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An Autobiographical Study of "The Colour out of Space"

John McInnis

PROLOGUE: THE TRIP BACK

THE imagery in H. P. Lovecraft's 1927 story "The Colour out of Space" was partially drawn from a bus trip he made to the Phillips family's ancestral homeland in Moosup Valley (Foster, Rhode Island and environs) with his Aunt Annie Gamwell in October, 1926. Writing to Frank Belknap Long, Lovecraft described the trip as a pilgrimage

> to those rural reaches of Rhode Island from whence our stock is immediately sprung; . . . designed to be the first of several antiquarian and genealogical trips covering the Phillips-Place-Tyler-Rathbone-Howard country, and including inspection of as many of the original colonial homesteads as are yet standing.[1]

The exterior of the Gardner farmhouse in the story is a composite of those familial residences, while its interior is a replica of Lovecraft's childhood home in Providence at 454 Angell Street. The power of this journey's images on Lovecraft's mind cannot be overestimated:

> This devotional survey is naturally a recreation of the keenest interest; covering as it does those forms of landscape whose images are permanently burnt into my pastoral soul, and these actual scenes from which my personality was moulded—scenes whose spirit and atmosphere are ineffaceably stamped on the quintessential germplasm bequeathed to me down a long line of rustick progenitors.[2]

The landmarks of this trip led Lovecraft back into the chiaroscuro world of his memory. Lovecraft's having been to Moosup

Valley but twice before—a stay for two weeks at Uncle James' home in 1896, and a one-day visit accompanied by his mother in 1908—lends the story a curious "then and now" tone that may come from a blending in his mind of the earlier two-week stay and the later "devotional survey." The concept of a "survey" suggests that Lovecraft viewed the landscape through his ever-present telescope from a window of the traveling bus, for the main tool of the story's surveyor would have been a transit, or small telescope. Restricting his sightseeing to use of a telescope from inside the bus would have intensified the "gleaning from a distance" aspect of information gathering for Lovecraft, perhaps making future literary use of this data more likely. Passing a farmhouse of local significance on the old Plainfield Pike, Lovecraft noted that it stood in the region "devastated to create the new Scituate Reservoir." This water storage facility was the model for the Arkham reservoir to be built in "The Colour out of Space": the initial excavation had started in 1913, but the filling of it had only just begun in 1925.[3]

Later nephew and aunt disembarked from the bus, and, after touring the hamlet of Moosup Valley where he found a universal consanguinity much to his liking, they walked through the village "*civick centre* . . . noting the church, school house, grange, and public library—all of which is family *property* through association."[4] The close personal identification with the whole village and its valley made the area (complete with coming reservoir), the ideal setting for "The Colour out of Space."

Still later they came to the region of the Phillips family homestead and then

> enter'd the especial territory of the Places—encountering on our right the well-beloved homestead whose crayon picture by my mother you may have noticed on my wall. . . . truly, I never saw a house so intelligently adjusted to make the best of all the authentick features of the landscape . . . [which] forms a background worthy of any artist's brush.[5]

Lovecraft's mother was born in this house, and her crayon drawing of it had hung for many years by his bedside in 454 Angell Street. The shock of recognition as he came upon the original Place homestead (for the house had been lost to the family for fifty years) made it one of the images of the story's Gardner homestead, "which had stood where the blasted heath was to come—the trim white Nahum Gardner house amidst its fertile gardens and orchards."

They next arrived at the James Phillips home, scene of Lovecraft's earlier two-week visit. A few things had changed since 1896:

> The only flaw in the picture is a recent social-ethnic one—for FINNS, eternally confound 'em, have bought the old Job Place house! This Finnish plague has afflicted North Foster for a decade, but has hardly secured a real foothold in Moosup Valley, only two families marring the otherwise solid colonialism. They are seldom seen or heard—but it does make my skin crawl to think of those bovine peasants in the house where my great-uncle's wife was born—and tramping about an antient Place graveyard! Maybe a *hand* will reach up thro' the rocky mould some day. . . .[6]

When Lovecraft and his aunt entered the house, the then occupant gave him two letters from his mother which had been found among Uncle James' old papers in the attic. These letters (copies of which are available at the John Hay Library) are from Susan Phillips Lovecraft to her Aunt Jane and Uncle James Phillips—both letters bordered in black. The first, dated September 13, 1896, says that both Howard and she have had a safe trip home from their two-week visit to Moosup Valley: "Oliver (the horse) was very nice and agreeable on our journey." The two-week stay away from Providence seems to have been a restful one—she writes that the visit "did us both lots of good," but that she was still mourning the death of her mother, Robie Place Phillips: "I can't believe yet we shall never see Mother again in this world." Winfield Scott Lovecraft, by this time a three-year

inmate of Butler Hospital, was also a source of pain for her: "My husband is *just the same.*" Her second letter, dated October 11, 1896, reinforces the importance of the two-week vacation: "We talk so much of our Foster visit—will never forget it."

Lovecraft's inspection of the house recalled to him his earlier stay and turned his attention back to those bygone days:

> I was permitted to visit the corner room where I slept thirty years ago, and where I used to see the green side hill thro' the archaik small-paned windows as I awoke in the dewy dawn. Certainly, I was drawn back to the ancestral sources more vividly than at any other time I can recall; and have since thought about little else! I am infused and saturated with the vital forces of my inherited being, and rebaptis'd in the mood, atmosphere, and personality of sturdy New-England forbears. A pox on thy taowns and decadent modern notions—one sight of the mossy walls and white gables of true agrestick America, and pure heredity can flout 'em all![7]

The letter (and the trip) concluded with a reference to a still older Phillips homestead that Lovecraft still wished to see:

> Well, by that time it was night, and we had to take the 6:12 stagecoach home. We had had a great day, but even so had hardly scratched the surface of what we wish to see. The territory cover'd was more Place and Tyler than Phillips and Rathbone country, and the first sight of the antient Phillips burying ground (near the old Asaph Phillips homestead—1750—which my aunt had just learned by telephone was burned down some five years ago) still lies ahead of me.[8]

The firey destruction of this oldest Phillips house in Moosup Valley probably helped to focus Lovecraft's mind on a prospective ending for his narrative, an "Ave atque Vale" to his beloved Moosup Valley:

> Had I not renounc'd literature, I should compose a pastoral poem in the heroic couplet, intitled *Moosup Valley; an Eclogue.*[9]

I

Winfield Scott Lovecraft, father of H. P. Lovecraft, was a victim of general paresis. Otherwise known as general paralysis of the insane or dementia paralytica, this disease results in a chronic and progressive degeneration of the nervous system which, in time, completely destroys the mind of the patient. "The typical course of general paralysis is its initial depression, manic excitement, formation of paranoid delusions, and terminal dementia."[10] The elder Lovecraft was committed to Butler Hospital in Providence, Rhode Island, on April 25, 1893, and he died there on July 19, 1898.[11]

The recognizable beginning of the elder Lovecraft's disease, with its tragic consequences for his relationship with his young son, had appeared at least a year before his April 1893 hospital admission:

> Changes in personality and disturbed mentation commonly are the first noted signs of the illness . . . Frequently, the mental symptoms develop so insidiously that the patient's family has not recognized that a deteriorating change in personality has been taking place . . . [partially because] early symptoms consist largely of an extension and exaggeration of previous personality traits.[12]

Butler Hospital's medical records briefly mention the onset of Winfield Lovecraft's illness:

> For a year past [i.e., from around April 1892 until his commitment in April 1893] he has shown obscure symptoms of mental disease—doing and saying strange things at times.[13]

This pre-commitment year of the elder Lovecraft's disease was more fully developed by H. P. Lovecraft in the first part of "The Colour out of Space."

