable in their attentions. He dined successively with three of them at their homes. The last, Mr. Latridge, was anxious to show him particular kindness and consulted another with whom Dr. J. had eaten, as to his tastes. "Oh," said the other, "Dr. Jarvis drinks no wine. He cares nothing about meats. He seems only to want bread and a cup of tea." But they had good cheer, the most agreeable conversation on subjects that interested him most. So at Mr. Chadwick's, Sir James Clark's, and other places, the feast of the soul was rich and strengthening.

One day when he was regretting that he brought no letters to people who could show him kindnesses, Sir James Clark, physician to the Queen, went to him and invited him to breakfast with some of the other London physicians, at his home the next morning. Dr. J. was glad to do so. Sir James Clark said he had left on his table a volume of Combe¹¹² on Infancy, which he had just republished. He intended to bring it to Dr. J. but would give it to him when he should be there. At the breakfast were Sir John Liddell, Surgeon-General of the Navy, and other physicians of high character and position.

In the Congress Dr. J. became acquainted with many of the European statisticians, Legoyt and Boudin, of France, Engel of Prussia, Varrentrapp, of Frankfurt, Baumhauer of Holland, Visschers and Quetelet of /315/ Belgium, Koulomzine, of Russia, Berg of Sweden, and others.¹¹³ These have been his correspondents since—very pleasant and profitable to his studies and pursuits.

PARIS

When the Congress dissolved Dr. J. went to Paris. He started Tuesday night, reached Paris Wednesday morning; left Paris Thursday night, and was in London Friday morning. Those two days were filled with ceaseless labor. Dr. Conolly gave him a letter to Dr.

¹¹² Andrew Combe (1797–1847): it is certainly an English reprint of the well known book *A Treatise on the physiological and moral management of infancy. For the use of parents*, which was also reprinted in Philadelphia in 1840 and 1842, with notes and a supplementary chapter by John Bell; and in Boston and New York in 1845, on the basis of the 4th Edinburgh edition; and an 8th edition was printed in New York in 1854 and 1859.

¹¹³ E. J. corresponded with Alfred Legoyt, and Adolphe Quetelet (1796–1874): see E. J. to Legoyt, Dorchester, April 8, 1870, BCLM, B MS b 56.4, vol. 10, ff. 32–5; *ibid.*, July 2, 1870, loc. cit., f. 46; E. J. to Quetelet, Dorchester, October 8, 1853, BCLM, B MS b 56.4, vol. 3, ff. 118–21. See three letters from Frederick Theodore Berg (1806–1887) in Stockholm, between 1860 and 1869 to E. J., loc. cit., B MS c 112.

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Battelle,¹¹⁴ superintendent of the Insane Asylum of France. Dr. Boudin¹¹⁵ was very attentive. Dr. J. breakfasted with Dr. Battelle and went to Salpêtrière with him, and saw the whole establishment.

By aid of these friends and otherwise, he saw most of Paris. He was kept busy going from place to place, to the Tuileries, Louvre, Hôtel des Invalides, Bois de Boulogne, Jardin des Plantes, Boulevards and shops. He bought some very desirable books and many pictures which have contributed much to his comfort and the grace of his home ever since. Those two were days of great labor and deep impressions. He was well paid even in that short period, for the cost of money and labor.¹¹⁶

LONDON

He reached London at 7 a.m. and left at 4 p.m. Those were very busy hours. He had many calls to make, many things to buy, some final arrangements /316/ to effect, all his goods, clothing, books and pictures, and merchandises to pack for transportation home. He accomplished all, and left London probably forever.

¹¹⁴ Battelle (1809–1873) was Chef de division de l'administration générale de l'Assistance publique. See *idem.*, *Traité de la médecine légale des aliénés*, Paris, 1866.

¹¹⁵ Jean Christian Marc François Joseph Boudin, cf. *Traité de géographie et de statistique médicales et des maladies endémiques*, Paris, J. B. Baillière et Fils, Librairie de l'Académie Imperiale de Médecine, 1857.

