# Automaton(tik):

In Remembrance of the Patients of the Fort England Psychiatric Hospital

Rory Du Plessis



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'I have raised you to respect every human being as singular, and you must extend that same respect into the past'.

Ta-Nehisi Coates (2015) writing to his son

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#### Foreword

• No pay, no work? This comment was made by James in 1909, a patient at the Fort England Psychiatric Hospital after asylum doctors asked him to resume his unpaid labour at the institution's print shop-he, however, refused to continue without pay. James's comment is one of the few direct quotes by a patient found by Professor Rory du Plessis in the 25 case files, from a collection of 200 files, that were recently located and preserved about long-term white male patients at this facility from the late 1800s to early-to-mid 1900s. James's terse response to those who recorded his words is all the more poignant for what it says about the absence of first-person accounts by psychiatric patients from documentary records. In his memorialisation of words left unrecorded, or unspoken, by people who were patients a century ago, Professor du Plessis evokes the atmosphere, interests, relationships and above all, humanity of psychiatric patients who were too often dehumanised in hospital records, particularly as they grew older, as having lives that were not worth living.

At a time when the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of this institution is being acknowledged, the author of the poetic tributes which follow, respectfully reflect on lives that have so often been unacknowledged in histories of psychiatric institutions: people deemed mad or mentally ill without whom this history would not exist. Far from being of no value, as the medical superintendent of the Fort England Psychiatric Hospital claimed in his writings, their contributions and abilities are artistically reflected upon in Professor du Plessis's skillful use of metaphor, allegory, nature, geography and personal histories of the people remembered here. Most importantly, he acknowledges each patient by name with a succinct account of what is known about these individual patients from the asylum records. This information is then related to imaginative poetic renderings of their travails, memories, dreams and everyday lives, whether based on glimpses of their personhood found in the files or through fictional imaginings of what they thought and experienced. In doing so, the poems that are so thoughtfully crafted by Professor du Plessis through 'dreamwork', show that these people had a life worthy of living far beyond a static, clinical diagnosis. This is so, including when a person's tongue is 'manacled' as with Robert who thought up new words while confined at the Hospital. Or with Juan whose language was recorded as 'unknown', but who is poetically rendered as expressing 'melodies' for whoever might listen. People like Robert and Juan were not 'automaton[s]' as some medical writing implied. They were feeling, thinking, genuine people. By adding 'tik' to the title of his poetry collection, as in 'Automaton(tik)', Professor du Plessis hints at the agency, the activity or movement that a 'tik' suggests. All is not what it appears to be in the medical terminology that was imposed upon psychiatric patients recounted here.

As the author reminds us, collectively their experiences meld together in a way that helps one to understand this history through the humanity of psychiatric patients' past. Such a merging of varied experiences allows one to better interpret their and our own times when thinking of people deemed mad or mentally ill. Part of this humanity includes appreciation that psychiatric patients sought their own forms of healing, as with Albert Henry whose prayer meetings, while institutionalised, prompts a poetic reflection on 'how we will mend the world?' Reaching out to help other mad people as peers is not new, but an old tradition that these poems underline with their insight and compassion.

For another man named Albert, he quite literally sought to mend fellow-patients' sense of self-dignity through his unpaid tailor work, by repairing their clothes as conveyed by poet Du Plessis:

You tended to their brokenness: you mended parts that had become weary and withered, threadbare and tarnished. Still, for others like Marks, who was referred to as a 'quiet soul', he undertook self-care in a world of severely limited options by withdrawing. Perhaps Marks did this as a form of self-protection in a place where this non-English speaker found himself in a world where others made no attempt to understand the language in which he communicated. Professor du Plessis's poetic remembrance of Marks, thus, counters the official verdict which he poignantly describes:

Confronted by their unknowing, the doctors sealed your paper tomb in 1930 with 'He was demented here and unable to give any account of himself'.

Similarly, when commemorating Benatoni, an Italian labourer whose life held little interest to asylum doctors after he stopped unpaid work, the poet raises the issue of respecting what is not known about him as part of what some people, like Benatoni, may have preferred while alive: 'to leave the sacred untouched by my pilgrimage'. In other words, perhaps we should leave well enough alone. For another person, this pilgrimage is encapsulated in one of Arthur's several escapes beyond the institution's walls, beautifully portrayed with the imagery of nature and freedom in a different kind of asylum:

In the cover of darkness, the night bade you to lie and gaze upon its celestial splendour. With the moon planted at your feet, and the stars above your crown, the night was your asylum.

Agency of another kind from within the asylum is evoked by Professor du Plessis's poetic reflections on George, a blind and deaf man whose struggles with accommodations are unknown to us today, but who accessed a world that medical recorders did not expect him to find on his own:

Unaided you found your way around the hospital. Texture was your way finder – your pathways were lit by surface details invisible to sighted people.

When poetically reflecting upon the documentary fragments left about the life of Charles Overend, Professor du Plessis notes how Charles's mother provided money for asylum staff to buy him a birthday cake. This serves to remind us that, however modestly, 'we are celebrants in one another's lives'. This collection of verse is a humble, yet proudly celebratory way of remembering people through poetic tributes to those who deserve to be at the forefront of any such commemoration of the place in which they were confined for the last years of their lives. Charles is also remembered in a poem for savouring memories, savouring a moment worth enjoying:

keep dreaming while trudging through the turmoil of today and tomorrow, may you never forget your moment.

May we also never forget their lives and what these people lived through, even if we know little, if anything, about them. In so doing, Professor du Plessis asks one to be humble in their reflections on this history, as when writing in the introductory poem:

I welcome the fragments like a courtesy from a stranger, and cherish them as a fleeting reminiscence. Don't rush to judgement, nor to label. Instead, pause to reflect in a respectful way. In doing so, remember our own place as interlopers in a world we cannot ever know. This collection of poems is a moving and thought-provoking way of commemorating those whom we will never know but should never forget: patients from the Fort England Psychiatric Hospital. We should remember them at all times whenever recounting the history of this institution, as we should remember all people who were confined in other such places around the world, past and present.

