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# Gone But Not Forgotten: Acts of Remembrance in the Late-nineteenth and Early-twentieth Century Asylum

## Introduction: Forgetting and Losing in the Total Institution

The long-stay institution still casts its shadow over the history of asylums and psychiatry. The prominent historian of psychiatry, Andrew Scull, characterised asylums as 'mansions of misery',[1] 'cemeteries for the still breathing'[2] and, most famously, 'museums of madness'.[3] In the popular imagination, too, the asylum is often portrayed as a sinister Gothic house of horrors – designed to hide (and therefore help the public forget) that the mad existed, literally hiding them from view in the 'massive mausoleums of madness whose relics still litter the countryside'.[4] In one popular book on the archetypal institution, Bethlem Hospital, the author states 'asylums were instruments of social control, prisons disguised as hospitals, where the poor and incurable could be swept out of sight'.[5]

Asylum casebooks have proved fruitful ground for scholars wishing to gain insight into institutional life and patient experiences. Open up any casebook ledger from an asylum and one is confronted with masses of detail about people's lives: name, age, sex, religion, occupation, living arrangements, physical appearance, eye and hair colour, and sometimes, and importantly for this chapter, patient photographs. Historians have mined these records to write a revised history of asylums and the people who occupied them, preferring instead to emphasise the permeability of asylum walls, the enduring relationships between patients, families and friends, and the continuing attempts at care and therapy.[6] And yet the notion that asylums were places for forgetting persists and, therefore, deserves continuing scholarly attention. This chapter actively engages with the notion of forgotten people and questions the assumption that on entering or, indeed, leaving the asylum people were forgotten. I add complexity to this discussion by exploring two case studies from the private Holloway Sanatorium, Surrey in the south-east of England, to consider memory, remembrance, and forgetting between staff and patients in the institution. In two specific examples, one in which staff remembered patients, the other highlighting remembrance between patients, photography and photographs play a crucial role. Furthermore, the two examples show the ways in which broader photographic and remembrance practices flowed through the asylum walls. In both cases, the photograph was a vehicle through which patients and staff were connected and thereby remembered.

The twin concepts of forgetting and losing are recurring themes in writing and thinking about the asylum, both in terms of emotional and practical issues. When writing about the effects of committal on the families of patients, Jade Shepherd frames this in terms of the 'loss' of a relative 'to' the institution, explaining that families experienced this absence or 'loss' of a spouse, parent, child, sibling, or other family member as a form of 'bereavement'.[7] Loss could have a literal dimension too; Rob Ellis notes several cases in which patients were 'lost' due to administrative error when families were told either that their relatives had died when they had not, or that their relatives were still living when they had, in fact, already died. Ellis notes one case in which relatives were called to a seriously ill patient's bedside only to discover it was a case of mistaken identity and they were, in fact, not related.[8] The fear of patients being 'lost in the system' then was a real one, especially as the number of institutions and

patients they contained grew in Britain during the second half of the nineteenth century.[9]

In photography, too, memory and loss are well-established, central issues and theorised in seminal work by scholars like Roland Barthes, Annette Kuhn and Marianne Hirsch.[10] As a means of recording, of fixing in time and recalling past events or people, photography is intimately connected to memory and remembrance. The historian Jennifer Green-Lewis states that 'the perceived threat that this state [the state of the subject being photographed] will be lost is inherent in the act of photographing'.[11] In many ways, photography is, in Susan Sontag's view, an 'inventory of mortality' and a 'documentary of how we age'.[12] From this perspective, photographs give the viewer access to subjects who are no longer there and exist only in memory, as well as to our own younger selves.

Building on Barthes' *Camera Lucida* (1980) Hirsch argues that love and loss, presence and absence, life and death are the 'constitutive core of photography'.[13] These themes have usually been discussed in reference to family photography, and in particular to those family photographic practices or photography 'work' that is done by women; the cultural geographer Gillian Rose shows that the 'storing, displaying and circulating of family photographs is a strongly gendered activity'.[14] (Moreover, in a broader sense, women have played a significant role in the history of various aspects of photography; as 'high art' and commercial photographers, as subjects, and on the technical production and processing side as colourists, developers, and re-touchers working in studios and backrooms.[15]) In another sense, many of our typical encounters with photographs are a form of photography 'work' when, even on the most superficial level, we employ photographs to help us in the job of remembering. Rose describes the explicit use of photographs in mothers' memory and photographic work when, for example, they look at old baby pictures to remember how small their children once were.[16] Rose argues that as a result of this photographic work, family photographs produce a domestic spatiality and temporality that stretches far beyond the walls of the home which is revealed only by examining what is 'done with' the photographs rather than concentrating solely on what they show.[17]

Here I want to apply these arguments to another type of photography and another type of photograph, that taking place in the asylum, which, much like the family home, was a site of human interaction and relationships. In the two examples discussed below it is again women who are involved in the photography 'work', as the photographic subjects in both cases, and in the second example, as givers and receivers of photographs. In contrast with other studies of asylum casebook photography, including my own work, which gives equal weight to both the content and context of patient photographs, it is what is *done with* the photographs in these two examples that is significant and my primary concern.[18] In addition, and again in contrast to many patient photographs produced in asylums in on-site photographic rooms and pasted into the medical casebooks, the two images discussed below are professional studio portraits which links them further to women's photographic work in the commercial photography industry of the period. By viewing the asylum as a site of human relationships I do not assume or imply any view on what these relationships might have been like or deny the sometimes, and perhaps especially in our view, harmful nature of those relationships, especially from a patient's point of view. This is not an exercise in condemnation or rehabilitation, but an exploration of the ways in which photographs and photographic practices played a complex part in remembrance practices in the asylum of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century.

