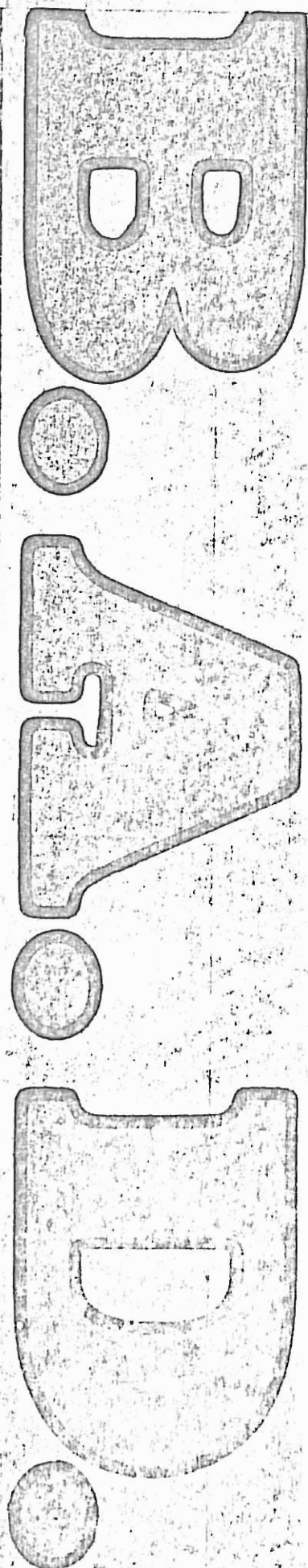


Special Fall Music Supplement



November 14, 1972

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Complimentary

Wiswall Hospital: Shock Therapy Abuse

By Anita Harris

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According to a recent report commissioned by the State Mental Health Department, no accurate records have yet been compiled concerning the deleterious effects of ECT. But incidences of suicide, long-term memory loss, and unforeseen personality changes have long been common knowledge in the psychiatric community. And while many psychiatrists question the use of ECT in the first place, even shock advocates agree that shock shops dispense the treatment far too freely and may be harming patients. Shock shops have been allowed to flourish, the investigation revealed, in the absence of professional standards or state power to regulate treatment.

The investigation included an undercover visit to Walsall Hospital in Wellesley, a particularly notorious example; discussions with patients there and in private doctors' offices, interviews with psychiatrists, state mental health administrators, lawyers, social workers and electroshock personnel.

One Patient's Story

Jane Smith (a pseudonym) is a patient who tried to kill herself last month after she received several hundred shock treatments at a private hospital. Most reputable

doctors would not recommend more than twelve. While it cannot be proven that the treatments themselves led to her attempt, her condition could hardly be called improved.

Jane Smith sought professional help when she found herself overcome by a severe depression. In such depressions, often associated with menopause, patients withdraw into themselves. They may stop eating and sleeping and even become suicidal. When psychoanalysis failed to help, she heard

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that electroshock promised rapid recovery from depression and found herself a doctor to prescribe it and a hospital to administer it.

Unluckily for her she found Walsall, a Wellesley Hills hospital flippantly described by a prominent ECT advocate who does not send patients there, as a place where "they figure that if twenty treatments are good, then two hundred are better."

At first, the treatments seemed to help, Jane Smith's lawyer said. Her anxiety lessened and she felt a lot

better between treatments. But the effects seemed to wear off after awhile, so her physician ordered more frequent treatments. By the time she got herself out and found a lawyer, she'd had about two hundred treatments, her doctors agreed. Two weeks later came the suicide attempt. Her lawyer reported that while Jane Smith was in another hospital recovering, her psychiatrist contacted her suggesting she undergo more shock treatments.

(Michael Dasso photo)



Shock Therapy...

(Continued from page 17)

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Even so, doctors were reluctant to publicly criticize other doctors' treatment practices they privately questioned, and mental patients are rarely comfortable about speaking out.

Every psychiatrist interviewed said he had "heard stories" about Wiswall and "knew of" or had "heard of" patients who had been treated there. But none admitted to actually seeing these patients. Robert Kaplan, Deputy Mental Health Commissioner in charge of licensing said he had received no "official complaints" but that he had "heard of complaints."