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#### Introduction and Historical Background

The Grahamstown Lunatic Asylum opened on 9 September 1875 in Grahamstown (renamed Makhanda in 2018) on the eastern reaches of the Cape Colony. Built on an abandoned fort, the asylum's grounds soon became home to picturesque lawns, sprawling recreational facilities, immaculate flower gardens, farms for cultivation and pasturage and fruit orchards that encircled buildings of architectural splendour. It is still in use today, but operating under the current name of the Fort England Psychiatric Hospital (the Hospital). In 2025, the Hospital will celebrate its 150th anniversary which establishes it as the oldest South African psychiatric facility that is still in use today. The anniversary prompts us to consider how the Hospital is remembered and memorialised (Wynter, Wallis and Ellis 2023). In the annual reports of the Hospital for the early twentieth century, the aspects of memorialisation focused on the tenure of the medical superintendent, Dr Thomas Duncan Greenlees (1890 to 1907), who was magnanimously praised for his 'wholehearted enthusiasm and an untiring energy' in the leadership of the Hospital (quoted in Du Plessis 2015: 23). Articles in academic journals complement this commendation of Greenlees by saluting the 'spirit' with which he administered the Hospital (The Fort England Mirror 1893: 264). In later decades, the Hospital was remembered as the launching pad for the careers of many of the country's 'best-known' medical superintendents (Minde 1974: 2231). While academic and government publications have celebrated the contributions and achievements of the Hospital's superintendents, the grounds of the Hospital have preserved many of the original nineteenth-century buildings that now stand as prized historical landmarks. Consequently, the heritage of the site is linked to the memorialisation of the contributions made by the superintendents, as well as the preservation of nineteenth-century buildings, however, missing from the site's heritage are the 'experiences and memories' (Steele and Punzi 2024: 9) of the former patients.

As a gesture for us to remember the patients, I composed poems for 25 individuals who were institutionalised in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These individuals were selected from a set of 200 patients, whose case files were recently discovered in one of the Hospital's cabinets and are now in the custody of the Cory Library, Rhodes University (Van Zyl 2018: 3). All the case files refer to white male patients, who were suffering from chronic mental illness and who remained institutionalised until their passing. While it remains a mystery why only these files were stored in the cabinet, and while we must be cognisant of the scope and limitations of research that pertains to such a small sample of patients from the Hospital's heterogeneous patient body, we must also signal the significance of the files in recording the entire period of the patients' institutionalisation: in some instances, spanning five decades. Prior to the discovery of the case files, we only had the Hospital's casebooks, housed at the Western Cape Archives and Records Service, which contained reports from 1890 to approximately 1918.

In investigating the case files, I opted not to follow my previous investigations into the discourses of masculinity and whiteness at the Hospital (Du Plessis 2019, 2024), but chose rather to focus on the lives and experiences of patients who were diagnosed with chronic mental illness. To substantiate my change in focus, while gender studies of madness have become an entrenched theme in historical scholarship (Milne-Smith 2022), there has been very little scholarly attention to chronic madness (Parr 2008). The importance of addressing this topic becomes crucial when we recognise that it featured in many of Greenlees's (1896, 1905, 1907) scientific publications, where he disseminated a dehumanised account of patients with chronic mental illness.

Greenlees delivered a diagnosis of dementia in patients suffering from chronic mental illness when they presented a loss of cognitive ability. In this sense, Greenlees deployed the diagnosis to refer to chronic psychosis in patients from any age group who showed cognitive difficulties (see also Hill and Laugharne 2003). In his publications, Greenlees (1907: xvii

21) presented his patients with dementia as having an 'absence of mind' or to be subsiding into 'fatuous mental degeneration' (Greenlees 1907:20). To this end, when illustrating cases of dementia to members of the medical fraternity, Greenlees (1896: 20) described the patient as having:

a stupid, dazed expression, and his conduct is depraved. He will not speak, he seems deprived of feeling and intelligence; his movements become automatic, and he is generally found standing about with his head hanging down, staring vacantly, and perhaps with saliva dribbling away from his mouth. When questioned he will not answer; his memory seems destroyed; he cares for nothing; his best feelings and emotions are dulled or obliterated altogether.

Here, Greenlees (1896: 20) rendered the patients to have 'permanently deadened' mental faculties in order to underscore that they are unviable and undeserving candidates for therapy. Moreover, in characterising their emotions as wiped out or a 'complete blank', Greenlees (1896: 21) declared that 'external influences' would thus, 'fail to make any impression' on them. Consequently, Greenlees (1896: 21) avowed that the patients are unfit to receive amusements, recreations and entertainments, since it is 'impossible to arouse in these patients a feeling of interest ... or pleasure'.

By presenting patients with dementia as 'hopeless incurables', who are incapable of benefitting from therapy and who cannot experience 'mental pleasure or enjoyment in this life', Greenlees (1907: 22) reasoned that their admittance was a 'burden' on the staff and resources of the Hospital, as well as a burden on the state, who pays for their maintenance. To be rid of this burden, Greenlees (1905: 222) advocated for their removal from the Hospital by sending them to a 'lethal chamber'.

Thus, in Greenlees's published work, we witness the representation of patients with dementia as 'hopelessly sick' (Greenlees 1907: 22) and therefore, they are depicted as dehumanised clinical cases, who neither had the capacity to enjoy life, nor was their life deemed worthy of protecting. An opportunity to counter Greenlees's generalisations and portrayals of chronic illness is possible by investigating the case files to identify contradictory evidence (Du Plessis 2020), as well as to uncover information that is of value in recognising the patients as 'individual human beings who deserve to be understood on their own terms as *people*' (Reaume 2000: 5; original emphasis).

The case files were compiled by the Hospital's doctors and therefore, privileged information that was of use to them, namely charting disease progression, the dispensation of medicine as well as notes pertaining to the mental and physiological state of a patient. Once a patient was diagnosed with chronic mental illness, the doctors' reporting became sparse. They might simply state that there was 'no change' to a patient's mental state, or their reporting would present a spewing of degrading comments that outlined the patients to be 'useless', 'idle' and leading a 'vegetable existence'. To illustrate these features of the doctors' reporting, I turn to Juan's (PR 10360/38) case files:

23.07.09.	No change since 20.7.08.
20.10.09.	Smiling, demented creature - very little use.
20.2.10.	No change; health fair.
18.05.10.	Nothing to report.
22.08.10.	Demented and untidy. Will always be the same.
27.11.10.	In the same demented state – useless. Looks ill but
	seems healthy.
30.2.11.	Nothing to report.
20.11.11.	Just as he was three years ago – untidy but quiet
	dement.
20.6.12.	No change whatsoever in this patient. Keeps fairly
	good health.
5.4.13.	Says nothing and does practically nothing.
8.7.13.	Unchanged.
11.10.13.	Remains unchanging, year after year.
20.1.14.	Nothing to note – he remains useless, quiet and
	silent.
17.6.14.	No change.

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These features of the doctors' reporting became even more pronounced when the men grew older and their health deteriorated. The doctors decried them as 'automatons' and as 'mentally dead' (PR 10360). For most of the men, at the time of their passing, the case files stripped their existence of any value and laid them to an undignified rest with words detailing their infirmity, illness, idleness and incoherence.