These two sites of forgetting, remembrance, and loss, the asylum and the photograph, coalesce in the asylum casebook that contains patient photographs. The asylum superintendent and photographer Dr Hugh Welch Diamond who produced some of the earliest asylum patient photographs in the 1850s, spoke of the practical usefulness of photographing patients in his famous paper to the Royal Society given in 1856. Explaining their practical value as an *aide memoire* he claimed: 'I have found the previous portrait of more value in calling to my mind the case and treatment, than any verbal description I may have placed on record'.[19] Furthermore, the idea that the casebook itself was a repository for important but easily forgotten information was also invoked by Dr James Crichton-Browne, superintendent of the West Riding Lunatic Asylum. In his 1871 preface to the first volume of the asylum's *Medical Reports*, in which he explained his publishing rationale, Crichton-Browne referred to the potential problems that could be caused if large quantities of patient, clinical, and investigative information became lost forever inside dusty casebooks. He urged the 'utilisation of much valuable information', information that had 'hitherto [been] *buried* in case-books and diaries' adding 'how far it [the published version of the reports] has fulfilled its purpose, *in rescuing from forgetfulness anything worthy of remembrance,* its readers must decide'.[20]

From the 1880s, photographing patients for the casebook became an increasingly common practice in English asylums.[21] A patient photograph's function in this context was varied and experimental, and extended beyond the simple desire to use the photograph as a visual identity record.[22] It is true that in many cases taking photographs of patients enabled doctors to put a face to a name, but as historians are becoming increasingly aware of their potential, as well as their complexity, as historical sources, the fluid and ambiguous nature of patient photography is coming to light.[23] In addition, patient photos are implicated in present-day discourses on remembering the past. For Barbara Brookes, looking at patient photographs is a necessary step in ensuring 'we' do not forget the people in the photos; they 'stand as a *reminder* of the individuality of the people who entered the asylum walls' and '*assist in remembering* the suffering of individuals'.[24] Arguably it is this intention that motivates much of the use of historical patient photographs in other public contexts like heritage and social media, the patient image standing alone as a memorial to past lives and experiences. Therefore, these patient photos, indeed like any photo, function in the present, in every subsequent viewing of the image, and can act as a tool or prompt that may help the viewer 'remember' historical actors.

Photographs of patients operate on several levels and can carry multiple meanings. As a category or genre of medical image, asylum casebook photographs are ambiguous and complex, produced in various styles and formats through experimental and fluid practices without standard procedures or regulations, and often without any direct discussion by doctor-photographers that reveals their aims and motivations behind photographing their patients.[25] However, unlike most surviving patient images, the images I discuss below are not photographs taken specifically for inclusion in the casebook, rather they are images produced elsewhere, in a professional studio, that were then added to the medical notes. Therefore, the medical officers' motivation for including these images in the casebooks is even harder to determine than usual. Nevertheless, the inclusion of this type of photograph in the medical casebook further complicates overly simple assessments of asylum photography in particular, and medical photography more generally, that assume photographs were used in this context for straightforward or obvious reasons; again,

it is what is or has been done with the photographs that informs their significance and meaning. Here I make the case for using, not simply photographs, but *casebook* photographs in particular, to consider remembrance in the asylum. By examining two examples taken from the surviving casebooks from Holloway Sanatorium, this chapter draws parallel strands together; the asylum as a place for forgotten people, the photograph as a memory aid *and* an object and symbol of remembrance, and the casebook itself as a container of large amounts of information that could easily be forgotten. In so doing, I consider some of the ways in which staff remembered their patients and patients remembered each other in an attempt to problematise questions around both remembrance and photography in the institution.

## Remembering Photographs in the Institution

Holloway Sanatorium was a private 'hospital for the insane' at St. Ann's Heath, Virginia Water, Surrey in the south-east of England. It was opened in June 1885 and was founded and financed by the patent medicine manufacturer Thomas Holloway (1800-83) with the aim of filling a perceived gap in provision for patients of the middle classes who would neither enter a public asylum nor could be cared for privately at home.[26] The Sanatorium's charitable status from 1889 meant that it was required to form at least a third of its patient body from third-class patients who paid lower weekly rates. Patients from the 'impoverished' middle classes were then subsidised by the higher fees paid by the second and first-class patients.[27] It was, therefore, an institution on a different scale and with a different remit compared to the large county and borough asylums that opened across England from the 1840s. According to figures compiled by Anne Shepherd, from 1885-1905 there were 4,073 certified and voluntary patients admitted to the Sanatorium, whereas at Brookwood Asylum, a large public institution 10 miles away in Woking, 8,891 patients were admitted in the first 30 years of operation alone (1867-97).[28]

