

Understanding Frances Bartow's Stay at the Hartford Retreat for the Insane, 1846-1848
A Continuation of Research Developed by 2021 Cole Fellow Adaeze Dikko

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Frances Bartow

This report serves to contextualize and better understand the conditions of Frances Bartow's stay at the Hartford Retreat for the Insane in Hartford, Connecticut between the years of 1846-1848. Pertinent primary sources include the *Retreat for the Insane Account Book, 1824-1853* and the "Annual Reports of the Officers of the Retreat for the Insane, 1842-1896" as accessed from the Watermann Research Library at the Connecticut Historical Society. This follows suggestions posed by 2021 Cole Fellow Adaeze Dikko in her report, "Regarding Frances Bartow."

Early Signs of Illness

As detailed in Maureen Hennessy's "Life at Cedar Grove" report, Sarah Cole wrote as early as 1844 with concern of Frances' not feeling well.¹

"Frances seems well, I am afraid she is not enjoying herself very much. I wish it was in our power to make her visit more pleasant to herself. She scarcely takes cognizance of what is passing around her. I really think she is suffering only from want of bodily and mental exercise [sic]. She seems to have no complaint whatsoever."²

This early entry indicates the family took notice of a passivity in Frances at least two years prior to her admission to the Hartford Retreat. Though small snippets in letters suggest Frances enjoyed the company of her family and attended public outings on occasion. In February 20, 1835, Henry Edgar Whittelsey, a Catskill Mountain storekeeper, writes in his diary of attending an assembly (dance) with Frances, Maria Bartow, and Thomas Thomson.³ In her diary, Maria was often the one to record how the family was faring; Frances is mentioned in few examples:

I. "Theddy . . . is very much engaged in sewing, making patchwork & Mary too says she is making a quilt for Aunt Emily and a muff for Catharine. . . Em is taking a nap on the settee, Harriet is putting up a quilt, & **Franky is visiting Mary in her new corner** -- & Unc Sandy is down stairs taking his nap. Thus you see Deary how we are all occupied."⁴

II. "Unc S. the Children Em, F. & myself, have all felt so well & so happy to day."⁵

Dates Related to Frances' Stay at the Hartford Retreat

I. July 28, 1846; "Frances E. Bartow" is first admitted to the Hartford Retreat for the Insane⁶

¹ Letter from Sarah Cole in New York to Thomas Cole, 23 October 1844, Folder 3, Box 4, NYSL, Albany, NY.

² Maureen Hennessy, "Life at Cedar Grove Report" (independent research, Thomas Cole National Historic Site Interpretive Planning Project, 2011), 45.

³ Henry Edgar Whittelsey and Peter R. Christoph (editor), *The Diary of Henry Edgar Whittelsey, Catskill Mountain Storekeeper, 1835-1836*, (Maine: Picton Press, 1999), 1.

⁴ Maria Cole, Diary, 1 November 1842, Folder 13, Box 1, Thomas Cole Collection, 1807-1966, Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, NY.

⁵ Maria Cole, Diary, 4 July 1842, Folder 13, Box 1, Thomas Cole Collection, 1807-1966, Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, NY.

⁶ Frances E. Bartow, first entry, *Retreat for the Insane account book, 1824-1853*, Thomas Robbins Collection, Watermann Research Library, Connecticut Historical Society, CT

- II. July 28, 1846, second entry; “Frances E. Bartow” is listed again with the same date of admittance—this may have been a patient check-up. Maria Cole is added as principal on bond; no additional diagnosis information is added.⁷
- III. May 4, 1848; potential date of discharge from the Hartford Retreat for the Insane⁸

Harriet writes to Frances in the fall of 1847, “...but do gain all you can this winter for you shall certainly come home in the spring, it will only be five months, and I know you will enjoy yourself better there than you could at home this winter.”⁹

This suggests Frances was expected to return home to the company of her family in the spring of 1848. There are several factors to consider with this assumption:

- I. Frances Bartow is listed in the 1850 census as a resident of the Catskill household. This may indicate she left Hartford as early as the spring of 1848.¹⁰
- II. Thomas Cole passed February 11, 1848, the following year. It would likely be of comfort for the entire household to be together after Cole’s death, but such an event may or may not have affected emotion in Frances, whereby she may have stayed another year or more at Hartford.
- III. See section Inconsistencies in the *Retreat for the Insane Account Book, 1824-1853* for more information on Frances’ recorded dates of admission and discharge.