While the overwhelming majority of the case file entries dehumanise the patients, there are a handful of words and fragments of information that aid us in appreciating their individuality: their connections with family and friends; their leisure and vocational interests; and their personality and agency. By highlighting this evidence, we can refute Greenlees's (1907: 21) representation of the patients as showing 'an utter want of interest in everything that makes life interesting.' In this way, although these words and fragments offer neither an unmediated account of a patient's voice nor a biography of the patient, they do offer a means to humanise the men.

Apart from the words and fragments that bring into view the men's humanity, the case files identify multiple instances in which patients diagnosed with dementia did not remain in a state of mental incapacity. To enumerate, the men did not follow Greenlees's prognosis of being doomed to live in a perpetual and fixed state of mental vacuity and infirmity. Rather, their chronic condition was characterised by moments of improvement. To this end, I explored the case files for entries in which the men improved in their mental health and demonstrated mental acuity. In focusing on these demonstrations, I seek to reinscribe attributes that Greenlees stripped from their identities. Such a focus shifts our attention away from the 'negative lens' (Reaume 2024: 31) that the diagnosis and prognosis of chronic illness held, towards commemorating the men's lives as meaningful by elaborating on their enriching encounters, accomplishments and personal interests.

My research of the case files resulted in the identification of the fragments that help to restore the humanity of the patients. I used the fragments as source material for poems dedicated to each of the men. These fragments took hold of my thoughts and imagination and led me in 'dreamwork' (Swartz 2018: 293) to contemplate the lives lived and the fullness of the experiences that the men encountered. Thus, while the fragments are historical fact, I embed them into larger fictional narratives that capture my imagined impressions of the men and that seeks to celebrate and keep 'alive ... the humanity of the individuals' (Steele and Punzi 2024: 4).

I have grouped the poetry into two parts. Part I explores the case files for words and fragments that allows one to recognise and appreciate the individuality of the men: how they can be defined as 'distinct, unique individuals with particular and specific characteristics that set them apart from others' (Bogdan and Taylor 1989: 141). Aspects of an individual's personality are the inspiration for the poems of Marks and Timothy, where they rejected the enculturation of the Hospital's standards of conduct by holding onto expressions of behaviour that asserted their self-identity. Another aspect of individuality refers to the expression of likes and dislikes, tastes and preferences (Bogdan and Taylor 1989: 142). Some men would spend their leisure time pursuing their hobbies which included reading (see Joseph), gardening (see Eduardo) and coining new words (see Robert). For Gerhardus and Albert Henry, religious devotion was the cornerstone of their daily lives, while Frederick preferred to spend his time alone in his room. Feelings are the focus of three poems that address the ecstasy of friendship (see John), the frenzy, fear and freedom of an escape attempt (see Arthur) and living without the senses of sight and sound (see George Henry). For four men, the doctors identified them as lost, inaccessible or incomprehensible and thus, their case file entries are a deluge of scornful portrayals. I locate their humanity in their life history before institutionalisation: for Thomas, he was the owner of several books that may offer a glimpse into his interests; for Benatoni, I consider how to honour his birthplace in Italy; for Johannes, I conjure what it meant to live in Beaufort West and lastly, for Juan, I salute his tongue from Buenos Aires.

Part II explores how the men were integral members of the Hospital

or within their family unit (Bogdan and Taylor 1989: 145). For several men, a recurrent theme is how their relatives sought to include them even though they were institutionalised at the Hospital—in the family unit's 'routines and rituals' (Bogdan and Taylor 1989: 145). Families would send cake to celebrate a loved one's birthday (see Charles Overend) while others would send care parcels when a family member was in ill health (see Franz). We also witness family members who eagerly arranged for a loved one's leave of absence from the Hospital so that they could stay with them for some time (see Ben and George Robertson). Even in the last stages of a loved one's life, we see that families were in contact with the Hospital (see Charles Edward) and in one case; a family erected a tombstone in remembrance of a loved one who passed away at the Hospital (see Norman).

For some men, their acts of industrious labour performed at the Hospital made them integral contributors to the optimal running of the institution. Although the Hospital took advantage of patients who could be used as an unpaid workforce, the labour performed by the men acts as a counternarrative to the case file entries where they were diagnosed by the doctors to be 'dements' and consequently believed to be incapable, unintelligible and uninterested (see Albert K., Charles James, Jeremiah). Of interest, in the case of James, we witness him seeking compensation for his labour at the Hospital and when it was denied to him, he went on strike and proclaimed that 'No pay, no work.'

For five of the men, I composed two poems for each of them. In doing so, I wish to remind the reader that the singularity of the individual is not to be regarded as synonymous with a singular narrative. A more substantial study of the case files will offer multiple humanising stories, narratives and sentiments for each of the men.

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In loose folio sheets, seldom tallying over a dozen, an account was given of your life. These sheets unmade you – they tied your existence to a perdition of inertia and catatonia, anguish and abjection. They are a death mask that brazenly cast your life as 'mentally dead'.

Amidst the lines of the folio that lay waste to you, like an army of ants stripping carrion, lies a handful of words with fragments of your story. I welcome the fragments like a courtesy from a stranger, and cherish them as a fleeting reminiscence of a time when my soul sang louder than an orchard of chirping cicadas.

The fragments cause my head to rise up like a trombone from the folios of sorrow to imagine the other wor(l)ds that have gone untold: The plenitude of dreams that roamed on the plains of your slumbering eyelids; The names of family that you engraved into the palms of your hands; Of dashed hopes where tears carved deep furrows into your cheeks; xxiii

Maybe your family heirloom was a smile, passed down from your forefathers, that was greeted by onlookers as rivulets of butterflies whirling in the wilderness.

Your life was a long journey and while Lady Luck did not offer you milk and honey, I do believe that you witnessed an immensity of magic: The friendship, no matter how impossible, between a cat and a fox; The beauty, lasting only for an instant, of harlequin-scaled fish that kafoefel at your feet; A stirring in your solar plexus, that transformed your heart into a swallow swooping and darting in acrobatic flight, when your eyes beheld your beloved for the first time.

Not knowing the details of your life story, I will not write you a eulogy. But, with compassion, I take the fragments, and weave them as precious golden threads into impressions of your spirit to commemorate your life.

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#### PART 1

#### Robert

Deeper you tunnelled; ever inwards you probed to prospect for a word to match your inner world. Yet, the depths of unearthing did not untie your tongue. You bartered its release by bending and plying words, but your tongue remained manacled.

The crusade to unlocking your tongue was sounded when you coined new words. Your tongue's free rein tapped a reef of words with the soul of an *automaton(tik)*: A 'shy fellow who never pokes his nose where not wanted?