When Winfield Lovecraft married the former Sarah Susan Phillips on June 12, 1889, he was a salesman for the Providence-based Gorham Manufacturing Company. A bluff, handsome

man with a luxuriant mustache, Winfield Lovecraft spoke with so audible an English accent that people who knew him sometimes described him as a "pompous Englishman."[14] But British mannerisms may have aided his business success in the Anglophile Boston sales territory which he seems to have successfully developed over a period of years. According to H. P. Lovecraft, sometime shortly after his parents' marriage they rented quarters in the Boston suburb of Dorchester, presumably to be close to the elder Lovecraft's work. However, Mrs. Lovecraft returned to her parents' Providence home for accouchement at 454 (then numbered 194) Angell Street, where Howard Phillips Lovecraft was born on August 20, 1890.

The location of the Lovecraft family following the son's birth until early June of 1892 is uncertain—H. P. Lovecraft wrote that they lived in Dorchester and vacationed in nearby Dudley, Massachusetts, but there is no known corroboration of this.[15] However, there is confirmation of the family's seven-week stay in the Auburndale, Massachusetts, home of the New England poet Louise Imogen Guiney,[16] cited by L. Sprague de Camp in his *Lovecraft: A Biography*. Quotations from four letters written during the summer of 1892 show a progressively more pejorative tone in Miss Guiney's description of the Lovecrafts:

> Two confounded heathen are coming to BOARD this summer [May 30]. There are two and a half of them, as I said all atrocious Philistines, whom I hate with enthusiasm [June 14]. Our cussed inmates here, praise the Lord, go next month [July 25]. The unmentionables are gone, and we are our own mistresses again [July 30; Miss Guiney here refers to herself and her widowed mother].[17]

Miss Guiney's successive demotion of the Lovecraft family from "heathen" to "inmates" to "unmentionables" may be indicative of the steadily worsening behavior of the elder Lovecraft during this seven-week period, a time span which falls well within the "year past" mentioned in Winfield Lovecraft's medical record. Typical changes in social behavior in the early stages of paresis may include

> irritability, fatigue, difficulty in concentration, depression, periods of confusion, disturbed sleep, and headaches. The early paretic individual is often opinionated and perhaps quarrelsome. Frequently he becomes neglectful of his dress, unkempt in appearance, inconsiderate of others, and forgetful of social amenities and proprieties, and manifests an insidious breakdown of higher ethical and cultural sentiments and standards . . . Sexual activities may become excessive. The person whose previous life has been quite exemplary not only may show some surprising defect of character but also may feel no concern for his dereliction.[18]

Any one, or combination of, the above changes would have strongly offended Miss Guiney, a semi-reclusive Victorian poet and essayist who has been described as being "indifferent to the practical side of life."[19] And the Phillipses, with their social prominence and respectability in possible jeopardy, would have been extremely sensitive to any negative exposure resulting from the behavorial anomalies which the medical description suggests.

In addition to the social pressures involved, there is also the matter of what may have been a steadily deteriorating financial situation:

> Early in the disease there is often an impairment in professional skill or in craftsmanship. Unaccustomed slips and failures in the discharge of ordinary duties occur. The consequences of errors are not foreseen. The patient may conceive ambitious schemes of an extremely impractical and extravagant nature. The businessman may no longer show his former capacity for successful management and, because of failing judgment, may dissipate the resources upon which the livelihood of his family depends.[20]

So Winfield Lovecraft probably functioned less gainfully, if at all, in his sales position with Gorham. The possible decline of the elder Lovecraft's business career, as well as the likely concomitant social problems suggested above, would have made his immediate removal from Auburndale imperative. Plans for building a house in Auburndale were cancelled, and the Lovecraft family departed from the Guiney home in late July.

Where the family resided at this time has thus far been a mys-

tery; de Camp writes, "I do not know where the Lovecrafts lived during the fall and winter of 1892–93."[21] Perhaps de Camp was unable to discover where the Lovecraft family lived because the Phillips family did not want it discovered. When Winfield Lovecraft was committed to Butler Hospital in 1893, the family reported that he had been working right up to the last moment, as the record attests:

> Has been actively engaged in business for several years and for the last two years has worked very hard.[22]

The next sentence of the record is a beautifully straightforward understatement of both the family's and their doctor's restraint: "Can get no history of specific disease"[23]—that is, no further pre-commitment history was forthcoming from the adults who presumedly were in a position to reveal it.

It would seem, however, that as the situation at the Guiney home worsened, a decision was made to move the Winfield Lovecraft family to the Phillips' home at 454 Angell Street. This large house was a three-story structure on extensive grounds. Here the family could care for and observe the elder Lovecraft more closely and even confine him, should it become necessary, to the house itself. The elder family members would have kept this sensitive matter to themselves. They seem to have told the young Lovecraft as little as possible concerning his family's whereabouts and the specific events of that fall and winter in 1892–93; at a later time, possibly even telling him that the Lovecraft family had, indeed, spent all the time in question at the Guiney home. Such assertions would explain why H. P. Lovecraft later wrote, in his correspondence, that the family had remained at Auburndale until his father's commitment in April of 1893.

Some of H. P. Lovecraft's stories may be, at least in part, coded descriptions of the author's unconsciously remembered childhood experiences with his father and other members of his family prior to and following the time of the elder Lovecraft's commitment to Butler Hosptial. More symbolic, and less literal,

than other Lovecraft stories that detail the father-son relationship, such as "The Nameless City," "Hypnos," "From Beyond," and "The Call of Cthulhu," "The Colour out of Space" recorded the Lovecraft-Phillips family crisis from its beginnings, around April of 1892, to its conclusion with the death of Grandfather Whipple V. Phillips and the subsequent dissolution of the Phillips estate in 1904.

The meteor, with its cataclysmic mode of arrival, was the perfect symbol for H. P. Lovecraft's father, the salesman-outsider born in Rochester, New York, who was reared in the Anglophile tradition. The string of explosions at the beginning of the story may be indicative of some of the early manic episodes in the elder Lovecraft's then not understood insane behavior. Some paretics "are insane for some time before any motor indications can be detected, even by close examination."[24] A gradual loss of social awareness is the rule:

> Those inculcated finer restraints and impulses which regulate the outer form of our conduct according to our surroundings, are usually very early lost in paresis.[25]

The patient begins to commit all kinds of indecent acts "without appearing to be aware that he is doing anything unusual."[26] Because the sense of the difference between his inner mental world and his outer surroundings is lost, the patient

> is often quarrelsome and disputatious . . . not being able to convince others of the truth of his ideas, he attacks with physical force those who venture to differ with him.[27]

Before his disease has been diagnosed, the patient may become a "tyrant-terror to all his dependents and belongings,"[28] harrassing in every way those who are about him[29]—behavior represented by the "string of explosions" given off by the incoming meteor. The implosion of the stone on the Gardner estate foreshadowed the shock of the developing explosion within the Phillips family.