¹¹⁶ In the *Autobiography* that was all he wrote of Paris. However, in his letters to Almira he was as enthusiastic as a boy: "Paris, Paris! The city of beauty, grace, magnificence, voluptuousness and vanity! Paris! . . . the pride of France! . . . on the 25th of July, and at about 12 to 1 o'clock I was crossing the Seine on one of the manifold bridges". "French bread is excellent, always excellent", he enthused several times. In *quai de l'Horloge* there "were a great many opticians, spectacle men, spy-glass men, &c. . . . I bought some spectacles for you and for others. . . . the pretty girl in the store . . . ground them as readily and skillfully as a mechanic." He is disturbed by the memorial to Napoleon: "the victory of brute force over brother man's force . . . A few minutes sufficed to see the tomb of Bonaparte". After a visit to Notre Dame he went to visit Dr. Battelle to whom Dr. Conolly had given him a letter of introduction. "The Dr. received me as cordially as did Dr. Conolly . . . He speaks good English, is about 65–70 . . . has been many years director general of hospitals, but now resigned." He stayed to dinner with the family: "they talked! How those Frenchmen and women talked! Rapidly flowed their tongues, cheerfully their hearts beat and all was life and glee among them. . . . I have never seen anything like it in any of our families." Dr. Battelle arranged to meet him next day to show him round the great Salpêtrière Hospital. In the same letter to Almira, August 5th, 1860 (cf. CFPL, Letters, III, 97, p. 246 et seq. *Steamship Persia, Harbor of Queenstown, Sunday, 2 o'clock*) he gave a precise description of the hospital: ". . . one of the largest in the world. It is rather a village, even a town, than a single establishment. There are, I think, 65 acres of land and a great assemblage of buildings, and all contain 5000 patients of which 2000 are lunatics. . . . There seemed to be no large house like ours but one house for every class of fifty or one hundred, more or less, patients, and another for another class; one for a laundry, one for a wash-house, one for a storehouse, another for cooking . . . The whole, so far as I saw, is surrounded by a stone wall 12 or 15 feet high. . . . Almost all the patients are in common dormitories where I saw beds for 20 to 30 or 60 in a room. There are a few single rooms and those which I saw are made strong with grated or iron windows, for the reclusion of the violent and troublesome patients. . . . The wash-house is an object of interest. Here are large stone tanks about 25 or 30 feet long, and 15 to 20 feet wide, standing or built on the ground and rising about 3 feet. . . . These were filled with water, a constant stream flowing in . . . Clothes were thrown into these tanks and women were all around the sides washing. These women stood mostly in tubs about the size of barrels and as high as their chests, which kept them dry. . . . The women took the clothes out of the water, laid them on the top of these walls and were beating them with pieces of board, like boys' bats, prepared for the purpose . . .

"The Superintendent told me that 90 patients were employed to do the washing of the 5000 residents of the establishment. . . . I went into the laundry and saw a host of ironers. . . . The kitchen is one large building, convenient and comfortable for the cooks. We . . . had only two hours to examine an establishment of 5000 patients. . . ."

Of the common people he wrote frequently; near the Palais Royal there were "the narrow, very narrow streets with the high houses on each side all of the white or cream colored stone. Deep seemed the gorge along which we were moving and I was obliged to look vertically upward to see the sky. . . . the streets were filled with people.

He had spent about eight weeks in all there, and although he had seen more people that were very pleasant and instructive, had had more interviews with the best representatives of the best interests and principles, had seen places, institutions, buildings, old and new, had seen London in its character, power, and people of every sort, more than he had ever dreamed was possible for him; yet he left very much that yet invited him and offered itself for his inspection; and although there were many things unseen that he desired to see and that would be valuable additions to his knowledge, yet his time, was all occupied. He could have seen no more without omitting some things that he did attend to, and there is not one of these that he would blot out of his memory.

He thinks that he never labored more diligently and effectively, with body and mind, than he did during those eight weeks that he spent in London; and no period of equal length has added so much to his stores of knowledge, or given so much food for reflection.

EDINBURGH

From London he went to Liverpool, and thence to Edinburgh, where he had one day for its people, its institutions, its treasures of association and history. He arrived at midnight, slept at the Waverley Hotel, /317/ and the next morning he rose early to walk around the town before breakfast. Unfortunately he had put his shoes outside the door to be cleaned, when he went to his chamber; on opening the door they were not there. He rang the bell and waited; no one came. He rang again and again, and at last with all force. The porter at length came, apparently alarmed or dissatisfied, and said, "You'll brax the bell with your pulling." "Will you bring my shoes?" Soon he went forth; first to the Castle—high it was upon the high rock. There were a few soldiers at early drill. One showed him everywhere and everything—the barracks, sleeping quarters, manner of life, the defenses, the ancient cannon that had not for ages been used for this purpose, the view of the old and new town. The country about was beautiful, magnificent. Then to High Street and into the closes where the poor live in those narrow lanes or crevices between six, eight, ten or more storied buildings, with no light nor air but what can reach them through this aperture six feet wide; saw life such as is the lot of these dwellers—dark, unventilated, stenchy—yet they live all their brief span and their feeble vitality there. Then to the market which is on the side of the hill down to the deep valley. There were all sorts of things offered for sale, things to eat—meats, vegetables—many things for other use. The sellers were men and women. They were very social and desirous to sell. He inquired prices which they /318/ told readily. Through this market-place mostly in the open air, and some streets of stores, he went, and by breakfast time he reached the hotel.