Timeline of Events Surrounding Frances’ Wellness

1837; Financial Panic of 1837 sees a decrease in domestic trade, banking failure and nutritional hardship
 July 4, 1842; excerpt from Maria’s diary: “...F. & myself, have all felt so well & so happy to day”
 October 23, 1844; Letter from Sarah Cole in New York to Thomas Cole about Frances
 June 1846; John Alexander Thomson passes
 July 2, 1846; Frances is admitted to the Hartford Retreat
 January 13, 1847; Maria writes to Harriet urging her not to be “homesick”
 March 20, 1847; Harriet Bartow writes to Frances Bartow
 April 3-April 5, 1847; Elizabeth Cole passes two days after being born
 June 19, 1847; Harriet writes to Frances, suggesting she “occupy the same apartments, that [she], heretofore have done...” —Frances was then at the retreat about a year
 November 9, 1847; Harriet writes to Frances, “you shall certainly come home in the spring, it will only be five months”
 February 11, 1848; Thomas Cole passes
 May 4, 1848; Frances is discharged from the Hartford Retreat
 1870 census; Frances is recorded as ‘insane’

*For full list of citations within this timeline, see appendix.

⁷ Frances E. Bartow, second entry, *Retreat for the Insane account book, 1824-1853*, Thomas Robbins Collection, Watermann Research Library, Connecticut Historical Society, CT

⁸ Frances E. Bartow, third entry, *Retreat for the Insane account book, 1824-1853*, Thomas Robbins Collection, Watermann Research Library, Connecticut Historical Society, CT

⁹ Letter from Harriet Bartow to Frances Bartow (transcribed by Sylvia Hasenkopf, North River Research, 2016), 9 November 1847, Box 4, Folder 4, Cole Papers, NYSL, Albany, NY.

¹⁰ “Frances Barton discovered in 1850 United States Federal Census,” Ancestry, ancestry.com, accessed 12 May 2022, <https://www.ancestry.com/sharing/28107332?h=841334>.

“Franky”: The Family’s Response

A closer look at the letters between the Bartow siblings reveal special details about their care for one another and the social conventions of white, middle-upper class women living in the 1840s. A common misconception believed of many asylum superintendents was that the families of individuals with mental illnesses were not equipped to care for their children, and distinctly they believed they were unable to provide them with the skills needed to reintegrate them into the labor-market.

Several events may have also contributed to Frances’ declared insanity. What was it like being a member of a household catering to 11-14 people, one that housed an up-and-coming artist? How responsible was Frances in keeping up the home?

Despite the expectations that may have burdened the family—acquired debts, the death of John Alexander Thomson and Elizabeth Cole, the management of a farm, helping watch the children—the family appear to have attempted to foster a life of comfort and privilege for themselves. *Our understanding of Frances’ experiences with mental health is as read through her family and the faculty of the Hartford Retreat.*

- I. In *No Right to Be Idle: The Invention of Disability, 1840s-1920s*, Sarah F. Rose describes the hopefulness of a self-sustaining environment like that of Cedar Grove: “relatives’ willingness, even eagerness, to have their children return home also reflected familial loyalty and affection, as well as the ways in which the mid-nineteenth-century economy of farms and small communities sustained families’ capacity for caring.”¹¹
- II. “Families did not view productivity in the simple black-and-white terms suggested by asylum superintendents.”¹²
- III. The Bartow sisters showed a sincere concern for Frances’ wellbeing. They often insisted she engage in recreational walks offered on the property and sent her handiwork to keep her occupied. They reminded her that she would eventually come home:
 - A. **“Try dear Franky, not to be home sick**, for you recollect how unwell you were before you left us. and it is impossible for you to have the care and advice here that you have there, I hope however that the time will not be very long before you are so far recovered as to be able to return home, and **that we shall all be happy together again.**”¹³

Employment and Activity

Harriet and Maria often encouraged Frances to occupy herself by knitting, sewing, and reading. Institutions like the Hartford Retreat would commonly employ patients with tasks that would prove useful to the life-force of the facility—essentially, patients supplied and labored for the asylums at which they were the focal point of care as a manner of defraying expenses.

At the Utica State Lunatic Asylum, Hervey Wilbur celebrated the width of sewing work created by its elder patients, noting, “Their success already gives promise that they will in time be able to do much of the sewing required in such an institution.” The hemming of large quantities of pocket handkerchiefs was one such dutiful task that was thought to improve a patient’s wellness and substitute a demand for outside labor.¹⁴

¹¹ Sarah F. Rose, *No Right to Be Idle: The Invention of Disability, 1840s-1930s* (North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 67

¹² Ibid, 78-79.