The meteorite's stoniness represents the initial depression of

W. S. Lovecraft during the onset of the disease—in his case, probably a quite profound melancholia:

> Often in the course of paresis we observe long-continuing stuporous states. . . . The patients speak neither voluntarily or in reply to questions, lie motionless, taking no part in their environment, eat no food, wet and soil their beds.[30]

The bedridden father's rigid body would have appeared stone-like to an observant two-year-old. And the meteor's round shape would derive from the roughly spherical, fetal-like posture likely assumed by the recumbent, stuporous patient:

> If at last he lies in bed, the head and neck are often bent forward for hours together, almost constantly is his head kept raised away from the pillow, the patient gazing stupidly here and there, or from time to time looking fixedly, but unintelligently, before him . . . often the legs are now more or less contracted and rigidly flexed, the forearms and hands flexed and lying across the chest . . . the features often have a swollen, relaxed, puffy appearance, or grow thin, earthy, and coarser; all the natural discharges are passed involuntarily under the patient.[31]

The contraction of body limbs and coarse, earthy skin tone would embellish the rocky meteor-like quality in the image. The body in such a condition "can only be lifted or rolled as a whole like a bundle, without change of position of the different members."[32] Rotundity may have come, too, from the patient's retention of urine and consequent distension of an overfull bladder[33] and a bowel gas-swollen from poor digestion. This condition is known as meteorism—a term Lovecraft may have recalled from doctors' conversations, "the fading parrot-memory of professor's talk," that remained in the story teller's mind.[34]

There are five separate scenic impressions of the meteor in this story, probably because the son remembered several distinct contacts with his father, whose paresis seems to have developed into circular insanity, a sine wave psychosis known today as manic-depressive disorder or bipolar mood disorder. Severe

mood disorder of this kind takes the patient from depths of depression to high points of manic excitement and back again, perhaps many times.

> When, in any given case, the melancholic phase recurs again, it is prone to wear the same features as in the first attack . . . [the deepest melancholia] may appear again and again as the cycle returns, with the same phase and character over and over again.[35]

Each time the meteor appears on the scene is a manifestation to the son of the same depressive features separated by elapsed times of the passing cycle, the deteriorating physical state of the father, and the different therapeutic treatments employed.[36] The violent actions characteristic of the manic stage do not appear in this story, for at such times the son could not be near his father nor observe him closely. The effects of the recurring manic phase appear, however, as the rapid shrinkage of the meteor from scene to scene in the story, because a manic patient emaciates rapidly, both from not eating and from the raised metabolism resulting from the recurring mania.

Nutritional disorders of the paretic nervous system bring various inflammatory afflictions of the skin. Lesions develop because of excretory irritation as the patient becomes more and more careless in his personal habits. The dull, earthy appearance of the skin associated with atrophy of dermal sweat glands[37] may have suggested the story's "big brownish mound" phrase.[38] Bedsores form on the dermal surface, accompanied by "blebs, boils, herpetic, ecthymatous, or other eruptions [which may] appear about the extremities or trunk, [and] furuncles and carbuncles may appear, most likely on the back or buttocks"[39] because of the patient's unchanging position in bed. These lesions appear as the story's uneven, varicolored Widmanstätten figures, marks found on meteoric iron.[40] Skin irritations on these patients turn to bedsores almost overnight if untreated. Such sores are apt to form at bedrest pressure points along the buttocks and sacrum,

and spread upward on the back, or on the spine and shoulder blades, where dermal tissues are stretched tightly over bone and therefore are more prone to irritation. Sores can form from bedsheet wrinkles or irritations from residual lye soap in washed sheets (which were often not rinsed thoroughly enough in the laundry). Care of the bedridden patient necessitated the most diligent application of currently accepted hygienic principles—"pure air, necessary ventilation, exercise, and the proper care of the skin."[41] Such measures were possible in a hospital (where, for instance, frequent turning of the patient was usual), but not often in a home setting (where only sporadic, poorly trained help was normally available).

The heat of the meteor, which lingers long after the scientists begin their work on it, derives in part from paresis' disturbance of the patient's body temperature, which "shows a preternatural mobility, a mercurial facility of change."[42] Chronic constipation and intercurrent diseases that accompany paresis also help to account for this rise in temperature, known as hectic fever.

We may turn now to the role of the physical sciences as they appear in the story. Lovecraft's studies in analytical chemistry, which he pursued avidly from 1898 to 1910 or 1912, help to account for the transposition of his father's bodily afflictions to the story's meteor image. Lovecraft pursued the subject of chemistry with the "insatiable curiosity of early childhood":

> Chemical apparatus especially attracted me, and I resolved (before knowing anything about the science!) to have a laboratory. Being a "spoiled child," I had but to ask, and it was mine.[43]

By 1901, he had "a fair knowledge of the principles of chemistry," and in 1906 physics "reawakened his dormant laboratory instincts, and led [him] back to the study of matter."[44] He left high school certified in physics and chemistry, and meant to pursue these subjects at Brown University, but "just then [his] nervous system went to pieces, and [he] was forced to relinquish

all thought of activity." But during and after this nervous breakdown (which, no doubt, aided his repression of many details of his father's illness), his interest in chemistry continued: "Yet at home I continued my chemical studies, dabbling in a correspondence course which helped me in matters of *analysis* and *organic chemistry*." He even composed a chemistry textbook, "a bulky manuscript entitled *A Brief Course in Inorganic Chemistry*, by H. P. Lovecraft, 1910."[45] The analytical portion of the meteor sequence in "The Colour out of Space" is applied usage of this chemistry text. Lovecraft may be exploring in chemical terms the nature of his father's illness, a matter deep in the sediment of a long dead past. He may have remembered the terms and practices of the actual medical situation in the conceptions and nomenclature of experimental chemistry and geology—ideas and memories more accessible to consciousness.

One of the three scientists in the story is probably Charles V. Chapin, M.D., Superintendent of Public Health in Providence from 1884 until 1932, whose pioneering work in applying the methodology of laboratory research to bacteriological problems in the sanitation of the city of Providence is well known. A second researcher is probably Gardner Swarts, M.D., health inspector for Providence and Chapin's right-hand man from 1888 until 1893. Access to the Phillips' premises would have been gained through a third man, George D. Wilcox, M.D., the family physician (who served as Dr. Chapin's preceptor in Chapin's medical student days).[46]

The three professors use geologists' tools to remove samples from the meteor which they take away for laboratory analysis. These actions correspond in the artist's mind to the surgical and medical treatment of the patient's bedsores:

> Locally (that is, directly on the skin) quite a variety of methods has [*sic*] been advised [in 1898], from heroic surgical procedures, such as crucial (i.e., center of the lesion) incision followed by scraping with the sharp spoon, to the use of medicinal applications.[47]

The genesis of the meteor "samplings" may have been specimens of necrotic tissue, called sloughs:

> When the sloughs are slow about separating, and especially if there seems to be much septic absorption, an incision should be made and the sloughing tissue removed with scissors and the sharp spoon. The wound should then be dressed antiseptically.[48]

The application of the surgical "sharp spoon" to the dermal surface could have appeared as the action of a geologist's chisel on the meteorite. Another source of the geological samples could be the removal of previously applied dressings, poultices, or plasters from the festering bedsores:

> The boils are covered with a carbolic acid and mercury plaster . . . twice a day new plasters are applied, and if the boils have opened, the pus is gently pressed out, and the region about washed with the bichloride of mercury solution.[49]

Removal of soiled dressings in such a procedure would have appeared to a nearby observer in much the same light as would removal of the dermal tissues themselves.