Admitted: 27 January 1907 Age: 34 Died: 2 April 1944

During his leisure time, Robert occupied himself with drawing, compiling homemade sketchbooks and coining new words such as *automaton(tik)*.

#### Eduardo

Creeping along the lattice, bearing globes of sunset shades, hanging as festive ornaments, they are cheered by passers-by, and guarded as devotedly as precious opal and jasper.

For you, their sower, the tomatoes, were your rosary – prayers of petition to return to your terra in Tuscany.

Admitted: 29 July 1904 Age: 50 Died: 31 May 1922

Eduardo, an Italian, was lambasted in the case files for being unable to 'speak a word of English'. By 1914, he had learnt a few words of English, but not enough to provide the doctors with insights into his mental state. Eduardo was described as being 'very quiet as a rule', however, he would become 'angry and excited if he thinks anyone is stealing the flowers' he planted. In the following year, Eduardo interested himself 'only with his tomato plant which he takes great pains with'

#### Johannes

To be 'always smiling'

- you may have drawn from a
- well of words
- that was dug
- into your soul
- by life in Beaufort West.
- Here the
- landscape of language
- is contoured by
- metaphor and myth.
- Legends stand
- as proud guardians of truth and virtue, and
- storytellers are the town's key-bearers.
- The tellers weave a
- tapestry of tales from
- generations of flame-to-ember pit gatherings.
- Those at their feet
- gulp up the stories as if they were
- hounds at a watering hole after a herculean hunt.
- The folk arise with lore spun over their tongues:
- Parables of mermaids
- in the desert
- with Pegasus-soaring kudos, and
- tales of praying mantises begetting the hump-backed moon,
- make conversing a
- mouthing of metaphors
- that is as playful as a whirlwind
- and as sharp as a prickly pear on the tongue.

Admitted: 13 April 1909 Age: 47 Died: 16 January 1930

In 1886, Johannes was admitted to the Old Somerset Hospital. By 1892, he was transferred to Robben Island Asylum and thereafter, in 1900 to the Port Alfred Asylum. In 1909, Johannes was transferred to Fort England Hospital. The doctors at the Hospital described him as 'demented' and 'irrecoverable'. Consequently, when it came to reporting on his mental condition, the doctors simply stated that he 'remains the same' or that there was 'no change whatsoever'. Woven between these hollow entries are a few instances in which the doctors mentioned that they found him to be 'always smiling' and when conversing, he would make many references to his hometown of Beaufort West.

#### Albert Henry

Outside in the dark, alone I stand like a mast over a great plain, to offer nightly prayers under the baptism of the Milky Way.

I behold the empyrean orbs that we have looked upon to tell the stories of our gods, a guide to our futures, and to tell of our beginning and past.

But often we forget that we dream under their watch. I look up at them to ask, 'tell me about our dreaming.' Are we summoning wormwood, or do our dreams contain a faint glimmer of how we will mend the world? Admitted: 12 July 1909 Age: 46 Died: 31 March 1929

Throughout his years at the Hospital, Albert suffered from severe epileptic seizures, averaging a dozen a month. In the periods between the seizures, Albert spent his day 'going about contentedly and absorbed in his Bible' and by night, he would hold prayer meetings. Braying at the shutters, gnawing at the door and banging at the glass panes, are winter's pangs to run amok in the inn and to vanquish the flames of the fireplace.

Seated as keepers of the flame are five men at a table. Harnessed to each of their hands is a deck that may hold a chance for them to revel in the folly of a Joker, to be jolly with a Jack, or to titillate over a tryptic.

One fellow, rubbing his hands together as a ruminating cricket, weighs up his hand. In a stoic beat to admit his defeat he drums his fingers and downs his hand.

At his left, a stony-faced soul keeps his secrets close to his chest. His eyes are riveted to the waterwheel of hands flowing over the centre of the table. With kneading-knees, a third man gulping in a breath of oomph, whoops out, 'I won'.

In gusto and holler, the fourth man interjects to dethrone the self-proclaimed victor. Across the table he spans out his hand, as if it was Apollo's chariot pulling the sun across the horizon, and he is declared the champion.

The fifth, bunkers into his chair and bemoans yet another round where he has lost.

I watch these men – drenched in excitement – and think of Albert who delighted in playing cards. I wonder if playing the rounds made his cheeks ripe in rhapsody and if his ears glowed in the table's cheering for his win.

Albert kept himself entertained at the Hospital by playing card games.

#### Marks

The fields of your case file – from your language to the country of your birth – are potholed by blanks. Confronted by their unknowing, the doctors sealed your paper tomb in 1930 with 'He was demented here and unable to give any account of himself.' But, rather than unable, you were unwilling to share your life story.

You, dear Sir – were a quiet soul who seldom spoke, who may have lived in silence and solitude, with memories of family and homeland to gladden your every step, to draw upon an inner heaven that granted you solace and strength, and to feed and sustain your heaven from a ferris-wheel of sweet reminiscences.

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Admitted: 15 December 1900 Age: 27 Died: 26 June 1930

Marks, an immigrant whose knowledge of English was 'strictly limited', was admitted to the Hospital with only his age recorded in the case files. The rest of his biographical information was unknown. In later years, Marks was able to understand what was said to him, but when questioned on his life story and other personal matters, Marks would 'mumble away' in a foreign tongue or remain quiet. This aggrieved the doctors, as they deemed that he was 'apparently ... endeavouring [not] to answer [their] questions'.

### Benatoni

A sacred mountain in Valperga, Italy cradled you at birth: the Sacro Monte di Belmonte. Your childhood bore witness to pilgrims taking devotional steps as they climbed the mountain like a steeple.

As a pilgrimage to your life, I climb a sacred mountain in the Karoo. It holds no promise of a pastoral pilgrimage, no picturesque pastures, no pockets of pastel posies, no morning mist to invite mysticism, no Edenic evangelism.

To journey in the Karoo is to be bedfellows with death, drought and dust. What can easily be mistaken for a diorama of brimstone is the Karoo's camouflage: It conceals its beauty, it denies the domestication of the sacred into Genesis-gardens.

A Karoo pilgrim's journey begins with a prayer to remove deathscape blinkers, to begin to see nature's sanctuaries and shrines.

The footpath I travel on is of eucalyptus bark, resembling the hides of a springbok: it is a loincloth that protects the soil's offspring.

A harmonica is played by the wind as it breathes through hollow branches. I sow my ears to the bush-harp for my lips to sprout lyrics and for my clavicle to rise with earth's rhythms.

The path is padded by dream catchers crafted by thorn trees that shear the sheep when passing by.

Atop a rock is a lamb – only a fortnight old – whose bleating rings above the mountains, and in summoning its mother, consecrates an altar to altruism.