Enid C. was admitted to the Sanatorium in April 1906, aged 26. She was single and of no occupation.[29] Her case notes state she was suffering her first attack of one month's duration, the supposed cause of which was a love affair. She was in an excited state and experiencing hallucinations and delusions of hearing, smell, taste, and perception and was placed on a suicide caution. However, Enid was not a long-stay patient; five months later, in September 1906, she was discharged 'recovered'. A further entry in November 1907 noted she 'continued well'.[30]

Asylum patients had been photographed since Diamond experimented with his patients at Surrey County Asylum in the 1850s but, by the late-nineteenth century, as photography became more familiar and accessible, many asylums adopted photographic practices in one form or another, from the regular and uniform to the intermittent and erratic. Crucially, the increased accessibility of photographic technologies in the late-nineteenth century applied to patients as well as practitioners, and it is likely that the patients at the Sanatorium were more familiar with photography, either as subjects or, indeed, photographers, than their poorer counterparts. Unlike some contemporary institutions like Newcastle-upon-Tyne City Lunatic Asylum, in which patients were photographed only once, usually very soon after admission, the photographing of patients was practised on a frequent, yet unpredictable, basis at the Sanatorium.[31] As a result, the surviving Sanatorium casebook archive is particularly rich and extensive in photographic material. Some patient casebooks contain

hundreds of photographs of patients while others, like Casebook 17 for certified female patients admitted August 1905 to March 1907, containing Enid's records, does not include any patient photographs at all. However, inserted between the casebook pages is a large cut-out excerpt from an illustrated magazine advertising 'MISS CORISANDE: The classical dancer, who recently appeared at the Æolian Hall' (Figure 1).[32] The clipping was taken from the *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, from Saturday May 29 1909, two years after the final note in her case. In its original form, the photograph of a reclining Enid takes up the foot of the printed page which shows a photo-montage of other actors and stage performers including 'Mr Lewis Waller as Hotspur in Shakespeare's *Henry IV* at the Lyric Theatre' and 'Mrs Gladys Desmond who was recently in *Our Miss Gibbs* at the Gaiety Theatre' (Figure 2).[33] Enid is picturing reclining on her left side, leaning on her elbow which rests on a plush cushion. Her hand supports her head as she casts her eyes downwards towards her feet. She is dressed in a dark, full-length dress decorated with beads and metallic embellishments around the neckline, under the bust and around the waist. She wears a beaded headdress covering the crown of her head while her shoulders, décolleté and arms are bare, making a striking contrast with the dark material of her gown. The character she presents in this image speaks to contemporary popular fascination with the exotic; her reclining pose is reminiscent of an odalisque and her costume carries Eastern or Grecian influences.

**INSERT FIGURES 1 AND 2 HERE: FULL PAGE SIDE BY SIDE ACROSS DOUBLE SPREAD OR ½ PAGE LANDSCAPE ORIENTATION (SO THEY CAN BE COMPARED EASILY).**

**PLEASE NOTE: THE PATIENT NAME AT THE TOP OF FIGURE 1 MUST BE OBSCURED/REDACTED TO ENSURE PATIENT ANONYMITY.**

By any standards, and even in light of the variable practices at the Sanatorium, this is an unusual object to find in the medical casebooks making it a very different order of image compared to other casebook photographs for several reasons. While casebook patient photographs are by no means standardized in content, style, or material form, they are nonetheless, usually smaller and often less noticeable on the casebook page.[34] In contrast to other patient images taken for the Sanatorium casebooks, probably by a member of staff and produced onsite in the dedicated photographic room, this patient image was taken by a professional photographer at Urbanora Studios, 89-91 Wardour Street, London, either specially for the magazine or commissioned by Enid or her representatives as publicity material.[35] Stage performers had embraced burgeoning photographic culture since the mid-century and most photography studios catered for theatrical clientele.[36] Performers like actors, singers, and dancers would send photographic portraits of themselves to theatre managers, booking agents, and advertisers, while negatives were distributed via image wholesalers who then supplied bookshops, newsagents, and sheet music vendors with the latest celebrity portraits.[37] It should be noted that a central aim of this shrewd and profitable commercial marketing strategy was to ensure that the performer in question would not be forgotten, neither by potential employers nor the public.

A further key difference with Enid's photograph is that, unlike most casebook photographs, this image was always destined for publication or a public audience of

some kind.[38] Finally, the fact that no other images appear in this particular casebook makes the picture all the more striking; the other Sanatorium casebooks are full of patient photographs, therefore in the context of the surviving archive, this image, and the casebook that contains it, are very unusual examples. What has happened to the image provides insight into how casebooks were produced and photographic elements woven into them. An unknown person, possibly one of the medical officers has annotated the image by double-underlining in red pencil the caption where it reads 'MISS CORISANDE', the angle and direction of the pencil strokes suggesting speed and firm, deliberate intention. The magazine clipping is the only image the medical officers collected of this particular patient, an image that was produced and published almost three years after she left the Sanatorium.