But the activity of attending physicians was not restricted only to the use of surgical instruments:

> the local (i.e., skin) armamentarium includes baths, soaps, lotions, ointments, oleates, pastes, powders, oils, plasters, pigments, electricity and the various mechanical and chemical destructive agents.[50]

Pigments of these medicines colored the patient's body brown and black. Notable in this respect is carbolic acid, the grandfather of all antiseptics. Now called phenol, and hardly used since before World War II, carbolic acid (made popular by Lister in antisepsis) was the first line of defense for most physicians and surgeons in the late nineteenth century:

> If . . . bedsores form, or if they are *acute*, and therefore not preventable, apply a solution of carbolic acid . . . and over it a linseed

> poultice, cut away sloughs as soon as they are loosened, syringe out regularly, frequently, and thoroughly with the carbolic . . . then dress with the same.[51]

Carbolic acid stains the skin brown, as does iodoform, while silver nitrate stains skin black. Iodoform is a deodorant and antiseptic to sores (because of the available free iodine it contains). Silver nitrate is an astringent (hardener) to the skin and a caustic (i.e., destroys by burning) to sores treated with it. All three of these medicines are coloring agents that would have aided the father's body/meteor transmutation in the artist's mind.

Unmentioned in the story, but used with alcohol to abort boils in their early stages, is camphor, marketed today as moth balls—known for their distinctive odor and shrinkage over time. Camphor's quality of shrinking by sublimation makes it a source for the shrinking meteor.

When the professor-doctors return for more tests on the next day, they find a smaller (but still hot) meteor. They find something else, too—"what seemed to be the side of a large coloured globule embedded in the substance."[52] Its three-inch diameter and glossy hollowness suggest a bleb or bulla, an "elevation of the epidermis containing fluid . . . round or irregular in outline, and . . . of the bigness of a pea up to that of a small orange."[53] This great blister was probably the center of a carbuncle on the upper back:

> A carbuncle is an acute phlegmonous (i.e., pus-filled) inflammation which terminates in sloughing of the tissues. Carbuncle occurs most often on the back of the neck, back, shoulders, and buttocks. A carbuncle begins as a firm, flat infiltration in the skin, which increases in depth as well as by extension of the borders. A carbuncle may . . . attain such proportions as to cover the whole back of the neck and shoulders.[54]

The potentially great extent and depth of infection is due to the patient's lowered resistance from retention of subcutaneous pus by the thick fibrous tissues of the skin on the back:

> At times . . . the entire skin over the central part of the carbuncle becomes black and gangrenous . . . Usually only one carbuncle is present upon the body at a time.[55]

The globule is a bleb or blister-like raising of the central skin over the carbuncle. But when the scientists break the globule, "nothing is emitted"[56]—that is, no pus is released because of the drying effect of the gangrene, which results from the infection and consequent putrefaction of the already necrotic tissue of the carbuncle. The scientist-doctors treat antiseptically the hollow left behind by the bursting of the blister, then drill (i.e., probe) for other carbuncles (globules), but find none.

Because the back's thick tissues are stretched over a bony structure, they readily lose their nutritive intake while yet, by virtue of their thickness, retaining the underlying pus during such fever-inducing situations as the patient's constantly lying on his back in a fetal position with the characteristic paretic stooping posture. Some relief of pressure could have been gained by sitting the patient up on the side of his bed, where he likely would have remained absolutely impassive in his new posture, looking much as the following lines describe:

> The individual affected with melancholia with stupor presents a very striking appearance. He sits motionless, his hands clasped before him [or placed on his knees], his head bent forward, his eyes closed or staring vacantly, or fixed upon the floor. His half-open mouth allows the viscid saliva to drop from his lips. If spoken to, he does not answer or even give any sign that he has heard.[57]

The patient sits "as if petrified,"[58] in an attitude that recalls Lovecraft's descriptions of three carved statues of the seated monster in "The Call of Cthulhu," the most complete of which follows:

> It represented a monster of vaguely anthropoid outline but with an octopuslike head whose face was a mass of feelers, a scaly, rubbery-looking body, prodigious claws on hind and fore feet, and long, nar-

> row wings behind. This thing . . . was of a somewhat bloated corpulence, and squatted evilly on a rectangular block or pedestal . . . The cephalopod head was bent forward, so that the ends of the facial feelers brushed the backs of huge forepaws which clasped the croucher's elevated knees.[59]

The Cthulhu statues suggest the same deep melancholia as the meteor images from "The Colour out of Space," the difference being the patient's regular change in position to relieve his festering carbuncle from further irritation.

At some time during April of 1893, the elder Lovecraft underwent a remission and tried to go back to work for Gorham—a mistake, for when he arrived in Chicago (where Gorham had maintained an office since 1881) he disintegrated, as attested to by the medical record:

> He continued his business, however, until Apr. 21, when he broke down completely while stopping in Chicago. He rushed from his room shouting that a chambermaid had insulted him, and that certain men were outraging his wife in the room above. He was extremely noisy and violent for two days, but was finally quieted by free use of the bromides, which made his removal here possible.[60]

The patient's breakdown (and consequent family crisis) appears in "The Colour out of Space" as the thunderstorm's lightning repeatedly striking the meteor. The elder Lovecraft's April 23 commitment would mean that he would no longer be at home at 454 Angell Street (disappearance of the meteor), but would now be at Butler Hospital ("a disappearing fragment left carefully cased in lead"), where he would die in July of 1898 (the story shortens these years of the father's existence to one five-day work week at the laboratory).

Although the meteorite is gone and Winfield Lovecraft is no longer at home at the Angell Street address, the Gardner crisis will leave only the narrator to tell the story.