One shock advocate suggested there were no complaints because "all the patients are cured." But Kaplan acknowledged the possibility that patients don't know how or where to complain, feel ashamed to confess that they have been treated for mental illness, or are in such bad shape they're not capable of filing complaints. Kaplan said that in the absence of complaints, the state can take no legal action.

But, in spite of the lack of direct evidence, much of the psychiatric community admits that Wiswall is a problem institution. The hospital was exposed but not named in the Boston Globe this summer as a place where adolescents

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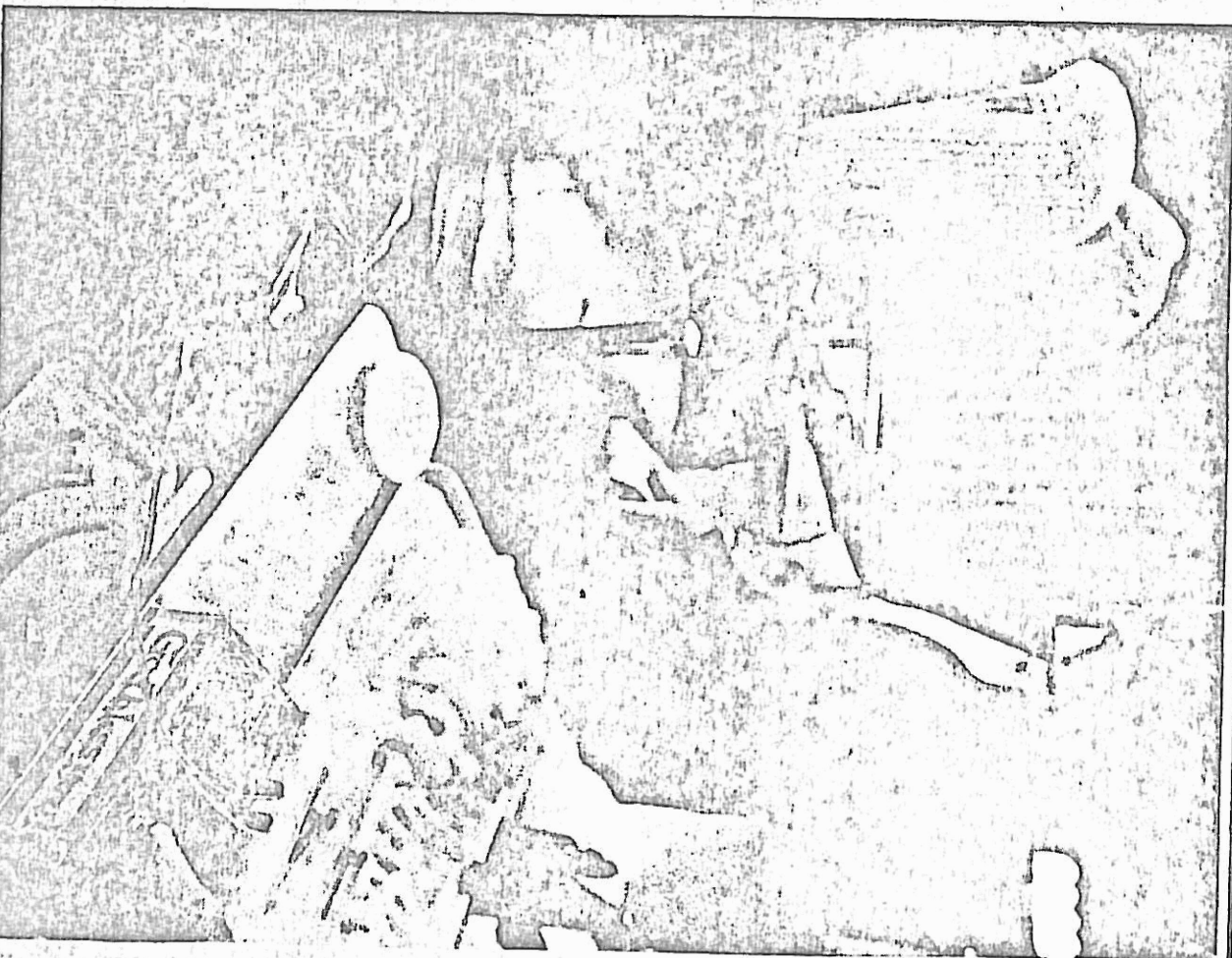
A psychiatrist at the renowned McLean's Hospital denounced Wiswall as "a place where they give shock to every patient. I don't approve of giving shock to every patient."