An agora of ancient tortoises is gathered here. My approach stirs a hullabaloo of creeping and shuffling before they transform into stone, and thereby present me with a labyrinth to navigate.

Quills of onyx black and alabaster white lance the path. They invite me to gaze upon the horizon and witness the winged giants that sway like church bells in the wind. With the sun at my back, my shadow walks ahead, it shows me my movements, it stands guard over me and reminds me to leave the sacred untouched by my pilgrimage.

Admitted: 15 December 1900 Age: 39 Died: 1937

On admission to the Hospital, Benatoni was believed to be a 'Greek' who 'speaks a patois' that is 'impossible to decipher'. The doctors bemoaned that he has 'occasional outbursts of violence' and 'does not occupy himself? Several months later, the doctors saluted Benatoni for showing 'considerable mental improvement' as he presented himself as a 'good worker and a quiet, well-behaved man'. By 1908, the doctors established that he was an Italian and he was praised as the 'best worker in the place'. Although he was identified as an Italian, there was very little interest in securing translators to conduct interviews to enquire about his life story and mental wellbeing. Rather, the doctors' interests were focused on reporting on Benatoni's industrious labour where he 'polishes everything that will polish and goes at it thoroughly from morning to night'. In 1909, he ceased working and subsequently received the doctors' scorn for being idle. Three years later, he was diagnosed to be 'demented' and this resulted in repetitive case file entries, from 1914 to 1919, where he was described to be 'idle and untidy'. On Benatoni's passing in 1937, the superintendent contacted the Italian Consulate to request assistance in tracing his birth records and relatives. The Consulate replied that Benatoni was born in Valperga.

# Joseph

With your fingers

trailing down the spines, your eyes searched for an invitation to live life anew, discover new horizons, and be granted sight from another's eyes.

On accepting the bid from a lucky volume, you would be bound together. It would be your chapel for morning devotion, you will cradle it before bed. It will touch you, your eyes will become porous to its expanses, and in transforming you, it will be the cartographer to map your new-found self.

In turn the inviter the book that called you will be released from its ribcage-shelves, and the dust that took possession of its jacket will be blown away by your breath. The book will take root over your heart like a breastbone, its pages will once more look upon the sun, and it will read the stories in your eyes. Admitted: 9 August 1899 Age: 23 Died: 23 August 1929

Joseph spent his leisure time reading books.

# Timothy

You were labelled lazy and idle for not offering your labour. But, you, protesting, withheld your hands for payment. Vowing to remain unemployed at the hospital, you ventured to earn a living by working for the railway.

You were indifferent to daily life at the hospital. Nevertheless, you were heedful of the world at war. In later years, you were 'au fait with all current events'.

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You were branded unsociable with your fellow patients. Yet, you wrote letters to ask what had become of your wife and children.

You wanted to live as a citizen not a patient, a decision that curtailed your encounters at the hospital, But it was the life you once lived and the hope to return to it, that nourished your being. Admitted: 25 June 1899 Age: 46 Died: 25 September 1926

In the early 1900s, Timothy was described to be 'enfeebled mentally' and 'demented'. However, in 1915, the declarations made by the doctors were no longer valid, since Timothy was correctly orientated with date and time, he also knew that 'there is a big war going on at present'. Shortly thereafter, he wrote to find out the whereabouts of his family. Although he was correctly orientated and coherent, Timothy refused to employ himself at the Hospital and remained 'unsociable and rather indifferent' to engaging in the activities of the Hospital. In 1919, he was commended for being 'correctly orientated, shows no defect in memory and can give a fairly clear account of himself. Has a fair knowledge of current events.' Along these lines, Timothy's case files demonstrate that while he was 'dull and apathetic' to life at the Hospital, his memory and interest in the outside world was 'well preserved'. Two years before his death, the doctors marvelled that for his age of 71, his 'memory and orientation' was 'fairly good'.

# Arthur

Every inhale bludgeoned the solar plexus. Every exhale a corporeal prayer you chanted to forego the pain: to be a runaway *veldfire* over *koppies*, across *kraals* and along *kloofs*;

to dart among the aloes and appeal to them to make your pursuer's path a noose of hadean pokers and to ambush their hunt with assegai-tipped thorns;

to sidle and sneak past the banshee-shrieking *kiewiets* and pray that they would not sound a siren of your whereabouts;

to run to the shores of the ocean and ask the waves to whisper, between their breaths of bawling and bellowing, where freedom resides; to run until nightfall enshrouds you in a silhouette. In the cover of darkness, the night bade you to lie and gaze upon its celestial splendour. With the moon planted at your feet, and the stars above your crown, the night was your asylum.

Admitted: 29 December 1904 Age: 28 Died: 24 March 1921

In 1906, a year after Arthur was described by the doctors to be 'fatuous ... and incapable of any form of mental effort; movements slow and automatic,' he successfully engineered and carried out an escape. Although Arthur was apprehended and brought back to the Hospital, for over a decade, he was 'always on the lookout for a chance to escape' and managed to do so on several occasions. In his escape attempt of 1907, he eluded the authorities for close to a week.

# Frederick

Four corners, for many, would have been life in a prison cell:

a solitary sentence, a dying sentence – awaiting the final exhale of life.

Four corners, for you, became a universe of curiosities and a hobby room of creativity.

Photos and postcards of places where the chambers of your heart split like a pomegranate in passion and fervour.

A tent canvas, knapsack and haversack: were they keepsakes from adolescent adrenalin-arousing-adventures? Where alone atop alpic-apexes, flying ants worshipped your light as their moon-god.

A shofar was your gramophone, it announced your spirit's freedom to voyage in distant lands, for your ears to suckle on symphonies and a babel of tongues to cradle you with their melodies.

What of the complete Highland costume in the cupboard? Was it a portal to your clan?

Where a chosen few invited to view your universe, or was it your holy of holies, where your imagination dwelt?

Whether a showcase or sanctum, you protected it from the profane: three rat traps kept your belongings from ruin.

Admitted: 22 July 1901 Age: 51 Died: 14 January 1932

In 1912, Frederick was moved into a single room along with his library of over 330 books and numerous other belongings. His room became a 'collection of all sorts of things' and he would spend most of his time in his room occupied with reading, drawing, painting, doing arithmetic and writing. He was described to resent being interfered with, as he wished to 'live in his own sphere ... undisturbed'

# Gerhardus

Head bowed, eyes shut, you delivered daily prayers of grace. They say that some were sung as hymns and psalms, but how might you have delivered the rest?

Did the injustices of the hospital become your pulpit to speak out, as a prophet, against abuses?

Were you a poet who praised the romance of the natural world? Wonderstruck by the birds that raced with the clouds; bewitched by jackals, owls and bats that made your nocturnal gazing a gothic tale. By lending your ear to the wind, were you a scribe to its travels?