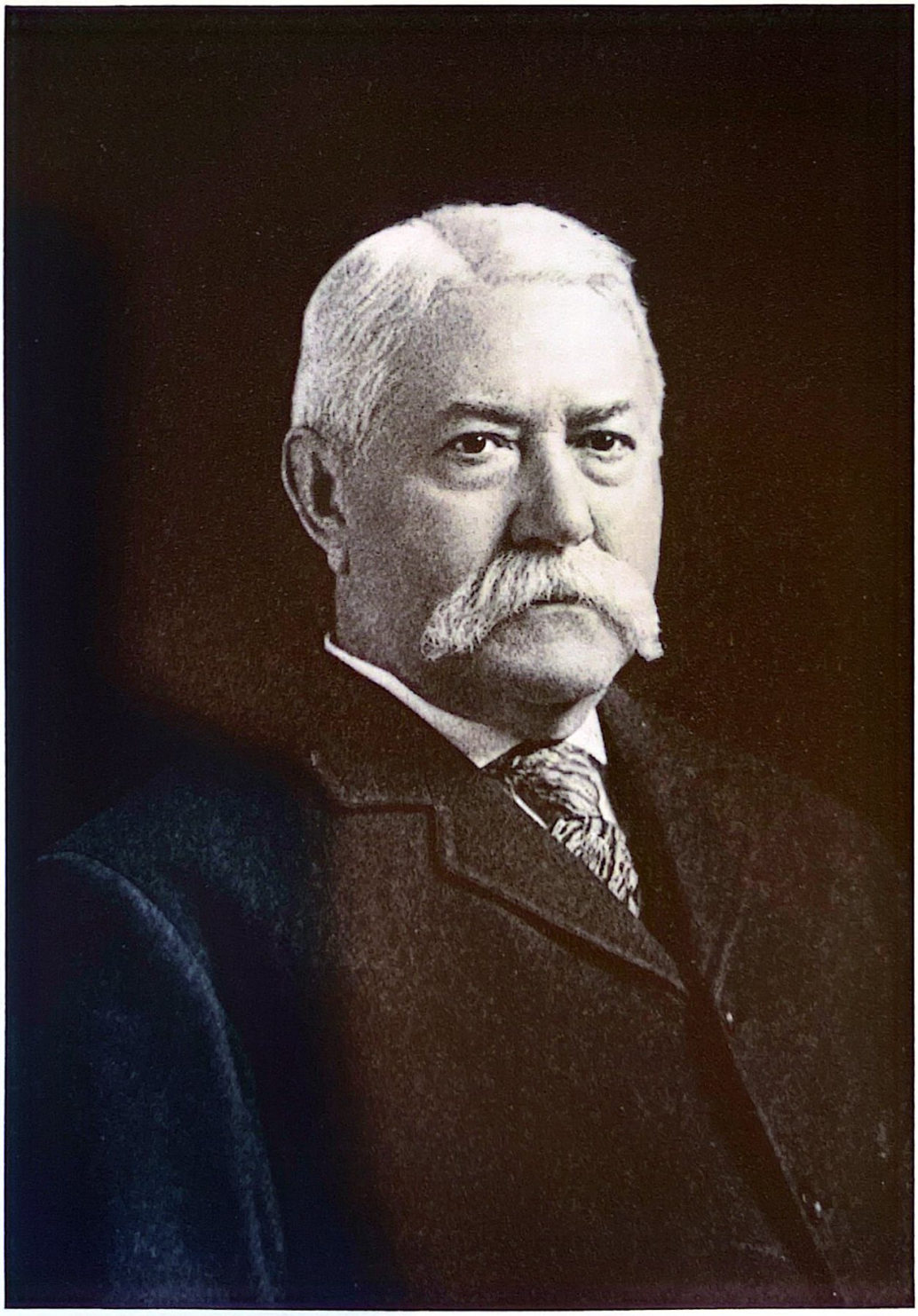
II

The second part of the story's crisis has two causes, one economic, the other medical. The former is the failure, over a period of years, of a large investment by Whipple V. Phillips in the arid Snake River Plain of southern Idaho. The project, located near the Bruneau River's intersection with the Snake River in Owyhee County, was a livestock and cash crop farming enterprise which was to be irrigated by retained water of a dam on the Bruneau River. The story's strange farm problems came from Lovecraft's memories of specific conditions described by Phillips in letters to his grandson at home in Providence during the 1890's.[61] Later this failed project emerges in Lovecraft's story as a "great spot eaten by acid in the woods and fields" of his beloved Moosup Valley.

The agrarian economic problems came from the West, but other problems in the story are of a psychological and medical nature and have their origins within the life of the family at 454 Angell Street in Providence. Lovecraft described this domestic drama as he saw and participated in it, and each family member had his role as one of the narrative's *dramatis personae*. Nahum Gardner, the farming father, is Whipple Phillips as both western entrepreneur and eastern proprietor. Nabby Gardner, wife and mother of three sons, is Whipple Phillips' third daughter, Sarah Susan Lovecraft, mother of the author.

H. P. Lovecraft himself appears in the tale in five roles beginning with the story's opening in 1927, and then moving back in time. The newly-arrived, inquisitive surveyor is Lovecraft as he was from 1921 to 1927—from the death of his mother to when this story was written. Old Ammi Pierce, the story's sub-narrator, is Lovecraft from sometime after the death of his grandfather in 1904 to the death of his mother in 1921—the period when he lived alone with his mother at 598 Angell Street.

The three Gardner children represent Lovecraft as he was at



Whipple V. Phillips (1833–1904), Photograph ca. 1900, John Hay Library.

different periods during his grandfather's later life, from 1890 to 1904. Each boy—Merwin, Thaddeus, and Zenas—is Lovecraft during a portion of a childhood disjoined by two personal crises. Each of these traumas was brought about by one of young Lovecraft's visits with his father at Butler Hospital—symbolically reenacted by Thaddeus and Merwin as they visit the deadly well. The three boys may also correspond to Lovecraft at each of the three times he tried to attend public school—1897, 1902, and again briefly in 1904, just prior to the death of his grandfather.

Lovecraft and the members of his immediate family formed a typical late-Victorian, upper-middle-class New England household, with traditional values derived from the Protestant work ethic (a belief that hard work and self-control would guarantee economic success). Stability was the byword of society. Social position and mores were rigidly maintained, and a New Englander's moral values were still dominated by the fear of God's punishment of any real or imagined sins.[62]

Whipple V. Phillips wanted to fit into this hard-working Puritan society. Born in Foster, Rhode Island, and orphaned at fourteen, Phillips came to Providence in the 1870's to seek his fortune. Here he eventually built a three-story frame house at 454 (then 194) Angell Street, and by 1890 he had become a pillar of the community. As early as 1869 he was a Knight Templar, and as a member of the Rhode Island State Legislature and Board of Valuation, was accepted and respected by the state's political and social elite.[63]

On the 1926 trip to Moosup Valley, when H. P. Lovecraft was drawn back to early days of his childhood, the thought of his grandfather's "desertion" of the valley for Providence came to conscious awareness. The failed western project would then have been seen (in the light of hindsight) as a cause of familial loss.

The negative side to Phillips' rapid rise would have been the tentativeness of his social position. Any deviation from the strictly enforced social conventions (which Phillips himself sup-

ported) would subject him to public scrutiny and possible ridicule or censure. Unfortunately, several such deviations were to come—first among them being the impact of outsider son-in-law Winfield S. Lovecraft's breakdown and hospital commitment. Phillips' attempt to fit Winfield Lovecraft back into society by having him reassume his former position with Gorham lent a spectacularly bizarre conclusion to this unfortunate social experiment.

Psychologist Gerald Caplan, a leader in crisis intervention, says that a man and his family have a need to gain and maintain a state of equilibrium or homeostasis during problem-solving activity, and that if an individual is faced with an imbalance between a problem's difficulty (as he sees it) and his ability to cope with it, a crisis (turning point) may develop.[64] A crisis evolves through three stages: the initial impact, a reaction (when usual problem-solving methods are employed), and failure to solve, with subsequent lapse into the crippled, neurotic behavior of a post-traumatic period.[65] Subsequent withdrawal by formerly helpful support groups in the community helps to bring about the unfortunate end to the crisis situation.

The large and glossy but bitter fruit from Nahum's orchards would have been produced on the Snake River Plain because of the high nitrogen content of its newly-planted soil. Such crops were characterized as "Dead Sea fruit," partly because so little was known of fertilizers and nutrition in the 1890's—most farmers simply took what the land would give, then moved on. Enlightened practice of the day called for a return of nutrients to the soil by way of animal manures. A typical well-managed operation was a simple balance of cash crops and livestock, with an orchard or garden on the side, features all found on the Gardner farm.[66] Because Phillips was from the East, where rainfall was plentiful, he seems to have believed that the bitterness apparent in the oversized orchard fruit could be washed out of the soil and not re-appear in the next year's crops. However, only

ten to twenty inches of rain falls and evaporates, leaving behind any residues in Idaho's arid climate.