And psychiatrist Leo Alexander, a well-known shock treatment advocate who has been criticized himself for overadministering shock, called Wiswall a "thorn in our side." When I described a patient I met at Wiswall without naming the hospital, he spontaneously identified the place.

Patients pay \$60 a day and an additional \$25 per shock treatment, according to Deputy Commissioner Kaplan. These rates are comparable to those of other hospitals which use a good deal of shock, but considerably less than hospitals like McLean's, which shocks only around 5% of its patients, according to McLean's director Francis DeMARNEFFE MD. One argument used by psychiatrists for ECT is that it's cheap. Working people who feel they cannot afford to take time off from work or pay for the lengthy sessions required for psychoanalysis often seek out shock therapists for short-term relief. By alleviating their symptoms, shock allows patients to continue their lives and return for treatments now and then when they feel they need them.

Patients are encouraged to undergo ECT rather than other forms of therapy by medical insurance companies. Blue Cross will pay for shock treatment but not psychotherapy, and will pay a total of only \$300 a year for inpatient psychiatric treatment.

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Shock Therapy...

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Inside Wiswall

The four-building hospital has the outward appearance of a colonial estate. There is no identifying nameplate or sign, so one must know the street number to find the place, in its exclusive, treelined location in Wellesley. As one approaches on a long, L-shaped drive, the main building, a white, three-story frame house with shutters, comes into view. I was later informed that the less manageable patients are kept in the main house. There is also a new two-story brick administration building, where doctors hold daily office hours for outpatient shock treatments, and a doctor's residence, where two families live full time. A second building for patients reopened recently to combat complaints of overcrowding in the main building, according to Assistant Commissioner Kaplan. It is located across the driveway

from the doctors residence. The grounds are beautifully kept and set off by trees for privacy.

Inside, the residences, which can accommodate fifty patients, looked like any college dormitory. The first floors were fairly plush, with rugs, sofas, lounges and bored-looking patients and nurses sitting around watching television. Upstairs, the institutional accommodations were tackier — uncarpeted linoleum floors, dull pastel walls and cheap orangey chenille bedspreads.

At the time of my visit, it was clear Wiswall had improved since a surprise pre-breakfast inspection by the State Mental Health Department inspection team last year. At that time, the Globe reported, Wiswall was cited for using restraints for patients who were not potentially harmful to themselves or others and sloppy nursing procedures in regard to medication and cleanliness. There had been no lockers or closets for patients' clothes, and there was overcrowding to the point where patients flopped on whatever bed or cot happened to be available.

I was shown two unused restraint rooms, which, with brown bedspreads and emptied of equipment, looked unforboding enough. I was assured by a hospital employee that Wiswall was "Very careful now" about using restraints. I was also informed that in the main building, all doors lock from the outside, even those leading from hallways to the stairs. According to Kaplan, the Wiswall administration has been cooperative in making the physical changes suggested by the state, has installed pay telephones, and established regular visiting hours.

Most of the patients, mainly women (menopausal depression is a major reason for ECT prescription), sat staring or watched television. Those who walked appeared zombieish, eyes glazed.

The late Sylvia Plath described her impression of ECT patients in her novel *The Bell Jar*. She received ECT at Wiswall in 1953. Plath calls the hospital "Walton," and recalls waiting for her first shock treatment.

"I focused more closely, trying to pry some clue from their stiff postures. I made out men

and women, boys and girls who must be as young as I, but there was a uniformity to their faces, as if they had lain for a long time on a shelf, out of the sunlight, under siftings of pale, fine dust.

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A gray-faced man was counting out a deck of cards, one, two, three, four ... I thought he must be seeing if it was a full pack, but when he had finished counting, he started over again. Next to him, a fat lady played with a string of wooden beads. She drew all the beads up to one end of the string. Then click, click, click, she let them fall back on each other ...