What are we to make of this image? Asylum casebooks contain photographs of patients for many reasons and the patient photograph as a type or category of image is an ambiguous, complex, and multi-functional object.[39] However, this patient image and its temporal and material difference compared to other casebook photos makes it even more ambiguous and intriguing. We might wonder what its purpose is, especially as it can bear no influence on an active case, Enid having left the Sanatorium before the image was even taken and published, let alone collected and added to the casebook. If photographs are used as visual evidence in this context as patient photos are often presumed to be, what might this image be evidence of? Several possibilities present themselves. The clipping provides biographical evidence of the fate of the patient as she went back into the world outside the institution. Alternatively, it may function as evidence of the Sanatorium's success in treating a young woman, who claimed during her time as a patient that she could dance and sing, enabling her to make something of her talents. It is also possible that the clipping was used as evidence of her continuing good health. It also serves to demonstrate the determination of the medical officers to secure an image of their patient and so complete their records. If the reader of the casebooks, who in the first instance is assumed to be the medical officer, encountered this image, either in passing as they looked for another case or because there was some reason to refer to Enid's case in particular, were they supposed to make some connection with or inference from the image of her and her case history?

What this case study *does* show is that staff remembered their patients. We might imagine how this came about. Did a medical officer or some other staff member read the *Illustrating Sporting and Dramatic News*? Did they come across the photograph when they were browsing the pages and recognise their former patient? Was it common for staff to keep abreast of the comings and goings of former patients' lives? This is not unprecedented as there are other instances in which newspaper clippings are added to patient case notes adding biographical detail to the fate of patients after they left the asylum.[40] The final note in her case from November 1907 remarking that she 'continues well' certainly suggests that staff were somehow aware of the fate of some patients after they had been discharged. Furthermore, some patients continued their association with the Sanatorium after their official discharge by remaining as voluntary boarders; Shepherd calculated that from 1885-1905 a total of 1,258 male and female voluntary boarders were treated at the hospital.[41] While Enid did not remain as a voluntary boarder, the fact that many patients did suggests that it was not unprecedented for some form of relationship to continue after certification ended. Therefore, although the inclusion of this type of image is highly unusual, what

is less remarkable is that Enid's case raises several questions that are left unanswered by the case notes themselves.

If the magazine clipping of Enid suggests that the Sanatorium staff remembered her, my second case study considers photographic acts of remembrance between patients. Slipped between the pages of Casebook 11, for certified female patients admitted May 1898-May 1899, is a large formal portrait of a very fine-looking lady (Figure 3).[42] Hilda S., a patient at the Sanatorium from December 1904 to March 1906, stands in a professional studio setting against a painted decorative backdrop showing an imagined romantic landscape. She angles her body in three-quarter pose and looks directly into the camera's lens. Wearing an elegant pale dress with frills, lace and flounces, a fur is draped loosely around her upper arms, a probable sign of her privileged social status and entirely in keeping with the social status of the typical patient at Holloway Sanatorium. Like the studio portrait of Enid, Hilda's portrait too will have cost money to produce, and certainly more than the casebook patient photographs produced in on-site asylum photographic rooms. It is reasonable to assume that Hilda was familiar with having her portrait taken considering her social class and status. Thus, several features including the print quality, content, and staging of these two images imply they are of a different social order to the majority of casebook examples.

As was often the custom when giving formal photographic portraits, across the bottom right corner of the print is written 'Yrs Affectionately, Hilda S.—— Easter 1905'. On the verso is a further dedication which reads: 'To my friend Miss L.—— in memory of some half hours of real enjoyment at St Ann's – passed together at the piano in the Recreation Hall' (Figure 4).[43] If the date of the inscription is correct, Hilda wrote the dedication while still a patient at the Sanatorium. Hilda was 30 years old when she was admitted in early December 1904 suffering from her first attack which had begun seven months previously. She was described as excitable and emotional in her conversation and ideas. Interestingly, like Enid C., Hilda also had theatrical ambitions; the supposed cause of her condition was listed as 'insanity from theatrical failure' and a note from May 1905 states: 'Her belief in the career awaiting her induces her to spend her hours in practice of singing with the result that her voice is overstrained.'[44] (We might wonder if, for Hilda, the portrait may also have functioned on some level as a promotional image as she imagined her prospective career as a performer.) By the time Hilda was admitted in 1904, Miss L. had already been a patient at the Sanatorium for 12 years. The timing of the inscription and the medical officer's note implies that the older Miss L. had accompanied Hilda during these prolonged periods of singing practice. Read together, these events and the photographic object that encapsulates them, have competing meanings; Hilda experienced her relentless singing practices as 'happy times' around the piano with her friend, as time well spent in perfecting her talents. The reporting medical officer interpreted this activity as clinical evidence of her irrational mental state.

The portrait bears no relation to the patient notes it sits between. The photograph is slipped between the pages of notes for Emma S. most probably after falling out of its original place amongst the notes of either Hilda, which appear in Casebook 16 or of Miss L., a voluntary boarder at the Sanatorium from 1892-1913.[45] As a loose object, its original place in the casebook and the way in which it was collected and then used in relation to the medical notes is hard to determine. Asylum medical officers often collected patient letters and other writings as clinical evidence

of a patient's distress levels or coherence, as well as samples of patient handwriting; Hilda's case notes also mention her 125-page 'resumé of her life' (from 1904 onwards) which was kept by medical officers.[46] Therefore, it is possible that this photograph functioned, for the medical staff at least, in a similar way as an object of clinical interest.