He then began his search for the Commissioners in Lunacy who would point the way to the hospitals. He had correspondence with Dr. Brown,¹¹⁷ and knew of Dr. Coxe;¹¹⁸ but neither their names nor their office were in the directory, nor did any one in the hotel and in some neighboring stores know anything of them. He found the name of Robert Coxe

There seemed to be crowds all along. . . . These were the work people who . . . were . . . seeking what fresh air they could obtain, and enjoying their rest. . . . cheerful, social talking but not noisy. These are the people, I thought, that had made the political revolutions. These are they who had raised the barricades . . . and warred against the government in 1830, in 1848, and previously in 1791 to 1793." *Ibid.*, p. 236.

¹¹⁷ E. J. to T. J. Brown, Dorchester, January 21, 1853, see BCLM, B MS b 56.4, vol. 3, ff. 29–32.

¹¹⁸ Robert Coxe, see 3 letters to E. J., Edinburgh, 1856–1857, BCLM, B MS c 11.2. See also Sir James Coxe (1811–1878) three letters to E.J. Edinburgh, June 4, July 24, November 28, 1857.

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who was brother of Dr. C. and who had been at his house in Dorchester. He could tell of his brother. Dr. J. went to his house, but he was out of town. On the way he saw the sign of a physician, Dr. Laycock, and supposed he would know of the existence and whereabouts of the Commissioners in Lunacy. He rang his bell, and was asked into his office. A pleasant, polished, very intelligent-looking gentleman of about fifty, he received him courteously. Dr. J. began to apologize for intruding and said, "I am Dr. Jarvis of the United States, and in . . ." At once he stretched out his hand and allowing him to proceed no farther said, "Dr. Jarvis, I am very happy to see you in Edinburgh. You are very kind to give me this call." He made him sit down, and then they talked so pleasantly. He was Professor Laycock of the University.¹¹⁹ Dr. J. had no claim on this distinguished scholar, and would not have dared to call upon him except to beg his aid /319/ in finding Drs. Coxe and Brown. But Dr. L. seemed to think otherwise; and entertained him for an hour. Then he took him to the College, to several of the noteworthy places, engaged him to dine with him in the afternoon, and at length took him to the *Board* of Lunacy. Dr. J. had supposed it was *Commission* and therefore missed it in his inquiries, and fell most happily into the hands of Prof. Laycock. Many years previously, in 1844, Mr. Edward Chadwick asked Horace Mann to send him a statement of the population of the United States. Mr. M. asked Dr. J. to do it for him. He sent an analysis of our population in 1830 and 1840. Mr. C. sent this to Prof. Laycock, then of York, who read it to the British Association for the Advancement of Science who printed it in their *Transactions*.

At the Board of Lunacy Prof. Laycock delivered him into the hands of Dr. Coxe who, and Dr. Brown, both lived out of town, and their names were therefore not in the directory. Dr. Coxe received him as all others had in England and Scotland. He took Dr. J. in his carriage to see the interesting matters of Edinburgh, to the City Lunatic Hospital, the Morningside Insane Asylum, and other objects of interest. Then they took railroad to Musselboro [Musselburgh], six miles out where are several private houses, asylums, and receptacles for the insane. This is an old colony and has been in existence many years. There are /320/ twelve houses kept by individuals licensed by proper authorities, for the insane. The members vary from one patient in the smallest to ninety-one in the largest. They are mostly paupers supported by their respective towns. A few of the independent class are there. The accommodations were very meagre, and apparently the intelligence and care given to their management were on a similar scale. The main object seemed to be to keep these patients very cheap, to allow them to be as light a present burden upon their supporters as possible, rather than to restore them to health. The Board of Lunacy was then new. They had not established their system for the management of insanity. Since that time they have reformed these depositories for the insane in Musselboro.