If Samaritan in spirit, did you plead for the despairing to find hope, the deserted to receive companionship, the crestfallen to rise again?

Maybe your prayer was a silent petition for sufficient grace to accept the suffering of life, and to never forget that life has meaning.

Admitted: 9 July 1906 Age: 28 Died: 15 March 1949

Gerhardus spent his time in religious devotion. He would read the Bible, offer 'graces in hymn and psalm after each meal' and attend church services on Sundays. He confirmed to the doctors that he was 'perfectly satisfied living' at the Hospital, as long as he had 'his books on religion and is allowed to attend services and sing his grace aloud for ten minutes every day'.

# John

Concaving, pulsing and quaking: skin becoming seismic waves.

Levitating and whirling in amorphous proportions: one scarcely recognises the body caught in the vortex.

Silver fins hurtling across the sky, making for goggle-eyed observers and a mind harpooned by ecstasy.

The sea's creatures hiss shrilly as Triton's army charges forth.

Otherworldly it is to swim with a school of fish.

And otherworldly it is to look into your eyes. They offer me seven seas of wonderment. Admitted 25 March 1900 Age: 38 Died: 13 January 1930

John commenced his institutionalisation in 1887 when he was admitted to the Old Somerset Hospital. Thereafter, he was transferred to Robben Island Asylum in 1888, Valkenberg in 1891 and finally to the Hospital in 1900. In the case files of the Hospital, the doctors portray a dehumanised account of John where they describe him solely in terms of mental infirmity. The first and only instance in which the Hospital's case files present a glimpse into his personhood is when the doctors outline that he started a friendship with another patient. John and his friend would spend every day together. Once they were moved to different wards and thus, separated, John was likely very distraught and depressed, as he was described as walking about 'slipshod and slovenly with hands in pockets and quite unobservant.' In the years thereafter, the case files slanderously presented him to be 'speechless and useless' and a 'dement who works with less intelligence than an ox displays.'

#### George Henry

Stripped of sight and hearing, the outside world was not shut to you. Through your sense of touch, you unlocked the world and communed with others.

Unaided, you found your way around the hospital. Texture was your way finder – your pathways were lit by surface details invisible to sighted people.

By the touch of others, you received instructions. Your hands transformed into a vocabulary – its surface no longer a whole, but transformed into quays to receive words.

Touch as location, touch as language, this sensorial feat was a miracle to behold. Admitted: 17 September 1908 Age: 54 Died: 8 May 1934

On admission to the Hospital, being both blind and deaf, the doctors described George as a 'poor, demented creature' who is unable to do anything for himself. In the face of such deriding statements made by the doctors, they were astonished with the progress George made at the Hospital. In 1914, the doctors marvelled at how George found his way about the facility unaided, and in 1925, they were amazed that he was capable of 'understanding simple things required of him by touching him'. At the age of 78, George still managed to do 'everything for himself even finding his bed and lavatory unaided'.

#### Thomas

I explored the fields and forests of text that you harvested for your thoughts. Your imagination was Prometheus by the pages of your storehouse; its liver eaten every day, regrowing every night. Stories of great cities propelled your curiosity. Your library provided you with a house of friends when there were none at your side. It lets me glimpse the fancies of your mind's eye and the architecture of your dreaming.

Admitted: 17 September 1908 Age: 61 Died: 30 June 1924

Thomas was described as jovial, cheerful and have a 'pleasant disposition', however, he was 'amnesiac' and thus, unable to give an account of himself. While we do not have an account of Thomas's life story, we do have an inventory of books that he previously had in his possession, which offers us a glimpse into his interests, fancies and curiosities. Amongst others, the inventory included: A Crimson Crime (Fenn 1899), In the House of his Friends: A Novel (Savage 1901), The Raiders: Being Some Passages in the Life of John Faa, Lord and Earl of Little Egypt (Crockett 1894), The Book of Snobs (Thackeray 1856), and The Stolen White Elephant (Twain 1882).

# Juan

It yearned to find a suitor, denying silent slumber, rejecting the abstinence of mutism, it mumbled and murmured, it cried out for someone to respond to its pleas.

Never did your 'unknown tongue' cease wishing to find an interlocutor worthy of its melodies.

Admitted: 19 December 1900 Age: 25 Died: 23 August 1935

Juan, originally a cattleman from Buenos Aires, was 'inaccessible' to the doctors, as he spoke in an 'unknown tongue'. From his admission and throughout his entire institutionalisation, the doctors pronounced that Juan 'uttered no coherent word', however, they did concede that 'it is possible that he understands no other language but his own'.

# PART 2

#### Ben

Meet me in the frangipani alley where the cascading petals are a *rangoli* of immaculate white and specks of yellow as jubilant as ghee.

Barefoot we dance to bathe our soles in beauty. We stomp, we tread, we press into the petals as if we could imprint the *rangoli* into our souls.

With pollen-sodden feet, we step outside the *rangoli*. Our spoors of glistening gold bestow a midas touch upon the ground.

Our reunion an alchemy in the sand and my heart a dervish dancer. Admitted: 24 November 1917 Age: undocumented Died: 17 June 1935

Ben expressed a 'longing for the outside world' and was able to stay with his family on several occasions. Ben's visit to his family in 1923 generated several letters of exchange between Ben's brother, JP, and the superintendent. In the first letter, JP asks the superintendent if 'it is possible to let my brother Ben come out to me on a visit' JP wrote the letter with 'anticipation' and expectation that the superintendent would agree to his request. The superintendent granted Ben's leave into the care of JP. In the second letter, JP reported to the superintendent that Ben was 'doing very well on the farm, being always busy doing something' and had visited his other brothers. On Ben's return to the Hospital after six months away, the doctors reported that he was restless, as he wished to return home.

# George Robertson

We seldom wish for the day to come when our tomorrow will not be.

Lucky are those who find an ennobled passing at home where our sighs are met by a hosanna of hands, a kiss anoints our forehead, and the rickety masts of our palms find anchor in the embrace of our beloveds.

Our last sight is of those who are entrusted to inter our body and lustrate our name.

Our last thought is to know we will be missed.

The final crescendo of our heart – a maestro to an ensemble of weeping witnesses. Admitted: 3 July 1909 Age: 38 Died: 4 June 1937

During his discharge on a six-month leave of absence to his sister, George passed away. He was 66 years old. Some are born with rhythm in their bodies – they dance by following the beat of music.