However, despite the uncertainty caused by the photograph becoming materially unmoored, when it comes to its meaning *as a photograph*, here we have a portrait being used in a very familiar and conventional way. The phrase 'in memory of' clearly identifies it as a memento of times past, as an object of exchange between two people who cared for each other, and shared experiences whilst they were being treated at the Sanatorium at the same time. In many ways, this photograph epitomises Elspeth Brown and Thy Phus' double meaning of 'feeling photography'.[47] As an object, the photograph is held and felt when it is received and must be turned over in the hands to read the dedication. The photograph and its inscription, and the intention behind its giving, then function as a prompt to or sign of feeling, of affection between two friends. In this way, the haptic, emotional, material, and visual qualities of this photographic exchange combine to produce its original meaning. Therefore, while the medical officers' reasons for keeping the photograph are uncertain, it is clear that the original intention behind its gifting was one of remembrance and commemoration.

**INSERT FIGURES 3 AND 4 HERE.**

**PLEASE NOTE: THE PATIENT NAME AT THE TOP OF FIGURES AND THE HANDWRITING NOTATION AT THE CORNER OF THE PHOTOGRAPH ["SCAIFE"] MUST BE OBSCURED/REDACTED TO ENSURE PATIENT ANONYMITY.**

In considering this photograph, the example of family photography is instructive. In her discussion of family photography, Hirsch pays particular attention to the mother-daughter relationship in and through photographs, as a set of photographic moments between two women.[48] For Rose, women are also at the heart of family or domestic photos; Rose found that women are the ones who 'do things' with photographs, they carry out the 'photo work' of arranging, sorting, dating, framing, and giving.[49] In this example from the Sanatorium too, we have women doing 'photo work' in the form of photographic gifting, but in, on the surface at least, a very different space or environment. Yet it is well known that asylums were constructed as domestic or familial spaces and, like the family, the institution was a place of human relationships and interactions.[50] The Sanatorium was particularly invested in efforts to foster a domestic and familial atmosphere; 'companions' were employed to live amongst the patients[51] and Shepherd notes that the luxurious surroundings of the Sanatorium 'were designed to make [the patients'] transition from home to institution easier. The preservation of normality by the creation of a homely but luxurious environment was believed to aid patient recovery'.[52] Moreover, the earlier Holloway Sanatorium casebooks contain several group shots of patients, arranged in a conventional style typical of amateur family photography.[53] Therefore, in giving a portrait of herself to Miss L., Hilda S. was engaging in an entirely conventional and familiar (familial even) photographic practice built around the central place of photography in remembrance and network-building. However, this practice was ultimately subverted; the photograph never fulfilled its

intended purpose but was instead inserted into the medical casebook. We may well wonder if Miss L. ever saw the photograph of her friend.

## Temporal and Spatial Disruption

Much like Rose's family photographs that connect relatives across time and space, the photographs of both Enid and Hilda stretch spatially and temporally beyond the asylum walls. The expected temporality of the patient photo is disrupted by Enid's image. In contrast to practices at some other contemporary asylums, there were no set times when patients would be photographed at the Sanatorium; some patients were photographed quite soon after admission while others were photographed only after they had been there for many years, and some not at all. The image of Enid then, placed into the casebook nearly three years after her discharge, when she was no longer a patient and, according to the notes, 'recovered,' subverts the standard temporal narrative of a case history. There is no photograph of Enid taken while she was a patient to compare with her image as Miss Corisande. Therefore, there is no sense of a before and after, a pre- and post-recovery visual record, or the magazine image as acting as a visual counterpart to an image showing a disordered patient placed earlier in the case notes. What this image does create is a temporal and spatial link between a person's life outside the asylum to their records inside. It is a reminder that many patients were somewhere else after (and before) the asylum, and that their lives should be defined beyond their experiences inside the institution.[54] This temporal disruption extends to the viewer's perspective too; it is highly unusual and, therefore, disorientating to see an image of 'a patient' taken *after* they have left the asylum, an encounter that historians of psychiatric institutions rarely experience.

As a prompt to memory, in remembrance of 'happy times', Hilda's portrait is intended to transcend these boundaries as a token or marker of past times. In contrast, when Enid is photographed as Miss Corisande, the photograph shows the patient in the future, creating, at least in relation to the case notes, a disorientating effect. Presence and absence then, components of Hirsch's 'constitutive core' of photography are clearly at work here. While Rose suggests that 'family photos articulate absence, emptiness, and loss as well as togetherness',[55] I argue that these two examples show that this can be applied effectively in different material and discursive contexts and to different types of photographs.