¹³ Letter from Maria Cole to Frances Bartow (transcribed by Sylvia Hasenkopf, North River Research, 2016), 13 January 1847, Folder 4, Box 4, Cole Papers, NYSL, Albany, NY.

¹⁴ Ibid, Rose 76.

The handiwork Maria and Harriet send Frances may have been work she could have employed herself with in sewing circles had at the the Hartford Retreat, but they are firstly items sent with Frances interest in mind. She is sent silk for an apron, a pink cravat for a green dress, carnations, knitting work, and a book.¹⁵

The Asylum Movement in the United States

Though beginning institutions for individuals with disabilities were seemingly altruistic, treatment focused heavily on curing those deemed not yet “incurable.” There was an overarching belief that individuals with disabilities who required excessive amounts of care could become, after attempts at treatment, hopeless to the care of asylum superintendents.¹⁶

“Like other members of the Protestant, property-owning, middle class—the source of nearly all asylum builders, charity reformers, and, crucially, legislators—Wilbur and his counterparts adhered to the widespread antebellum belief that doing useful labor was a crucial element of good morality.”¹⁷ *Hervey B. Wilbur was the founding superintendent for the New York State Asylum for Idiots.

The Hartford Retreat for the Insane

Retreat Gazette, 1837-08

The Retreat Gazette was a limited periodical written by former patient of the Hartford Retreat, Barber Badger.¹⁸ It emphasized the restorative benefits of its facilities to curious patrons and highlighted what proper and humane conditions were available to individuals with mental illness. Originally meant to be released monthly, only two issues were published in August 1837 and September 1837, probably from a lack of funding.

The periodical emphasized the picturesque facility and grounds that was situated atop undulating hills and a manicured setting. It featured ornamental gardens, bright halls, and expansive views of the Green Mountains of Vermont, Mount Holyoke, Mount Tom, and Saddleback Mountain of Massachusetts.

- I. “This site was selected as one pre-eminently calculated to attract and engage the attention, and soothe and appease the morbid fancies and feelings of the patients.”
- II. “The elevation overlooks an ample range of fertile country, presenting on every side a most interesting landscape, adorned with in rich and cultivated fields, and meadows of unrivaled verdure—in extensive groves and picturesque groups of forest, fruit and ornamental trees, and in the charming diversity of level, sloping and undulating surfaces, terminating by distant hills and more distant mountains.”
- III. The pastimes of women patients involved sewing, knitting, drawing, painting, and playing on the piano.¹⁹

¹⁵ Ibid, Letter from Maria Bartow to Frances Bartow, 13 January 1847.

¹⁶ Ibid, 5-6

¹⁷ Ibid, Rose 47.

¹⁸ “Retreat gazette, 1837-08,” Connecticut State Library Digital Archive, Volume 1, Number 1 (August 1837), <http://hdl.handle.net/11134/30002:22236296>.

¹⁹ Ibid.

- IV. Asylums were averse to men and women showing excessive garb and vanity. Women who offered their glove to someone or cinched their waists were seen as distracted and “afflicted” by love; men who spent hours of leisure and recreation were not seen as having discipline.²⁰
 - A. Some of these beliefs seem to echo what Thomas Cole described when observing patrons of the Catskill Mountain House. Concerns with materiality in the 19th century might also be compared to allusions in Cole’s *Cross and the World* of people falling into worldly pursuits.

Reports of the Officers of the Retreat for the Insane, 1846-1848

An annual report from the officers of the Hartford Retreat contained the illnesses, demographics (occupation, home state) accommodations, and recreation of their patients.

- I. Details the “Probable Causes of Disease” of patients. Some outstanding examples include: religious excitement, sexual indulgence, Millerism, and disappointed affection. See appendix for full list.²¹
- II. Details activities held for patients; sewing circles, walks, and chapel services were among the most common.
 - A. "Labor upon the grounds in the garden, rides, walks, ninepins, visiting objects and places of interest in the city and the vicinity, the sewing circle, dancing, musical and reading parties, various games, books, newspapers, periodical prints, &c., &c., are among the auxiliaries employed in our current system of treatment."²²
- III. Weather was a suspected cause of mental illness. It was thought that high temperature aggravated insanity. See appendix.²³
 - A. “The greatest number of admissions was in September; the least was in March.”²⁴
- IV. In the 1846 issue, *The Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Officers of the Retreat for the Insane*, there was a distinction that the retreat was not that of a poorhouse, and the expenses for expert care would not be sacrificed. After 1843, however, the institution took in a number of lower-class patients, often not property-owning individuals. The highest number of patients in 1846 were farmers, the wives of farmers, and those occupied in “domestic pursuits.” In the years Frances attended, the retreat was seeing the beginnings of challenges to maintain their moral curative model with an increasing demand for care.²⁵
- V. Dorothea Dix, who advocated for a higher standard of care for people with disabilities, toured the Hartford Retreat in 1858. She was concerned with the hazard of two dozen fires used to heat the building, and the excessive use of oil lamps and candles. Mold, poor ventilation, and the openness of women’s courtyards to passing men in the streets of Hartford were additional worries. John S. Butler