Some are born with dancing in their souls – they dare to dance with no music. A stroll becomes a swirling-serpentine-sway, a staircase beckons a time to tap dance, a dinner party is an occasion to perform a cabaret of movements, and when I am greeted by such a person, their grin sweeps across their body in jiggles and gyrations, their hand echoes around my body and I am cajoled into performing a duo-pirouette. I too, feel my soul is dancing.

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Despite his 'shy and retiring disposition', George delighted in attending the dances held at the Hospital.

# **Charles Overend**

Your passage around the sun was not forgotten by your kin. They sent you a birthday cake dressed in white icing, it doubled as a christening garment – a reminder that your soul is named and known by heaven and earth.

In lighting your candles, the nurses were enkindled to become merrymakers who transformed the wards into a carnival of bunting colour, decked the table with a purple parade of agapanthus and sang a chorus of joyful tunes.

The cake, the humble token, the embroiderer of hearts reminding us that we are celebrants in one another's lives. Admitted: 2 November 1904 Age: 36 Died: 4 August 1935

For several years, Charles's mother would send money for the superintendent to purchase an iced cake for his birthday. The superintendent fulfilled her wishes and reported to her that Charles 'enjoyed the cake very much'.

Tell me about that moment, the one that sustains you when you are confronted by hardship, the one that reminds you of your grit, the one where you summited your mountain. Yes, it is the moment that you attained your goal. Yes, this is the treasure that reigns in the kingdom of your life story.

I beg of you, please, in earnest interest for your steadfast endurance to keep dreaming while trudging through the turmoil of today and tomorrow, may you never forget your moment. Tend to its memory, share it as a personal parable, write it upon your eyes to see with grace, and may it transform your eyelashes into gills to breathe in a life of joy and wonder.

The doctors praised Charles as a model patient: 'Quiet and well behaved. A fairly good worker. Eats and sleeps well? While they praised his identity and behaviour as a patient, they were indifferent to conversations with him, as he never tired of sharing with them his accomplishments on the cricket field.

# **Charles Edward**

... 'it is feared he will not recover'. On reading this in the letter, were you shot by arrows of agony?

Were there wailers to offer you an embrace of beatitudes? Neighbours to catch your tears as precious pearls? Family members to bathe your throat in *bossie* brews to wash away the gruff and grating of grief? A young child, innocent of death, with the smile of a cherub to be the doorkeeper?

When the mourners departed, a candle joined you in a private vigil. With every flicker, you recalled a memory of Charles that you would rear and cherish in your storytelling of his life.

As the night grew longer, with the aid of the coruscating light, you searched for the flotsam of Charles's dreams and promised to fulfil them. Admitted: 18 April 1896 Age: 49 Died: 18 July 1925

In the early 1900s, Charles was permitted to visit his family twice a month. By the 1920s when his ill health prevented him from leaving the Hospital, the superintendent's letters to his sister kept the family updated as to his health and wellbeing. In July 1925, after more than a year of suffering from renal and cardiac disease, Charles's health rapidly deteriorated. On 17 July, the superintendent wrote to inform the family that he collapsed the previous evening and that 'it is feared he will not recover.' The next day, Charles passed away.

# **Charles James**

Seated at your chair, with avian arched necks and chins pointing to the sky, they exposed their jugulars to your blade.

They trusted you with their lives while you shaved their chins, sculpted their whiskers and groomed their moustaches, so that they – like kingly strelitzias – could hold their heads high as crowned gentleman.

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They arose from your chair with lumps in their throats, for you roused them to see the dignity of their being.

Admitted: 31 August 1908 Age: 30 Died: 27 July 1954

In 1909, the doctors pronounced that Charles was evidently 'drifting into dementia,' as he was in a lethargic state, 'interests himself in nothing' and 'careless of his personal appearance'. However, this was no longer the case in the 1920s when Charles worked as the Hospital's barber for the patients. He took 'pride in his work' and was 'tidy and neat in his personal attire'.

# Franz

A parcel arrived for you. Its contents, sent in the hope it would give you 'a little pleasure'.

Such mystery contents, with promises of pleasure, incited a razzmatazz in the hospital. Whispers crept along the wards and scuttlebutts sprinted in the passageways with tales of the contents being potent potions.

The parcel came with instructions for its contents to be given to you in 'regular amounts'. It was your daily communion, and each taking transformed your mouth into an enchanted cardamom pod:

a finch – flinging flirting flashing about – is the tongue when frolicking with sweets, 45

with crumble and buttery dissolve biscuits behave like quicksand,

by strokes of chocolate the palate is painted as a temple's cupola.

One bite was the offering; but it gifted you a moment where you welcomed pleasure as a seraph's visitation.

Admitted: 25 May 1900 Age: 29 Died: 24 May 1952

In October 1947, the superintendent notified Franz's niece that Franz had sustained a serious injury. She thanked the superintendent for informing her and proceeded to enquire about Franz's health, as well as if 'there is any little comfort he is able to enjoy ... and I will do my best for him'. The superintendent replied that Franz 'would be able to enjoy eatables such as biscuits'. The niece heeded the superintendent's recommendations and sent Franz a parcel containing:

2 packets of biscuits, 3 slabs of chocolate (different sizes) and some other sweets ... I shall be very grateful if you will kindly see that these are given out ... in regular amounts. I shall endeavour to send a parcel now and then, and hope they will give him a little pleasure.

# James

The words of the hospital took flight. Your work at the printing press gifted them wings.

Some, were oil lamps that lit the nurses' path in caring for your bedridden brethren.

Some, clasped by the patients as precious scrolls, promised an evening line-up of spellbinding entertainment.

Others, migrated into public homes, carrying appeals to support the Christmas cheer of the children who knew the hospital as their only home.

Admitted: 21 July 1905 Age: 47 Died: 31 October 1924

Shortly after James was admitted to the Hospital, he started working in the printing room. The Hospital's press was responsible for printing the nursing guidelines, the programmes for the entertainment evenings and the *Fort England Mirror*—the in-house periodical that informed the 47

public of the Hospital's activities, as well as soliciting public philanthropy to support the pauper patients.

James did all the Hospital's printing 'without any help,' as he was 'very reserved and resents the presence of others' in the printing room. By 1907, James no longer offered his labour for free, as he was fond of receiving a 'beer for any work he does'. A year later, he ceased working in the printing room, saying that he 'won't work for nothing'. In 1909, the doctors requested him to return to his work in the printing room but he rejected their offer, stating 'No pay, no work'.

## Jeremiah

During your reign, did you instate a regiment that optimised service with military precision?

What o'clock were you called into service?

Serving hundreds of diners thrice daily required you to wade through a sea of tables and keep the turmoil of the kitchen from surging into the dining hall.

In the hours before the doors opened, the hall was your meditative space: Laying the tablecloths was to cast a net out into the sea to capture a haul of dreams to live the day by.