## Networks, Relationships, and 'Circuits' of Feeling

It is becoming increasingly evident that asylums should be considered in terms of networks and relationships. Psychiatric institutions operated within networks of other institutions like workhouses, prisons, and hospitals and also had a place in wider communities and in networks of care involving families and friends.[56] Inside the institution, too, networks were created as patients and staff formed relationships of various sorts with each other. While the concept of a network has been used to reconsider everyday experiences of patients, families and staff, and the practical workings of life inside the asylum, this has not been applied so readily to the idea of forgetting and remembrance. The photographs of both Enid and Hilda make this possible and show that just as approaches within the history of the family can be used to shed light on the history of mental ill-health, so too can histories of family

*photography*.[57] Clearly, a person or persons at the Sanatorium remembered Enid, extracted the magazine image, located her case notes and inserted the clipping amongst them. This act stretched and disrupted temporal and spatial boundaries certainly, but in addition it formed a link, a relationship between Enid the patient and Miss Corisande the classical dancer. The photograph of Hilda, dedicated to Miss L. is more direct evidence of another version of a network, a friendship in this case. Rose describes the 'memberships' that family photographs create; it is these feelings of membership that are activated when things are done with photos – sending to distant relatives, arranging in family groups on the sideboard, up a staircase or in an album, and while carrying out the photo-work of looking and viewing.[58] In giving a photograph of herself to her friend, and regardless of whether her friend received it or not, Hilda sought to create a bond between herself and Miss L. Moreover, her dedication and the scene it describes of two women around a piano in the recreation hall creates the ties of membership experienced by two patients who experienced the Sanatorium at the same time. However, this particular network extended beyond Hilda and Miss L.

Miss L.'s (Cornelia's) case notes reveal that she was a voluntary patient at the Sanatorium for 21 years from 1892-1913. She was very fond of music and a talented pianist; her enjoyment of music is mentioned in the first few lines of her case notes on admission, and the medical officers noted that how to play the piano seemed to be the only thing she could remember how to do. Cornelia's story told in her case notes is one of a long-stay patient, with slowly failing health.[59] However, as well as being friends with Hilda she was also known to Enid. She had accompanied Enid on the piano, who wrote in a letter affixed to her notes: 'I knew Miss L.—— was a genius the moment I heard her play and I had complete proof of it this morning, the way she accompanied me when I sang – because I did not follow the song as it is written'.[60] Thus Hilda's photograph 'rescues from forgetfulness'[61] a web of individual connections between patients and staff which would have been lost if her portrait had not been kept inside the casebook.

As Hirsch argues, the viewer, too, is fully implicated in these networks. However, while for Hirsch it is the 'looks' of familial recognition between viewed and viewer in a photograph that consolidates family relationships and ties, for example, when we see our own facial traits in the photograph of a relative,[62] in the two cases discussed here it is what is *done with and to* the photograph that reinforced ties between the historical actors then and subsequent viewers since. By giving her friend a dedicated and signed photograph of herself, Hilda tapped into what Brown and Phu describe as the 'active emotional circuit between the viewer and the photograph'.[63] 'Circuit' is a fitting term here because it brings us back full circle to remembering and remembrance in several ways. Firstly, the portrait embodies shared memories between two women. Secondly, whoever placed the magazine clipping into the casebook had to have remembered Enid as a patient, bearing in mind that it is possible that remembering was easier for staff in a smaller, more exclusive institution like Holloway Sanatorium. Finally, it was through researching these two highly unusual casebook photographs that the interconnections between the three women, their case notes, and their photographs were revealed.

## Conclusion

Using theoretical and analytical frameworks that have been applied to other types of photograph can help us consider more deeply patient images and the role photography played, not only in casebooks, but also in asylum life. By applying analytical principles from family photography to photographs of patients, we are able to show that in the case of Enid C, Hilda S. and Cornelia L., at least, patients were not forgotten; they were remembered both by staff and by each other. In both cases it is not necessarily the content of the patient images that is relevant here, after all, the casebooks from Holloway Sanatorium and countless other asylums contain many formal or 'unusual' portraits of patients. Rather it is the use that the photographs are put to in this explicitly medical and institutional context that is important. Just as Rose focuses in on what is done to and with family photos to uncover their meaning and significance, it is by considering what was done to and with the photographs of Enid and Hilda that we can begin to provide insight into the way remembrance operated in the Sanatorium. If we had limited ourselves to the confines of the immediate records, what is said about photography in the case notes and in other administrative documents, we would not find many answers. Only by thinking beyond the asylum to consider patient photographs in the wider context of photographic practices more generally can we gain a deeper understanding of not only of how patients were remembered and how they remembered each other, but the role photographs played in that process. Cornelia played the piano for Enid and also for Hilda. Hilda wished to be remembered by Cornelia, she wanted her friend to remember the 'happy times' they had spent together so she gave her a portrait. Enid remembered Cornelia, she wrote about her in her letter, and the medical staff remembered Enid so they kept a magazine feature about her, which also happened to be a photograph. In this way a web or network of photographic exchanges and remembrances developed, between the women in the photographs and between the photographic objects themselves. Just as in the family space women's relationships with their family photos 'articulate absence, emptiness and loss as well as togetherness',[64] so too in the institution.

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[1] Andrew Scull, 'The Insanity of Place', *History of Psychiatry*, 15 (2004), 417-436, 422.
[2] Ibid., 428.
[3] Andrew Scull, *Museums of Madness: The Social Organisation of Insanity in England* (London: Allen Lane, 1979).
[4] Scull, 'Insanity of Place', 425.
[5] Catharine Arnold, *Bedlam! London and Its Mad* (London: Pocket books, 2009), 5.
[6] Peter Bartlett and David Wright eds., *Outside the Walls of the Asylum: The History of Care in the Community 1700-2000* (Athlone Press, 1999); Graham Mooney and Jonathan Reinarz eds., *Permeable Walls: Historical Perspectives on Hospital and Asylum Visiting* (New York: Rodopi, 2009).
[7] Jade Shepherd, 'Life for the Families of the Victorian Criminally Insane', *The Historical Journal*, 63 (2020), 603-32.