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ The Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Officers of the Retreat for the Insane, May 1846, Annual Reports of the Officers, 1842-1896, Watermann Research Library, Connecticut Historical Society, CT, 20.

²² Ibid, 38.

²³ Ibid, 20.

²⁴ The Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Officers of the Retreat for the Insane, May 1847, Annual Reports of the Officers, 1842-1896, Watermann Research Library, Connecticut Historical Society, CT.

²⁵ The Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Officers of the Retreat for the Insane, May 1846, Annual Reports of the Officers, 1842-1896, Watermann Research Library, Connecticut Historical Society, CT, 5-6, 22.

valued her example and made the appropriate changes, installing gas lighting, steam heat, and newly furnished apartments for higher-paying patients.²⁶

VI. Exceeding number of women patients:

“The whole number of female patients during the year, considerably exceeded that of the male, the yearly average being 71 of the former to 56 of the latter: the greatest number of female patients on any day being 84. For several weeks that department of the Retreat was filled nearly to the limit of its capacity — there being but 10 vacancies — a striking comment upon the good and timely policy of the enlargement of the Institution.”²⁷

Commentary from Hartford’s officers dispel any issues of overcrowding or concern of the increased number of women patients due to near efforts to expand. The charitable nature of the institution deflected some of the potentially dangerous prospects of overwhelming the space with more patients.

*Retreat for the Insane Account Book, 1824-1853*²⁸

- I. “Frances E. Bartow” appears three separate times. Thomas Cole is marked as the “Principal on Bond” in the first entry, and Maria Bartow Cole (Mrs. Cole) is added in the second and third entries. Frances’ records indicate it cost \$3 and \$4 for her to board at the institution. See appendix.
- II. A heading and corresponding columns were used to keep record of each individual patient. Most often recorded were the names of patients, dates of admission, residence, principal on bond, and rate of charge per week. The full heading contained the following (from left to right):
 - Names of Patients
 - Date of Admission
 - Date of Discharge
 - Residence
 - Principal on bond
 - Surety on bond
 - Rate of charge pr week for board, medical attendance, and by whom payable (Bondsman, State, Town)
 - Amount of board bill within the year ending the 30th of April, 1844
 - Amount of other expenses within the year ending 30th April, 1844
 - Week days at the Inst. within the year ending 30th April, 1844
 - Remarks

²⁶ Lawrence B. Goodheart, *Mad Yankees: The Hartford Retreat for the Insane and Nineteenth-Century Psychiatry* (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, October 7, 2003), 156.

²⁷ The Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Officers of the Retreat for the Insane, May 1847, Annual Reports of the Officers, 1842-1896, Watermann Research Library, Connecticut Historical Society, CT, 16.

²⁸ Frances E. Bartow, third entry, *Retreat for the Insane account book, 1824-1853*, Thomas Robbins Collection, Watermann Research Library, Connecticut Historical Society, CT

Inconsistencies in the *Retreat for the Insane Account Book, 1824-1853*²⁹

Account books from the early 19th century did not contain detailed examinations of a patient's condition and often left out important information. They could also be particularly candid even for patients who experienced serious afflictions:

"The busy assistant physician scrawled a terse entry, sometimes only a name and a date, in a large folio book. Each patient was added one after another; it was not until the dawn of the twentieth century that separate folders tracked patients."³⁰

An in-person visit to the Watermann Research Center, verified that this was the case for the *Retreat for the Insane Account Book, 1824-1853*. It lacked a congruent and detailed method of recording, with several columns left blank. Dates were non-sequential and scattered, jumping in several years from one patient to the next.

Diagnosis was often left out of many individual's records, as it was for Frances. The first two entries she appears in contain no information under "Remarks," where a diagnosis was commonly recorded, meaning she may never have experienced the affirmation of a diagnosis during her time at Hartford.

In the first entry 'Frances E. Bartow' appears in, the date of admission reads July 28, 1846. She is listed a second time with the same date of admittance, and a third time with the date of admission listed as May 4, 1848; the date of discharge in the third entry is recorded as July 28, 1846. It is very likely the date of admission and date of discharge were written in the opposite columns; it is nonsensical for the date of discharge to be two years prior to the date of admission.