During my own visit, I met a young man who appeared to be about sixteen. I was told he was there for the second time for drug addiction treatment. He repeated questions two or three times and asked an employee several times what he could do to alleviate his boredom. He said he was distressed about a recent haircut which had left his hair at an oblong level.

I also spoke with several women who said they were soon leaving the hospital and hoped never to return. They, too, said they were bored. Wiswall only recently initiated a program of occupational therapy, consisting largely of mechanical exercises such as making pyramids, by passing orange paper on styrofoam balls.

They also make life-ashtrays. "That's about all they can do," an employee told me, referring to the apparently confused state of most patients.

One young woman, whose face never changed expression, even while those around her were laughing, said she was at Wiswall for the second time and hoped soon to leave. She was allowed to go home

on weekends, a preliminary step to release. She could not remember how long she had been at Wiswall, or why she had been committed in the first place. She said she thought she was there because she took things too seriously, and always "let things get to me." She had worked as a secretary and hated her job. "I think that's when it started," she said. "I got real depressed and quit working." She liked and admired her doctor, Flanagan, and when he recommended shock treatment the first time, she had agreed.

While she had resisted returning to Wiswall for a second series of treatments, she said he jokingly told her that if she didn't submit to treatments he would "carry her right up the stairs," so she'd agreed. She could not remember if she signed consent forms (state regulations require patient consent for physical treatments, ECT, and lobotomy) but concluded, "I'm 22. I must have."

Describing her treatments, she "didn't really remember" what happened. She knew she would lie down and get an injection, and that the doctor would always hold her hand. She'd had difficulty adjusting the last time she left the hospital. She found she didn't remember people. She didn't even remember her boyfriend's name after a few treatments. "It's hard when people don't know. They don't understand."

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convinced she wasn't pregnant. Some patients, they said, couldn't even remember each other or hospital personnel from one day to the next.

ECT At Work

Shock apparently works by blocking recent memory, particularly memories upsetting to patients. According to psychiatrist Ben Aspill of the Boston University Medical Center, problems that cause depression, can be blocked out, since patients do not remember events of the week previous to the treatment. When the memories return — usually within a few days after a single treatment, or months later, after multiple treatments, patients are better able to deal with their problems — or so the theory goes.

While no one knows quite how it works, American Electroshock Society President Leo Alexander theorizes that electrical stimulation raises the threshold at which an event registers on the cerebral cortex, by diminishing the production of acetylcholine, a chemical which transmits nerve impulses. This reduces the excitability of the nervous system so a stimulus which might have upset a patient prior to shock has no anxiety-producing effect. Once anxiety is gone, a patient is able to discuss problems less emotionally and recognize and master anxiety-producing situations through psychotherapy or other techniques.