The letters from his grandfather's Idaho trips in the 1890's described an arid western ecology for Lovecraft, and he transposed it to the pages of his New England story—a literary transposition made complete by Idahoan artifacts which Phillips brought home for the boy to see and handle:

> I was a small boy then; but his trips out there, and his descriptions of the country, interested me prodigiously. In his office downtown he had all sorts of samples of Idaho minerals and produce, and his occasional letters postmarked "Boise City," "Mountain Home," and "Grand View" (the latter place named by him, & occupying land owned by the company) lent a sense of reality to these exotic specimens.[67]

A discontinuity created by this transposed environment accounts for some of the "weirdness" in Lovecraft's tale—samples from Grandfather Phillips' collection may even appear in the story. The rabbit which Ammi sees leap so far is a western jack rabbit, and the odd "woodchuck" which the MacGregor boys kill is a marmot, a distant cousin of the eastern woodchuck. The giant, strangely colored skunk-cabbages that spring up are a larger yellow variety of skunk cabbage that grows in the Northwest. The other perverted plant growth in the adjacent pasturage—the "sinister menace" of the "Dutchman's breeches" and the "insolence of the bloodroots' chromatic perversion"[68]—may symbolize specifically repugnant attitudes or behaviors of newly-arrived European immigrants, who from 1890 to 1910 moved wholesale into the Providence area and turned the open country vistas around the Phillips' house into a suburb, while blending poorly with the traditional Puritan New England values.

Lovecraft's fusion of "insolence" and "chromatic perversion" suggests an effect the meteorite may have had on the perverted vegetation, but to find the solution to the mystery we must look back for a moment at the meteorite itself, and also at what it

represents. The Willamette meteorite, one of the most famous in North America, was discovered near Portland, Oregon in 1902 and thence placed at the doorway of the American Museum of Natural History in the 1920's, one of Lovecraft's favorite haunts in his New York days. Some of the shock in the symbol is associated with the elder Lovecraft's bizarre behavior, as previously recounted. This behavior ranged from manic cheerfulness down through choleric irritability to melancholic stupor—the roller-coaster mood changes of manic-depressive or bipolar mood disorder, whose wild fluctuations were vastly different from the restrained socially acceptable activity of New England that Lovecraft knew—"off-color," as it were, in every sense of the word. Because it ran off his spectrum of learned human behavior, Lovecraft seems to have linked literarily the behavior of the newly-arrived foreigners to that of his unforgotten father by way of this suggested but never-described color. Melancholia, the medical term for the lower end of the behavioral spectrum, comes from the archaic doctrine of the four humours, or fluids, which measured human character by supposing a preponderance of one or another of these fluidic humours. The fluids were blood, for cheerfulness, or sanguine behavior; phlegm, for calmess, or phlegmatic behavior; choler, or yellow bile, for irritability or choleric behavior; and melancholy, or black bile, for melancholic behavior. The extremes of W. S. Lovecraft's manic-depressive conduct are named by this system—choler and melancholy—and Lovecraft used these names to give meaning to otherwise inexplicable actions. The "choler" on the manic end became the "choler out of space," while the "melancholy" on the depressive end of the scale took the meteor-like image of a "dead sea fruit," a "melon" of choler, or "meloncholy."

The examination of W. S. Lovecraft by the three medical men had been managed through the auspices of family physician Dr. George D. Wilcox. His death on July 23, 1897[69] removed their sponsorship and prompted author Lovecraft to write that "all

through the strange days the professors stayed away in contempt."[70]

As time passed, the lost access seems to have become more critical. Neighbors began to say that "there was poison in Nahum's ground." A group of neighbors paid the old farmer a visit, but from respect kept their interference to a minimum. What a visitation committee could have seen of the Phillips' behavior would have induced local inhabitants to put even more distance between themselves and that hapless family.

> It was easy to write off people as crazy who are not their usual selves in the face of a very upsetting event. People in crisis were thought to be sick.[71]

Meanwhile, more western epistolary details find their way into the narrative. The insects that come to the farm in May are a plague of western grasshoppers, called locusts by the Mormons, and the eerie trees whose branches tremble without wind are the "quaking aspens" of the Northwest, whose leaves move visibly with the slightest of breezes. The grasses were the last plants of the area to be affected by the probable lack of irrigation water because they were native to the area, unlike the fruit trees and vegetables. But even good, well-irrigated grass can be overgrazed, and when cows are forced by necessity to eat the poorer forages, the quality of their milk will deteriorate.

Dehydration is the cause of the gray brittleness that comes to all the plant life. Lack of water was a common problem in Idaho's arid climate, and irrigation associations, such as Phillips' Owyhee Land and Irrigation Company, were a necessity there. Irrigation systems consisted of dams for water retention, reservoirs for storage, and canals for distribution. Springtime snowmelts brought an abundance of water to these systems, but an excess of snowmelt could cause dam failure—which is what happened to the Owyhee Company in March, 1890.[72] Phillips saw the results of this disaster, and no doubt later described

them to his grandson. The company finished rebuilding the dam by February, 1893, but the profits anticipated by Phillips and the other investors seem never to have materialized.

Malnutrition brings disease and, together with dehydration, this would account for the failing livestock. In the 1890's knowledge of nutrition and of trace elements in forages was lacking; farmers simply fed the livestock what grew on the farm—hay, for instance. Disease prevention as such was unknown—farming problems revealed, no doubt, by Phillips' letters home.

We see Lovecraft's conception of the final end of the Phillips undertaking in his 1920 epistolary account of "a brief but typical dream":

> I was standing on the East Providence shore of the Seekonk River, about three quarters of a mile south of the foot of Angell Street, at some unearthly nocturnal hour. The tide was flowing out *horribly*—exposing parts of the riverbed never exposed to human sight. Many persons lined the banks, looking at the receding waters and occasionally glancing at the sky. Suddenly a blinding flare—reddish in hue—appeared high in the southwestern sky; and *something* descended to earth in a cloud of smoke, striking the Providence shore . . . The watchers on the banks screamed in horror—"*It* has come—*It* has come at last!"—and fled away into the deserted streets. But I ran toward the bridge instead of away; for I was more curious than afraid. When I reached it I saw hordes of terror-stricken people in hastily donned clothing fleeing across from the Providence side as from a city accursed by the gods . . . By this time the river-bed was fully exposed—only the deep channel filled with water like a serpentine stream of death flowing through a pestilential plain in Tartarus. Suddenly a glare appeared in the West, and I saw the dominant landmark of the Providence horizon—the dome of the Central Congregational Church, silhouetted weirdly against a background of red. And then, *silently*, that dome abruptly caved in and fell out of sight in a thousand fragments.[73]

The receding waters and "serpentine stream of death" refer to the Snake River irrigation project while the "watchers on the banks" are the investors, who would definitely be watching their

bank deposits as well as the level of the water, and the shattered church dome signals Lovecraft's realization of the end—his beloved childhood world, the shrine at 454 Angell Street, was gone forever.