Many of the ongoing pages of the account book, including the page of Frances' third entry, do not include a continuous header as represented in the first pages of the book, but the information seems to follow the rule and order of it throughout. The entry, "Some change but little to no improvement on the whole," could be a definitive, final examination on the state of Frances' care while under supervision at the Hartford Retreat.

John S. Butler, Attending Physician during Frances' Stay

John S. Butler, was the superintendent of the retreat from 1843-1878, and during Frances' stay (1846-1848). Butler believed in the operation of the retreat through a family structure, and viewed himself as its figurehead. He commanded the high standards of respect from his nurses, and a "gentleness, kindness and sympathy toward everyone under their care."³¹

- A. Christian values were asserted at the retreat. With challenging cases such as melancholia, an illness that involved intense bouts of despair, Butler at times felt hopeless for a patient's improvement: "Melancholia was for Butler 'the saddest of all forms of mental disease'... Fatalism, the image of irrevocable madness and a hidden God, assaulted Butler's therapy and religion."

- C. Butler posed similar concerns to Cole about the effects of social change:**

"Butler endorsed the standard psychiatric perspective that correlated the increase of insanity in the North with social disruption. He romantically recalled a lost Arcadia of tranquil villages and

²⁹ Retreat for the Insane account book, 1824-1853, Thomas Robbins Collection, Watermann Research Library, Connecticut Historical Society, CT.

³⁰ Ibid, Goodheart, 144.

³¹ Ibid, 143.

bucolic simplicity that contrasted with the crowded cities and satanic mills of the burgeoning industrial revolution. 'The maelstrom of ambition and gain' threatened, he warned, 'to engulf the better feelings and sympathies of the nation.'"³²

- D. "Butler's overall design was to present 'less and less the aspect of a Hospital for the Insane, and more and more of that of a pleasant Home for the sick.'" Straightjackets, muffs, and bed straps were used only in extreme cases.³³

Economic and Social Changes

I. Financial Panic of 1837:

"By 1843, when superintendant John S. Butler, MD, took control, the Hartford Retreat had already begun to change. Though the emphasis on moral treatment remained in place, the makeup of the patient population had shifted as the number of indigent insane in the state swelled due to the financial panic of 1837."

- II. "From the time it opened for patients in 1824 to about 1843, the Hartford Retreat was a small, semi-public institution that focused on using a moral curative approach. This included creating a tranquil, kind environment to pacify patients and allow a respite from the hectic pace of the era's social, political, and economic changes."
- III. The level of care changed into the late nineteenth century. The focus on labor at institutions like the Hartford Retreat was a key tenant of their treatment. By late 1870s, productivity was viewed differently, and eventually people with disabilities were pushed out of the paid labor market.³⁴
- IV. Poorhouses, state-subsidies, and increased industrialization contributed to further challenges for individuals with disabilities and mental illness; though it is unclear whether Frances endured a longer stay at the retreat, she more than likely continued to experience challenges with her mental health that led to her to be listed as insane in the 1870 census. Was she of a lower status, and perhaps without the aid of the Church family, she may have received less than adequate care at the hands of institutions into the late 19th century.

"The Hartford Retreat, which housed mainly the upper-class in the 1820s, took in many state-subsidized, poor patients who stayed for longer periods. **The "moral curative" approach shifted to accommodate the influx of patients, many with more severe conditions than that of the upper-class patients.**"³⁵

Asylums and Nature

- I. Pastoral, yet confined: "In theory, segregating [the insane] in a bucolic, yet disciplined setting would improve their morality, teach the value of steady labor, and perhaps even cure them."³⁶
- II. Courtyards and "airy" halls adorned the facility. This set it apart as one of the more humane institutions in the United States.
- III. "There are sufficient passages and doors from the Wings into the yards, or "airing courts," and the patients can, at all suitable times, have access to them. Still the arrangement to prevent their escape

³² Ibid, 151.

³³ Ibid, 155.

³⁴ Sarah F. Rose, No Right to Be Idle: The Invention of Disability, 1840s-1930s (North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 21.

³⁵ Michael Sturges, "Hartford Retreat for the Insane Advanced Improved Standards of Care," Connecticut History, cthumanities, 12 July 2014, <https://connecticuthistory.org/hartford-retreat-for-the-insane-advanced-improved-standards-of-care/>.