Dr. Coxe gave him a good part of the day, and at proper time delivered him into the hands of his first claimant, the good and hospitable Prof. Laycock. Prof. L. permitted him to go out to Bridge Street where he bought a Scotch shawl for his wife, and to the hotel to settle his bill and get his bundle. Then he returned to Prof. L.'s house and spent the rest of the day in such conversation as he most enjoyed, on topics most interesting to him. At night Prof. L. went with him to the station, talked with him at the window of the car until

¹¹⁹ Thomas Laycock (1812–1876), see 5 Letters to E. J. between 1848 and 1870, BCLM, B MS c.11.2; E. J. to T. L., Dorchester, January 26, 1861 (reports no success in finding a publisher for his book), BCLM, B MS b 56.4, vol. 6, ff. 158–62.

the train started, shook hands with him as long as the moving car allowed, and then he parted /321/ with one of the pleasantest men he had met, and one of the most instructive. This indeed was a rich day in all its parts and experience. Edinburgh was, and has ever since been, a bright and lovely place to him.

LIVERPOOL

While in Liverpool he saw all the interesting places, buildings, and institutions, made many purchases, saw a few friends, and on the 5th of August, sailed in the *Persia* for New York where he landed on the 16th.

ENGLAND AND THE ENGLISH

The four and half months which he spent in Europe were among the busiest and happiest of his life. He found nothing but kindness and courtesy. He met John Bull¹²⁰ in every station from Prince Albert through the nobility, members of Parliament, high officers of the Government, professors, men of science, bishops, clergymen, merchants, manufacturers, bankers, down to the coachmen and laborers; and everywhere found him courteous, affable, hospitable. From his first interview with the Liverpool barrister at Chester to the last with Prof. Laycock at Edinburgh, he found that generous sympathy that made him feel that he was among friends and with friendly hearts. He learned much that gave a greater power to his other knowledge, much that will make his future labors easier and more successful. With the men of England and Scotland, and with the statisticians from the Continent that he met in the Congress, he /322/ opened correspondence and established exchanges that have followed him ever since and have added greatly to his library and his means of self-culture.

LIBRARY

Dr. J. always had a desire to have a library. He wanted all the treasures of knowledge within his reach. His father had the same propensity, and he gathered many books for one in his position. Dr. J. bought books when in College and when studying his profession. Although, to him, a book on any subject is a valuable thing, yet as he could not obtain or find room for a miscellaneous library, he has sought mostly for such as aided him in his peculiar researches, those relating to anthropology; to man, his development, danger, and decay; to population, census, education; to sickness—especially insanity; to mortality, pauperism, crime. He has such professional works as were needed when he was in general practice; he has more on insanity because in latter years he had more need of them. But the statistics of insanity and of the other elements or liabilities of humanity, furnished him the means of investigating and of writing upon some of the topics in connection with diseases of the brain. He has therefore sought them, and their writers have favored him with their reports. He has complete sets of the reports of all the lunatic hospitals in the United States from their beginning, and nearly all /323/ of those of the British provinces. He is largely supplied with those of Scotland and England, and with many of France and Italy. He has full sets of the reports of the English Commission in Lunacy, and of the Scottish Board of Lunacy. He has much that has been written in Great Britain and the Continent on this

¹²⁰ The stereotyped Englishman as portrayed in *Punch*.

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subject. He has a complete set of the nine censuses of the United States and the census of every nation of Europe except Turkey and Greece; all the reports of mortality of England, Scotland and Ireland that have been printed; some of those of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Saxony, Hanover, Bavaria, Baden, Frankfurt, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, France, Spain, Portugal and Australia. By the courtesy of Count Schouvaloff of Russia, he has lately (July, 1873) received one hundred and fourteen volumes of Russian statistics, principally (he thinks) relating to man and his liability in Russia. Unfortunately he cannot read a word. They are all sealed books to him. He only *supposes* they are of this character from the young Count's offering, when in Boston, to send him such.

He has also the reports of mortality of all the states that have printed them—Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, South Carolina, Kentucky, Michigan; and of cities—Boston, Lowell, Providence, Brooklyn, New York, Buffalo, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Charleston, New Orleans and Memphis. /324/ He has endeavored to obtain all such records, and, by the active kindness of his many friends and correspondents, at home and abroad, he has succeeded in obtaining a larger and more comprehensive statistical library than is probably to be found elsewhere in the United States. His file of the *Journal of the Statistical Society* is complete.

His medical library, except on insanity, is antiquated. It takes but a few years in this profession to outgrow books. The doctrines of the science so rapidly appear and disappear and improve, and the books that represent them, the science of each new day must govern the following, and they must change with it, they, their libraries and their faith and practice. So his professional library which was begun forty-five years ago, and kept supplied for thirty years, now mainly represents the ideas of the past generation, and is mainly valuable as showing the faith of the fathers.