Admitted: 30 January 1896 Age: 24 Died: 16 June 1941

In his first few years of institutionalisation, Jeremiah was decried as taking 'no interest in anything' and showing signs of 'mental enfeeblement'. However, in 1905, once he started to work in the dining hall, he was described as industrious and very useful. Jeremiah continued to work in the dining hall until 1915.

## Albert K.

They came to you dressed in old wineskins. You tended to their brokenness: you mended parts that had become weary and withered, threadbare and tarnished.

Through your tailoring, they shed their downcast eyes and forlorn faces and no longer did they suffer the indignity of garments in tatters.

Admitted: 10 November 1907 Age: 45 Died: 24 November 1921

Albert offered to mend, patch and tailor the other patients' clothes.

Under the branches of the sacred Ash tree, I watch its leaves fall and I begin to wonder if this is what it looks like when angels drop a feather – auburn and amber sails that glimmer in the air until they offer up their glory to the ground.

Alighted upon the Ash's balding branches is a monastery of chanting black birds and sparrows. Truly, their chanting must praise the *garten*'s gospels for this is their graceland in the ides of winter – they reside here, they do not migrate.

Wagging tails – as if they are water-hounds – is a waddling of ducks who forage among the leaves for acorns. At their jabbering, I giggle, at their bold attempts to hold themselves in stature, like the classical statues that are mounted in the *garten*, I can only chuckle. But, when they take flight, with the finesse of a soprano's voice rising in a *sanctus*, it is their chance to quack a ruckus of tee-hee-hees at me.

And,

when the sky offers down-like snowflakes, we all look up to receive their kisses on our cheeks.

Never is one to hurry-along through the *gartens* of Germany, for how could one pass-by on the chance to be awe-struck?

Maybe Albert, too, took up the invitation to stream along the *gartens* of his homeland to drink up astonishment. Maybe he too learnt to kneel before the Ash, bow his head at the chanting of the birds, and in gladness smile at the jibber-jabber of the ducks.

Around 1904, Albert arrived in the Cape as a merchant from Germany.

#### Norman

Generations of stray dogs nurse their pups in the shade you provide.

Between reaping the fields for critters and grains, birds rest their wings on the perch you offer.

The seedlings, planted near your lot have grown into colossal centenarians and with their branches your sky is adorned.

Pansies fluttering in the wind are the tails of rabbits as they flirt like coy lovers on the grounds of your eternal erf.

Autumn offers you wreaths and blankets your hallowed ground.

Spring presents you with *boutonnières* of wildflowers rooted in earthy ballads.

Winter's moonlight dresses your stone in jasmine-white shrouds.

The zephyr of summer coos and chimes for you as it capers along the crypts.

In the recesses of your inscribed epitaph, lichens paint like abstract expressionists.

Every sunset – a blazing pyre to your life.

When your family stopped visiting your headstone, it was nature's turn to enshrine you.

Admitted: 12 February 1894 Age: 26 Died: 16 January 1923

After sending a telegram informing Mr O. that his brother, Norman, had passed away, the superintendent sent a follow-up letter. In the letter, the superintendent stated that he had arranged with a local undertaker to give Norman a 'reasonable private funeral', as he did not think that Mr O. would want Norman to be 'buried as a pauper'. In Mr O's reply, he was pleased that Norman received a private funeral. Sometime later, Mr O. wrote to the superintendent asking to be 'put ... into communication with a monumental mason', as he was 'anxious' to erect 'a headstone to [his] brother's memory'. The superintendent obliged by recommending a mason 'of repute' who could meet his 'wishes in every way'.

The muse lives within us. It gifts us the meditation of a poet and an Ariadne thread to craft otherworldly and whimsical fantasias. It washes over our mind to become a floodplain for the never ceasing creation of untraveled lands. Our dreaming may be as bold and exuberant as a Baroque opera, or a lattice of tender words that is laced upon our hearts.

When we awake, is it not a pure delight to share this transfiguration of the heart and mind to dreaming?

The doctors believed that Norman was on a 'downward course' both mentally and physically. Yet, while they were reporting on his 'deterioration', they also noted that he made himself 'useful' in the wards and was an 'expert' at playing billiards. While the doctors appreciated Norman's labour at the Hospital, they were rather irritated by him running 'about telling everyone of a wonderful dream which amused him highly'.

## Glossary

Bossie:	bush (Afrikaans)
Boutonnières:	buttonhole (French)
Gartens:	gardens (German)
Kafoefel:	playful cuddling and kissing (Afrikaans)
Kiewiets:	crowned lapwing or crowned plover, a common bird in South Africa (Afrikaans)
Kloofs:	passes between mountains (Afrikaans)
Koppies:	small hills (Afrikaans)
Kraals:	enclosures for cattle or sheep (Afrikaans)
Rangoli:	Art form in the Indian subcontinent where patterns are created on the floor using flowers
Veldfire:	wildfire (Afrikaans)

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Albert Henry	PR 10360/189
Albert K.	PR 10360/111
Arthur	PR 10360/73
Ben	PR 10360/10
Benatoni	PR 10360/35
Charles Edward	PR 10360/15
Charles James	PR 10360/121
Charles Overend	PR 10360/71
Eduardo	PR 10360/68
Franz	PR 10360/29
Frederick	PR 10360/45
George Henry	PR 10360/126
George Robertson	PR 10360/187
Gerhardus	PR 10360/90
James	PR 10360/82
Jeremiah	PR 10360/13
Johannes	PR 10360/168
John	PR 10360/25
Joseph	PR 10360/21
Juan	PR 10360/38
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In 2025, the Fort England Psychiatric Hospital will celebrate its 150th anniversary. This milestone marks the Hospital as the oldest South African psychiatric facility that is still in use today. To help us remember the patients, I composed poems for 25 individuals who were institutionalised in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The 25 individuals form part of a larger set of 200 patients whose case files were recently discovered in one of the Hospital's cabinets and are now in the custody of the Cory Library, Rhodes University. All the case files pertain to white male patients who were suffering from chronic mental illness and who remained institutionalised until their passing. In investigating the case files, I discerned that as the men grew older and their health deteriorated, the doctors' reporting declared them to be 'mentally dead'. At the time of their passing, the case files stripped the men's existence of any value and laid them to an undignified rest with words detailing their infirmity, illness, idleness and incoherence.

To restore the humanity of the men, as well as to memorialise their lives, I investigated their case files to find fragments of information that aid us in appreciating their individuality: their connections with family and friends; their leisure and vocational interests; and their personality and agency. I used these fragments as inspiration for writing my poems. Thus, while the fragments are a historical fact, I embedded them into a larger fictional narrative that captures my imagined impressions of each individual.

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