³⁶ Ibid, Rose 23.

is such that they cannot leave the Institution without passing through the center building in sight of the officers. These yards are to be ornamented with grass patches, shrubbery, and flowering plants.”³⁷

IV. Frederick Olmstead redesigned part of the Hartford Retreat campus in 1861.

V. Etching of the Landscape of the Hartford Retreat (See Appendix)

Next Steps:

- Future Interpretation: Thomas Cole’s Connection to Nature as a Source of Wellness, his own “shadows and light”
- It might be useful to consult the Institute of Living, formally known as the Hartford Retreat for the Insane, and verify if they have any historical records available for viewing. Specifically, it would be beneficial to look for an account book for the years of 1853 onwards to see if Frances ever returned. Dr. Lawrence Goodheart, author of the book *Mad Yankees: The Hartford Retreat for the Insane and Nineteenth-Century Psychiatry*, recommended contacting Dr. Harold I. Schwartz, the psychiatrist-in-chief at the Institute of Living: <https://www.instituteofliving.org/find-a-doctor/physician-detail?id=003j000000GD37wAAD>.
- *Mad Yankees* is otherwise out-of-print, but may be available at certain university libraries and could be obtained by someone currently enrolled in a university program using ILL (Interlibrary Loan). (For example a copy exists at UMass Amherst: https://umbrella.lib.umb.edu/discovery/fulldisplay?vid=01MA_UMB:01MA_UMB&tab=everything&docid=alma993968993503746&context=L&lang=en)
- Search for any direct primary source documents penned by Frances Bartow
- “Miss Church” is mentioned in the Bartow sisters letters to Frances, possibly a member of Frederic Church’s family. Follow up with Olana, may be correspondence at Albany Institute?
- Previously came across letter involving Frederic Church, sending regards to Frances/John S. Butler: “Harriet Bartow. Misc., 1840-1904. Includes a letter from Frederic E. Church and an obituary notice.” Box 1, Folder 10 Albany Institute

Future Interpretation:

For more historical examples of the women of the household on site, utilize the information in the letters Maria and Harriet sent to Frances about her employment, and specifically, what items they elected to send her: silk for an apron, a pink cravat for a green dress, carnations, knitting work, and a book. I suggest bringing some of those items into the home *and* pairing them with reproductions of the letters that mention them. Pull out quotes that show the Bartow sisters care for one another while showcasing women’s handiwork from the era.

Further reading:

- “The Concept of Insanity: Women Patients at the Hartford Retreat for the Insane, 1824-1865” by Lawrence B. Goodheart: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44369409>
- “Landscape, madness, and state: The emerging insane asylum system of nineteenth-century New York State” by Jennifer Lynn Thomas: <https://www.ideals.illinois.edu/handle/2142/106480>
- *Mad Yankees: The Hartford Retreat for the Insane and Nineteenth-Century Psychiatry* by Lawrence B. Goodheart; The Watermann Research Center does not allow this book to be taken out of their library. Chapters of significance were: “John S. Butler and the Reinvention of the Retreat” and “The Paradox of Curative Treatment”
- *Service at the dedication of the Elizabeth Chapel at the Retreat for the Insane, Hartford, December 23, 1875*; as suggested in Adaeze Dikko’s report, this source provided little to no context on the attendees of the Elizabeth Chapel.

³⁷ The Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Officers of the Retreat for the Insane, May 1846, Annual Reports of the Officers, 1842-1896, Watermann Research Library, Connecticut Historical Society, CT, 9.

- "The Hartford Retreat for the Insane: an early example of the use of "moral treatment" in America" by B. Clouette and P. Deslandes (difficult to access): <https://www.unboundmedicine.com/medline/citation/9334506/>
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Letter from Harriet Bartow to Frances Bartow (transcribed by Sylvia Hasenkopf, North River Research, 2016), 9 November 1847, Box 4, Folder 4, Cole Papers, NYSL, Albany, NY.

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The Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Officers of the Retreat for the Insane, May 1846. Annual Reports of the Officers, 1842-1896, Watermann Research Library, Connecticut Historical Society, CT.

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The Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the Officers of the Retreat for the Insane, May 1848. Annual Reports of the Officers, 1842-1896, Watermann Research Library, Connecticut Historical Society, CT.