His miscellaneous library is not comprehensive: history, political economy, geography, religion, morals, fiction, poetry, many state documents, education, dictionaries and atlases. He has, perhaps, two or three thousand volumes in all. His library has ever seemed to him a sort of personality, a part of his own mind. It has, to him, a value that money does not represent. Except in a single instance when on going to Kentucky he sold a few worthless books that he could not well take with /325/ him, he has never sold a book. He has given away duplicates and some that were worth more to others than to him. He does not wish his library at his death to be considered as a part of his estate of pecuniary value. He does not wish it sold. He proposes to give the professional part to the Hospital for Women and Children, in Boston, for which he has great sympathy.

He has ever wished to give all that relates to statistics, vital and others—population, insanity, sickness, mortality, to health, anatomy, physiology, to pauperism, crime and to education—to the American Statistical Association, to be preserved, used and added unto forever. But he has many fears as to the permanence of that Association. In his thirty years connection with it, it has gained no power. It seems to have little vitality and gives no good promise of continued life. He loves and values his statistical library too well to be willing that it should be sold, wasted, lost like the Historical Library that he gathered in Kentucky. It has been so useful to him and, with its proper growth, it may be so useful to the world, that he more than all desires that it may be a means in the hands of some that come after him, to teach mankind the laws of life, of population and mortality; and an instrument of

power in the hands of some (he trusts *of many*) to lead the world to study and obey the law of their being and enjoy a larger and longer life on earth. With these fears as to the Statistical Association, and /326/ hopes for the usefulness of his statistical library, he now thinks he shall give it to the Boston City Library, with the hope that its manager will make it a nucleus for all of that means of instruction that may be offered and obtained in future years.

MISCELLANEOUS LIBRARY

He proposed to give his miscellaneous library to Antioch College in Ohio, of which his very dear friend Rev. Dr. Geo. W. Hosmer, has lately been president. But he has left the institution, and the College will probably follow in the way of some others in the Western country and be lost. He now proposes to give this part of his library to the Public Library of Concord.

His wife agrees with him in this disposition of this part of his treasure.

HIS FRIENDS AND ASSOCIATES

He has been blessed in his friends. From his boyhood he has had those he loved and who have been very kind to him. Of his classmates, Hosmer, Brown, Peabody, Parker, Julian Abbott, Stearns and Walley¹²¹ he has seen the most, and from them received the most sympathy. He now sees more of Peabody and Hosmer, who are with them often at their house, and are very precious friends to them. Since their return from Kentucky, Hosmer has made their house his central home in his summer visits in New England; and Peabody is one of their most frequent visitors. /327/ In all stages of his life, here and elsewhere, friends have risen up to them, and aided, strengthened and cheered them. He feels that he cannot be too grateful for the blessings received at their hands.

RELIGION

Dr. Jarvis was born and educated under the excellent Dr. Ripley in Concord, and the tenderest religious teachings of his father and mother. He has ever been a Unitarian in belief. He believes in the fatherhood of God, and it is his highest blessing to feel His constant presence with him in all the details and varieties of his inward and outward life. He was early impressed by his mother with the privilege and the pleasure to frequent communion with God in prayer and meditation; and has ever felt this ever-present watchfulness to be his ground of strength in every work, in every trial, in every enjoyment.

He believes that every sin must have its retribution—that God made this a condition of being—and that it is the great motive for, and guide to, repentance and escape from sin; yet that which has been committed must be judged and rewarded in its necessary way. He

¹²¹ All these were listed in 'Account of class of 1826'. Oliver Stearns had remarried in 1872, and was still a professor at Harvard Divinity School, "highly useful and successful" until 1878 when he "has resigned his professorship on account of feeble health. Always faithful, laborious, earnest, and successful. In National Conference at Saratoga 1878 passed resolutions of affections and respect." Samuel H. Walley, described as "very successful and holds very high character as a financier", died in 1877. Andrew Peabody, appointed professor of Morals at Harvard in 1860 and acting President in 1862, was preparing for his next European trip. In 1878 he "visited Russia and St Petersburg, when he was with Gen. U. S. Grant, and was treated with distinguished honor. His life had a wide circuit of activities, and to the College his services are most valuable; and never more so than now."

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believes that the spirit will survive the body, and pass to the new life as it was here, with its strength and its weakness, its virtues and its errors; and these may be changed by culture hereafter; that most of the inducements to sin will leave us, and we shall have a higher opportunity and an intenser desire there to conform ourselves to the will of God.