The problems at home in Providence were clearly those of a family in trauma. The phenomena of Mrs. Gardner's insanity are fairly thoroughly described in the story, and they coincide with those of Lovecraft's mother, who was committed to Butler Hospital on March 13, 1919. A hospital record described her as "a woman of narrow interests, who received, with a traumatic psychosis, an awareness of approaching bankruptcy"—a diagnosis confirmed by Lovecraft's dream. Her doctor found that a disorder had been indicated for fifteen years, and that abnormality had been in evidence for twenty-six years—showing that Sarah Susan Lovecraft's nervous problems had certainly begun as early as 1893, the year of her husband's commitment to that same hospital.[74]

Mrs. Lovecraft's psychosis had a basis in the approaching bankruptcy of her father, but the hallucinatory episodes described in "The Colour out of Space" derive from a time before her husband's commitment to Butler Hospital. Mrs. Gardner's delusions that something was being taken away, something was fastening itself on her that ought not to be, and that someone must make it keep off, indicate unforgotten assaults on Mrs. Lovecraft by her then insane but still-at-home husband. Lovecraft describes these assaults as having been done by "an ogre under a coverlet" in his story of "The Nameless City."

The mysterious well on the Gardner property, the scene of strange behavior by the Gardner boys, may be a retrospective time channel for Lovecraft. Thaddeus' trip to the well and his resulting madness could be the author himself as he relives a visit made as a child to his father in Butler Hospital, which, according to Winfield Lovecraft's hospital record, may have taken place near his son's third birthday—August 20, 1893. The record entry for August 29, 1893 reads as follows:

> A few days ago patient was dressed and permitted to go about ward and into yard; for a time he was quiet, but soon he became even more noisy than before, and as he was fast exhausting his strength, he was placed in bed again.[75]

The spectacle of hospital attendants subduing his father in the hospital yard may have been Lovecraft's source for the restless natives sequence in "The Call of Cthulhu." Its effect on the child can be seen in the wildly gesticulating Thaddeus, who is in such dire straits that Nahum puts him in the attic room across from his mother's. At times, though, he and his mother must have been at closer quarters than that. The story's description of Mrs. Gardner and the assertion that Thaddeus died "in a way that could not be told" suggests possible verbal-emotional child abuse by a hysterical, screaming mother. The family lawyer said of Mrs. Lovecraft that she was a "weak sister" who was "going to pieces," and her medical record speaks of a "psycho-sexual contact with the son"[76]—sexual contact of a mental or emotional, rather than physical, nature.

The next death is that of little Merwin, who does not come back from a trip to the well—a trip that may correspond to Lovecraft's second visit with his father at Butler, on or near May 29, 1894. According to the records, the elder Lovecraft on that day was "allowed the liberty of the hall and airing court." Lovecraft probably met his father at the big hallway gurney-door at the end of the ward, and he later recast this episode as the Pacific island sequence of "The Call of Cthulhu," in which the green, gelatinous, slobbering Cthulhu is Winfield Lovecraft as perceived by his terrified three-and-a-half year old son. Accompanying sailors could be hospital orderlies, who clearly fail in their job of protecting the young visitor.

Ammi's discovery that the well-water has gone bad is to be expected, for water-wells of that day were simply broad, open holes lined with brick or stone laid without mortar, and dirt and surface-washings could easily enter at the top and sides.[77] Even clear, cold, sparkling waters of most old wells were almost never

entirely free of impurities, especially where the nearby surface soil was heavily polluted.[78] Lovecraft combines possible troubles of the Idaho farming project with those of the Rhode Island domicile in the taste of the polluted Gardner well water—both salty and fetid. The salt taste is from calcium and magnesium salts in the Snake River Valley snow-melt water which has flowed over soluble deposits of these minerals, while the fetid taste is from the disease germs of unpurified sewage on the Phillips' Angell Street property. Because bacteria cannot survive in salt water, however, the two tastes are combined only in the writer's imagination.

Nahum tells Ammi that the "thing in the well" is sucking the life out of him, burning him up. Chronic bacilliary dysentery attacks the lower bowel of the digestive tract inducing the well-nigh constant tenesmus (burning, straining sensations as Nahum described them) of a hundred or more bowel movements in a single day.[79] Constant reinfection was a certainty, because flies brought disease germs into the kitchen regularly.[80] Then, too, it was common practice to use privy contents (so-called night soil) as fertilizer, a method that made the bare-handed cultivation of garden vegetables dangerous indeed.[81]

Near the end Nahum was so ill that he had a series of small strokes and had to be cared for by Zenas—Lovecraft's fictive identity at the point of his grandfather's death. The newly-arrived Ammi (Lovecraft after Whipple Phillips' death) simply assumed the role of the absent Zenas at this point to check on the mother, who has apparently been locked in the attic room for some time. When he opens the door to her room, the stench is intolerable:

> Air that has been made foul by breathing has an unpleasant odor which comes from the breath and perspiration whether the room and its occupants are clean or not.[82]

The by now passively inert Mrs. Gardner/Lovecraft had been lying on the floor of her attic room for some time, as her extremely

depressed son had apparently not been able to check on her any time recently. The son's opening the door of another attic room created a slight draft in the dampened, motionless attic atmosphere, and the narrator felt himself "brushed, as if by some hateful current of vapour." Such a recently-started air current would remove the envelope of warm, moist air from a person who had been in calm air for some time.[83] The narrator interprets the "hateful current of vapour" to be some miasma or disease, but it is really just the chill of incoming air, whose temperature is lower than that of the room's warm, humid atmosphere.

But the son had to leave the not-quite-motionless woman on the floor and return to his dying grandfather. Phillips' obituary states that he died at home a little before midnight Monday, March 28, 1904 as a result of a "paralytic shock" he had suffered while visiting a friend.[84] Strokes of such magnitude usually cause hemiplegia, or paralysis of the limbs of one side, a condition that would produce the "heavy, dragging sound" heard from upstairs by the story's narrator as Phillips was brought home by his friends. But unfortunately the delirious stroke victim almost never lies quietly, and Phillips had been dragging himself about when found by his returning grandson. Aghast at what he was seeing, the boy "could not touch it, but looked horrifiedly into the distorted parody that had been a face."[85] Author Lovecraft makes Nahum Gardner utter a concise rendition of what was no doubt Phillips' stroke-prompted babblings about business failures.

The death of property-owner Phillips quickly brings the health department, as there is no longer a legal hindrance to their duty, and the simplest of health department procedures gave author Lovecraft the key to his story's spectacular climax. Before they drained the well, one of the officers must have put an ounce or two of the coal-tar derivative florescein into the privy and/or cesspool to determine whether the flow of sewage-bacteria was toward the water-supply. Florescein is a tracer dye, and

will indicate its presence by a greenish luminescence in water of a very dilute solution. The solution would have emitted its own light from the well when exposed to light radiation, and the health department officials waited in the house for the test results to appear. The luminosity of the well-water dye during moonrise must have been very impressive.

The fluorescence of the dye indicated only the presence of itself in the well water, but Lovecraft's fertile imagination could have made the dye's eerie incandescence the disease itself because its glow did indicate that disease was present. Such a glow would have been easy for the adult writer to connect with the glow he later learned was given off by radioactive elements. In the story then, "glow" could have come to equal "disease," and, as such, would have appeared first in the meteorite, then in the surrounding vegetation (which had already died in the West from dehydration).