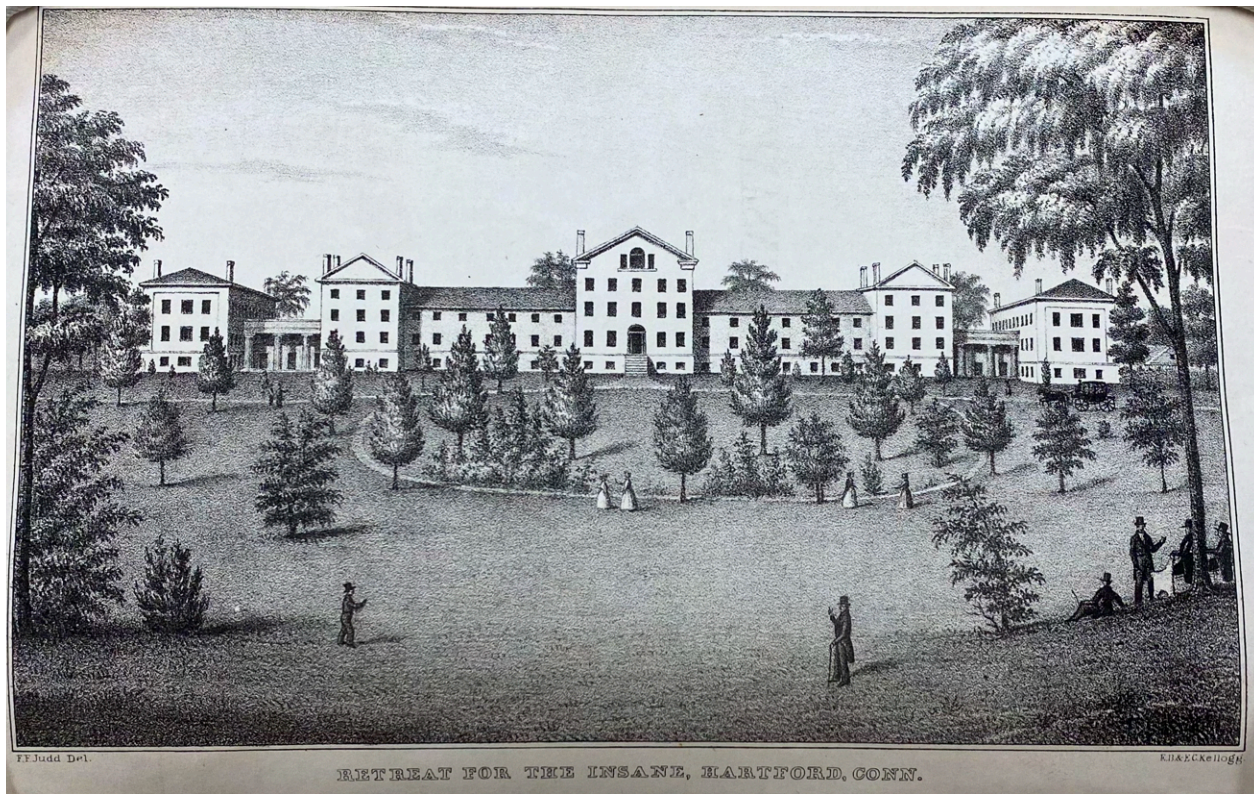
Whittelsey, Henry Edgar and Peter R. Christoph (editor). *The Diary of Henry Edgar Whittelsey, Catskill Mountain Storekeeper, 1835-1836*, Maine: Picton Press, 1999.

Appendix

"Frances E. Bartow" Third and Final Entry
Retreat for the Insane Account Book, 1824-1853³⁸
Admitted: May 4, 1848 Discharged: July 28, 1846

Frances E. Bartow May 4 1848 July 28 1846 Both killed by Thor's love

Etching of the Retreat for the Insane
The Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Officers of the Retreat for the Insane, May 1846³⁹



³⁸ Frances E. Bartow, third entry, Retreat for the Insane account book, 1824-1853, Thomas Robbins Collection, Watermann Research Library, Connecticut Historical Society, CT

³⁹ The Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Officers of the Retreat for the Insane, May 1846, Annual Reports of the Officers, 1842-1896, Watermann Research Library, Connecticut Historical Society, CT, 20.

Probable Causes of Disease

The Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Officers of the Retreat for the Insane, May 1847⁴⁰

PROBABLE CAUSES OF DISEASE IN THE CASES ADMITTED THIS YEAR.			
Ill Health	17	Millerism,	1
Intemperance, . . .	11	Mesmerism,	1
Over Exertion, . . .	12	Puerperal,	1
Undue Mental Application, . . .	8	Fall,	1
Masturbation, . . .	7	Loss of Friends, . . .	2
Domestic trouble, . . .	6	Loss of Property, . . .	1
Religious Excitement, . . .	5	Fright,	1
Disappointed Affection, . . .	2	Home-sickness. . . .	1
Turn of Life,	4	Disappointed Ambition, . . .	1
Blow on the head, . . .	3	Sexual Indulgence, . . .	1
Repressed Cutaneous erupt. . .	1	Unknown,	24
Total,		111	