[8] Robert Ellis, *London and its Asylums, 1888-1914: Politics and Madness* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 64, nt.177.
[9] The phrase 'lost in the system' is from Ibid., index.
[10] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (trans. Richard Howard) (London Vintage books, 2000, 1st pub. in trans 1981, orig. in French 1980); Annette Kuhn, 'Photography and Cultural Memory: a Methodological Exploration', *Visual Studies*, 23 (2007), 283-292; Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Post-memory* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).
[11] Jennifer Green-Lewis, *Framing the Victorians: Photography and the Culture of Realism* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1996).
[12] Susan Sontag, "Melancholy Objects", in *On Photography* (London: Penguin, 1977), 51-82, 70.
[13] Hirsch, *Family Frames,* 4.
[14] Gillian Rose, 'Family Photographs and Domestic Spacings: a Case Study', *Transactions - Institute of British Geographers*, 28 (2003), 5-18; 8.
[15] There is a large literature addressing the different roles women had and have in photography such as Val Williams, *The Other Observers: Women Photographers in Britain 1900 to the Present* (London: Virago, 1991). For a brief introductory overview see Liz Wells, 'Women and Photography' in *The Oxford Companion to the Photograph* eds. Robin Lenman and Angela Nicholson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
[16] Rose, 'Family Photographs': 12.
[17] Ibid., 7.
[18] See for example Katherine D. B. Rawling, '"The Annexed Photos were Taken Today": Photographing Patients in the Late-Nineteenth-century Asylum", *Social History of Medicine* 34 (2021), 256-284.
[19] Hugh W. Diamond, 'On the Application of Photography to the Physiognomic and Mental Phenomena of Insanity' (1856) reprinted in Sander L. Gilman, *The Face of Madness: Hugh W. Diamond and the Origins of Psychiatric Photography* (New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1976), 19-24, 24.
[20] James Crichton-Browne ed., *The West Riding Lunatic Asylum Medical Reports* (London: J &A Churchill, 1871), p.iv. Emphasis added.
[21] Rawling, "'The Annexed Photos"'.
[22] Ibid; Katherine D.B. Rawling, '"She sits all day in the attitude depicted in the photo": Photography and the Psychiatric Patient in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Medical Humanities* 43 (2017), 99-110.
[23] See ibid and also Rory du Plessis, 'Beyond a Clinical Narrative: Casebook Photographs from the Grahamstown Lunatic Asylum, c. 1890s,' *Critical Arts* 29 (2015), 88-103; Susan Sidlauskas, 'Inventing the Medical Portrait: Photography at the 'Benevolent Asylum' of Holloway, c.1885-1889,' *Medical Humanities,* 39 (2013), 29-37. DOI:10.1136/medhum-2012-010280; Caroline Bressey, 'The City of Others: Photographs From the City of London Asylum Archive,' *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 13 (2011). DOI: http://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.625.
[24] Barbara Brookes, 'Pictures of People, Pictures of Places: Photography and the Asylum' in *Exhibiting Madness in Museums: Remembering Psychiatry* eds. Catherine Coleborne and Dolly Mackinnon (London: Routledge 2011), 30-47, 31. Emphasis added.
[25] Rawling, '"The Annexed Photos"'.
[26] No author, "The Holloway Sanatorium: Opening by the Prince of Wales", *The Standard*, 16 June 1885, issue 19008, 3.