The destruction of the Gardner domicile was the Phillips' financial reversals made visible and audible. The climatic "explosion without a bang" of the Gardner house is what the fourteen-year-old Lovecraft must have seen of the fumigation of his beloved home. This old disinfection technique was used after a death by the Providence Department of Public Health until its discontinuance by Superintendent Chapin in 1906.

The house at 454 Angell Street was sold, and although it would stand until 1961, Lovecraft never entered it again for the rest of his life. He and his mother moved to 598 Angell Street (the story's Ammi Pierce perspective). This character's surname, Pierce, expresses Lovecraft's feelings of devastation by those childhood experiences which he has recounted in "The Colour out of Space."

NOTES

References to H. P. Lovecraft, *Selected Letters* I–V (Sauk City, WI: Arkham House, 1965, 1968, 1971, 1976, 1976) are cited as *SL* followed by the appropriate volume number.

1. *SL* II, 81.
2. *SL* II, 81.
3. Marion S. Wright and Robert J. Sullivan, *The Rhode Island Atlas* (Providence, RI: Rhode Island Publications Society, 1982), 12.
4. *SL* II, 82.
5. *SL* II, 84–85.
6. *SL* II, 86.
7. *SL* II, 87.
8. *SL* II, 88.
9. *SL* II, 89.
10. Sandor Ferenzi, "Psycho-Analysis and the Mental Disorders of General Paralysis of the Insane," in *Final Contributions to Psycho-Analysis*, Brunner-Mazel Classics in Psychoanalysis no. 6 (New York: Brunner-Mazel Publishers, 1955), 354.
11. *Butler Medical Record Ledger*, Vol. 13 (April 2, 1891 to July 13, 1893), 150. Hereafter cited as *Butler Ledger*. Editor's note: The complete "Medical Record of Winfield Scott Lovecraft" as annotated by M. Eileen McNamara, M.D., was published in *Lovecraft Studies* 24 (Spring 1991), 15–17.
12. Lawrence C. Kolb, *Modern Clinical Psychiatry* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1977), 277. Hereafter cited as Kolb.
13. *Butler Ledger*, 150.
14. Winfield Townley Scott, "His Own Most Fantastic Creation," in H. P. Lovecraft, *Marginalia* (Sauk City, WI: Arkham House, 1944), 312. Hereafter cited as *Marginalia*.
15. Editor's note: However, in a [1944?] letter to Winfield Townley Scott, Myra Blosser mentions that Miss Ella Sweeney, former Assistant Superintendent of Schools in Providence, "knew him [HPL] as a little shaver. She spent summers where he and his mother did in Dudley, Mass." (A.Ms., John Hay Library).
16. Editor's note: In a long biographical letter to Rheinhart Kleiner, HPL mentions that "Miss Guiney had been educated in Providence, where she met my mother years before" (*SL* I, 32).
17. L. Sprague de Camp, *Lovecraft: A Biography* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1975), 14. Hereafter cited as de Camp.

18. Kolb, 277.

19. de Camp, 14. Editor's note: For more biographical information on Imogene Louise Guiney (1861–1920), see Josephine Donovan, "Louise Imogene Guiney," in *American Women Writers*, ed. Lina Mainifero (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1980), 2:198–200; or Henry George Fairbanks, *Louise Imogene Guiney: Laureate of the Lost* (Albany, NY: Magi Books, 1973).

20. Kolb, 277.

21. de Camp, 15.

22. *Butler Ledger*, 150.

23. *Butler Ledger*, 150.

24. William Julius Mickle, *General Paralysis of the Insane*, 2nd ed. (London: Lewis, 1886), 201. Hereafter cited as Mickle. Editor's note: Most of the authorities cited by Dr. McInnis on paresis and treatment of the insane are from texts that represent contemporary medical knowledge and practice during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

25. Emil Kraepelin, *General Paresis* (New York: The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disorders Publishing Company, 1913; reprinted, New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1970), 15. Hereafter cited as Kraepelin.

26. William Alexander Hammond, *A Treatise on Insanity in its Medical Relations* (New York: Appleton, 1883; reprinted, New York: Arno Press, 1973), 600. Hereafter cited as Hammond.

27. Hammond, 600.

28. Mickle, 40.

29. Hammond, 600.

30. Kraepelin, 70–71.

31. Hammond, 472.

32. Kraepelin, 43.

33. Mickle, 166.

34. H. P. Lovecraft, "The Colour out of Space," in *The Dunwich Horror and Others*, corrected 6th printing (Sauk City: Arkham House, 1984), 56. Hereafter cited as *Dunwich Horror*.

35. Archibald Church and Frederick Peterson, *Nervous and Mental Disorders*, 4th ed. (Philadelphia and London: W. B. Saunders Co., 1903), 790. Hereafter cited as Church and Peterson.

36. Church and Peterson, 790.

37. Mickle, 138.

38. *Dunwich Horror*, 57.

39. Mickle, 138.

40. *Dunwich Horror*, 58.

41. W. A. Hardaway, *A Clinical Manual of Skin Diseases*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia and New York: Lea Brothers and Co., 1898), 29. Hereafter cited as Hardaway.

42. Mickle, 177.

43. *SL* I, 74.

44. *SL* I, 74.

45. *SL* I, 75.

46. James H. Cassedy, *Charles V. Chapin and the Public Health Movement* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), 15.

47. Hardaway, 63–64.

48. Mickle, 402–3.

49. Mickle, 401.

50. Hardaway, 32.

51. Mickle, 403.

52. *Dunwich Horror*, 59.

53. Hardaway, 19.

54. Hardaway, 62.

55. Hardaway, 63.

56. *Dunwich Horror*, 59.

57. Hammond, 472.

58. Hammond, 472.

59. *Dunwich Horror*, 134.

60. *Butler Ledger*, 150.

61. de Camp, 18.

62. Donna C. Aguilera and Janice M. Messick, *Crisis Intervention* (St. Louis, MO: C. V. Mosby Co., 1974), 42. Hereafter cited as Aguilera and Messick.

63. "Obituary: Whipple V. Phillips," *Providence Evening Bulletin*, March 29, 1904, 4.

64. Aguilera and Messick, 6.

65. Lee Ann Hoff, *People in Crisis: Understanding and Helping*, 2nd ed. (Menlo Park, CA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1984), 53. Hereafter cited as Hoff.

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67. *SL* IV, 344.

68. *Dunwich Horror*, 69–70.

69. "Obituary: Dr. Wilcox Dead," *Providence Journal*, July 24, 1897, 2.

70. *Dunwich Horror*, 63.

71. Hoff, 6.
72. "Washed Out," *Idaho Weekly Avalanche*, March 15, 1890, 1.
73. *SL* I, 113–14.
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75. *Butler Ledger*, 270 1/2.
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78. Clair Elsmere Turner, *Personal and Community Health* (St. Louis, MO: C. V. Mosby Co., 1935), 425–26.
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80. Overton and Denno, 58.
81. Overton and Denno, 431.
82. Overton and Denno, 473.
83. Overton and Denno, 475.
84. *Providence Evening Bulletin*, March 29, 1904, 4.
85. *Dunwich Horror*, 71.