Cases of Insanity Related to Month/Weather

The Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Officers of the Retreat for the Insane, May 1846⁴¹

AMERICAN HOSPITALS.			FRENCH HOSPITALS.		
January, 410.	July, 547.		January, 1473.	July, 2033.	
February, 391.	August, 533.		February, 1481.	August, 1343.	
March, 450.	September, 503.		March, 1617.	September, 1689.	
April, 490.	October, 524.		April, 1784.	October, 1700.	
May, 583.	November, 446.		May, 1943.	November, 1568.	
June, 622.	December, 441.		June, 2079.	December, 1573.	
TOTAL, 5940.			TOTAL, 20,788.		

These tables show us that the number of cases of insanity increases with considerable regularity from January to June, and decreases from June to December.

The whole number of cases in the six warmest months will be found to considerably exceed those of the six coldest. In the American table the excess is 616, and in the French table 1964. Thus:

The whole number in April, May, June, July, Aug. and Sept.,	3278
" " " Oct., Nov., Dec., Jan., Feb., and March.	2262
(American table.) Difference,	616

The whole number in April, May, June, July, Aug. and Sept.,	11376
" " " Oct., Nov., Dec., Jan., Feb. and March,	9412
(French table.) Difference,	1964

⁴⁰ The Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Officers of the Retreat for the Insane, May 1847, Annual Reports of the Officers, 1842-1896, Watermann Research Library, Connecticut Historical Society, CT, 16.

⁴¹ The Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Officers of the Retreat for the Insane, May 1846, Annual Reports of the Officers, 1842-1896, Watermann Research Library, Connecticut Historical Society, CT, 20.

Timeline of Events Surrounding Frances' Wellness

1837; Financial Panic of 1837 sees a decrease in domestic trade, banking failure and nutritional hardship⁴²

July 4, 1842; excerpt from Maria's diary: "...F. & myself, have all felt so well & so happy to day"⁴³

October 23, 1844; Letter from Sarah Cole in New York to Thomas Cole about Frances⁴⁴

June 1846; John Alexander Thomson passes

July 2, 1846; Frances is admitted to the Hartford Retreat⁴⁵

January 13, 1847; Maria writes to Harriet urging her not to be "homesick"⁴⁶

March 20, 1847; Harriet Bartow writes to Frances Bartow⁴⁷

April 3-April 5, 1847; Elizabeth Cole passes two days after being born

June 19, 1847; Harriet writes to Frances, suggesting she "occupy the same apartments, that [she], heretofore have done..."—Frances was then at the retreat about a year⁴⁸

November 9, 1847; Harriet writes to Frances, "you shall certainly come home in the spring, it will only be five months"⁴⁹

February 11, 1848; Thomas Cole passes

May 4, 1848; Frances is discharged from the Hartford Retreat⁵⁰

1870 census; Frances is recorded as 'insane'⁵¹

⁴² Stephen Campbell, "Panic of 1837," *The Economic Historian*, 12 November 2020, <https://economic-historian.com/2020/11/panic-of-1837/>.

⁴³ Maria Cole, *Diary*, 4 July 1842, Box 1, Folder 13, Thomas Cole Collection, 1807-1966, Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, NY.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, Letter from Sarah Cole in New York to Thomas Cole.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, Frances first entry.

⁴⁶ Letter from Maria Bartow to Frances Bartow (transcribed by Sylvia Hasenkopf, North River Research, 2016), 13 January 1847, Box 4, Folder 4, Cole Papers, NYSL, Albany, NY.

⁴⁷ Letter from Harriet Bartow to Frances Bartow (transcribed by Sylvia Hasenkopf, North River Research, 2016), March 1847, Box 4, Folder 4, Cole Papers, NYSL, Albany, NY.

⁴⁸ Letter from Harriet Bartow to Frances Bartow (transcribed by Sylvia Hasenkopf, North River Research, 2016), 19 June 1847, Box 4, Folder 4, Cole Papers, NYSL, Albany, NY.

⁴⁹ Letter from Harriet Bartow to Frances Bartow (transcribed by Sylvia Hasenkopf, North River Research, 2016), 9 November 1847, Box 4, Folder 4, Cole Papers, NYSL, Albany, NY.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, Frances third entry.

⁵¹ "1870 United States Federal Census for Frances Bartow," Ancestry, accessed 16 May 2022, <https://www.ancestry.com/sharing/28700713?h=065b2f>.