[27] Anne Shepherd, 'The Female Patient Experience in Two Late-Nineteenth-Century Surrey Asylums' in *Sex and Seclusion, Class and Custody: Perspectives on Gender and Class in the History of British and Irish Psychiatry*, eds. Anne Digby and Johnathan Andrews (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2004), 223-248, 227.
[28] Ibid., 228, 231.
[29] Female patients might also be listed as 'gentlewoman' in the casebooks. Shepherd notes that in 1893, 85% of female admissions had no occupation and were 'of good social standing'. Ibid., 232.
[30] Case notes for Enid C., Holloway Sanatorium Case Book Females no. 17: Certified female patients admitted August 1905-March 1907, Wellcome MS. (hereafter WMS.) 5160, 166.
[31] There were no standard rules governing the use of photography in asylums in the period and institutions developed their own practices according to the particular priorities and inclinations of the staff and governing authorities. As such it is impossible to make general claims about patient photography at the time. For detailed discussions of patient photography and of Holloway Sanatorium in particular see Rawling, '"The Annexed Photos"' and Rawling, '"She sits all day"'.
[32] This is the Enid's stage name and not the name she is listed under in the Sanatorium records.
[33] *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, May 29 1909, 13.
[34] See my comparison of different asylum photographs in Rawling, '"The Annexed Photos"'.
[35] The Sanatorium was equipped with its own photographic room in 1889. The Medical Superintendent's Report for the year 1889, recorded in *Fourth Annual Report of Holloway Sanatorium, Registered Hospital for the Insane for the year 1889* (London: John Barker and Co. 1890), 17.
[36] David Mayer, '"Quote the Words to Prompt the Attitudes": The Victorian Performer, the Photographer, and the Photograph', *Theatre Survey*, 43 (2002), 223-251, 227-28.
[37] Ibid., 229.
[38] This is not to say that no other casebook patient photographs were ever either published or viewed by a more 'public' audience; there are examples in which casebook images were published in doctors' medical writing. See Rawling, '"She Sits All Day"', 104.
[39] See ibid. and Rawling, '"The Annexed Photos"'.
[40] For a discussion of newspaper clippings in casebooks see Katherine D.B. Rawling, *Photography in English Asylums, c.1880-1914: The Institutional Eye* (Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming).
[41] Shepherd, 'The Female Patient Experience', 231.
[42] Notes and mounted photograph of Hilda S. (c.1905), Holloway Sanatorium Case Book no. 11 (Certified female patients admitted May 1898-May), WMS.5159, inserted between pp.95-96.
[43] Mounted photograph of Hilda S. (c.1905), Holloway Sanatorium Case Book no. 11, certified female patients admitted May 1898-May, WMS 5157/5159, inserted between pp.95-96, verso.
[44] Case notes for Hilda S., Holloway Sanatorium Case Book Females (Certified female patients admitted February 1904-August 1905), Surrey History Centre (hereafter SHC.) 3473/3/8, 257-262, 257, 262.

[45] Ibid., 257-262; case notes for Cornelia L., Holloway Sanatorium Case Book Females (Voluntary Boarders admitted March 1890 - March 1897), SHC. 3473/3/28, 3-6, 10, 16, 18, 26, 29-30.
[46] Case notes for Hilda S., SHC. 3473/3/8, 257-262. Doctors transcribed extracts of Hilda's 'resumé' as evidence of her delusions and religious excitement on pp.260-61. For insight into the use of patient letters by medical staff see Allan Beveridge, 'Life in the Asylum: Patients' Letters from Morningside, 1873-1908', *History of Psychiatry*, 9 (1998), 431-469, in particular 434-35; Rebecca Wynter, '"Horrible Dens of Deception": Thomas Bakewell, Thomas Mulock and Anti-Asylum Sentiments, c. 1815-1860', in *Insanity and the Lunatic Asylum in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. Thomas Knowles and Serena Trowbridge (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 11-28, 20. For contemporary doctors' views on the handwriting of the insane see G. Mackenzie Bacon, *On The Writing of the Insane* (London: John Churchill and Sons, 1870) and L. Forbes Winslow, *Mad Humanity: Its Forms Apparent and Obscure* (London: C & A Pearson, 1898).
[47] Elspeth H. Brown and Thy Phu, eds., *Feeling Photography* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014), 14.
[48] Hirsch, *Family Frames*.
[49] Rose, 'Family Photographs'.
[50] The role of domesticity and homeliness is discussed widely in the literature on nineteenth-century asylums. A recent study is Jane Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution: Material Life in Asylums, Lodging Houses and Schools in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
[51] Superintendent's First Annual Report for 1886 in First Annual Report of Holloway Sanatorium: Registered Hospital for the Insane for the Year 1886 (London: John Barker, 1887) as cited by Shepherd, 'The Female Patient Experience', 226.
[52] Shepherd, 'The Female Patient Experience', 226. For a discussion of the homeliness of private asylums, including Holloway Sanatorium, see Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution*, 38-61.
[53] See for example the first casebook, Holloway Sanatorium Casebook June 1885-Jauary 1889, SHC.3473/3/1.
[54] Bressey, 'The City of Others'.
[55] Rose, 'Family Photographs', 7.
[56] The connections between different types of Victorian institution were a key finding of revisionist historiography of the nineteenth-century asylum; see for example the collection of essays in Joseph Melling and Bill Forsythe, eds. *Insanity, institutions, and Society, 1880-1914: A Social History of Madness in Comparative Perspective* (London: Routledge, 1999). For a more recent study of the circulation of people around and between different local institutions see Cara Dobbing, 'An Undiscovered Victorian Institution of Care: A Short Introduction to the Cumberland and Westmorland Joint Lunatic Asylum', *Family and Community History*, 19 (2016), 3-16, DOI: 10.1080/14631180.2016.1144957.
[57] David Wright, "Getting Out of the Asylum: Understanding the Confinement of the Insane in the Nineteenth Century", *Social History of Medicine* 10 (1997), 137-155 applies approaches to the history of the family to the question of why the insane were confined.
[58] Rose, 'Family Photographs'.
[59] Case notes for Cornelia L., SHC.3473/3/28, 3-6, 10, 16, 18, 26, 29-30.
[60] Enid C., letter inserted in case notes, WMS.5160, inserted between 165-166.

[61] Crichton-Browne (Ed.), *West Riding Medical Reports* (London: J &A Churchill, 1871), iv.
[62] Hirsch, *Family Frames*, 2.
[63] Brown and Phu, *Feeling Photography*, 13.
[64] Rose, 'Family Photographs', 7.