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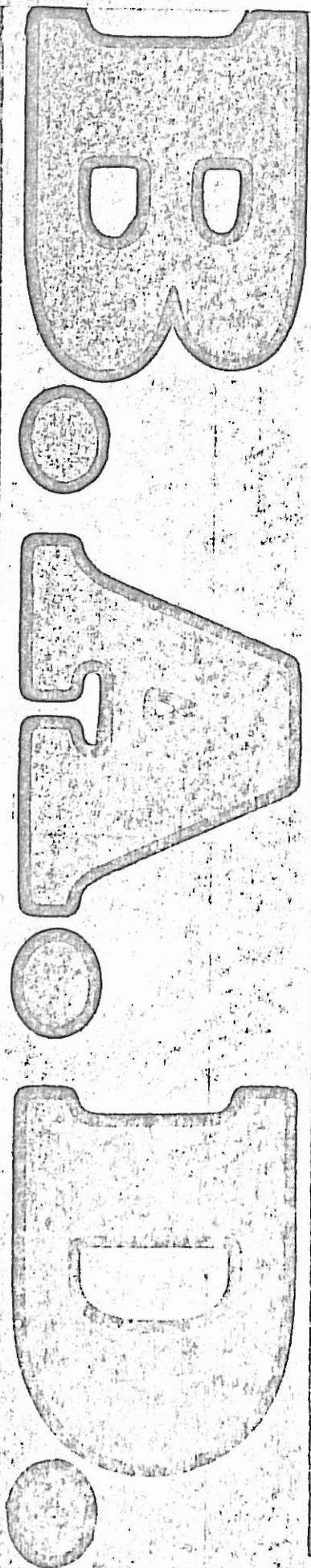
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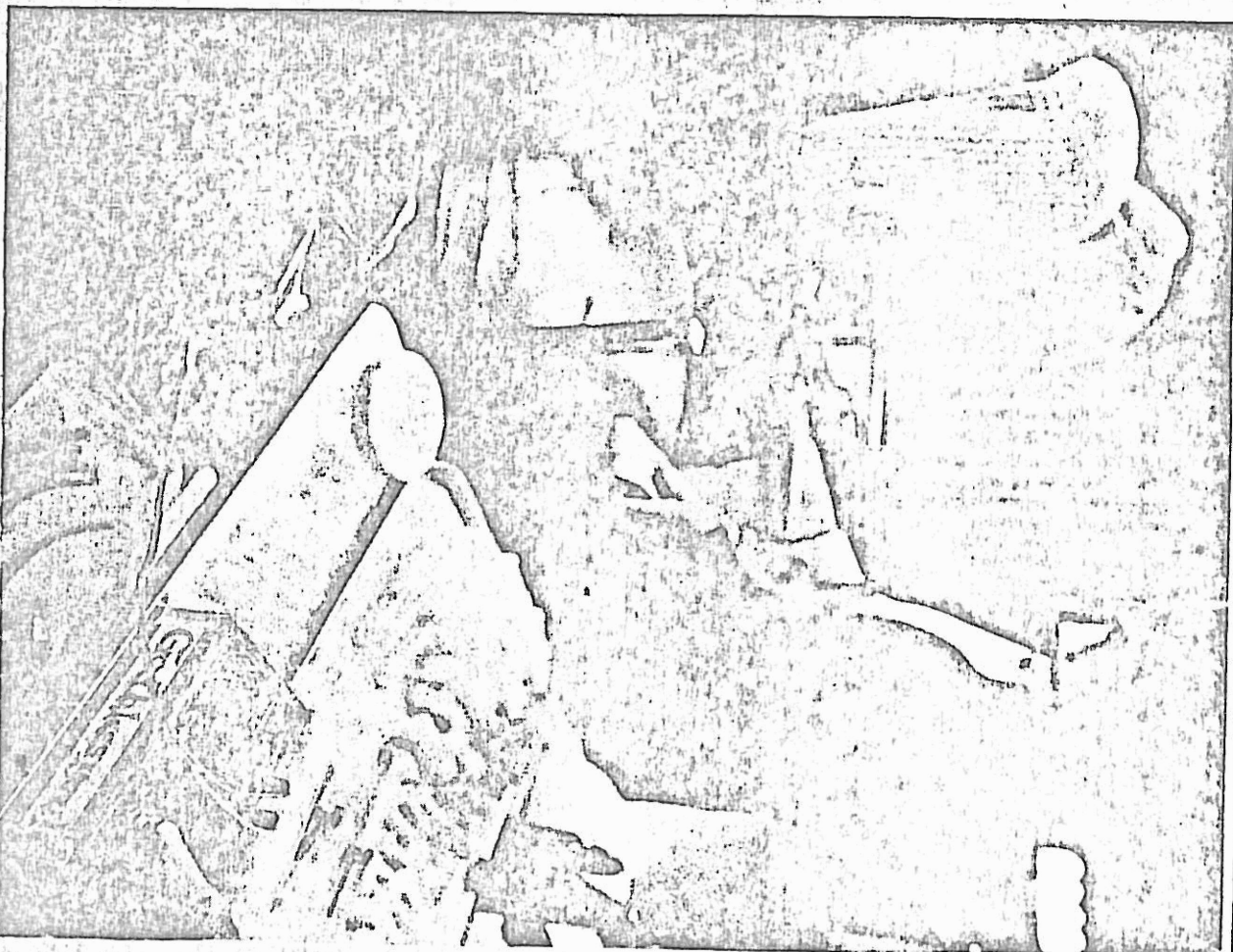
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(Continued on page 32)

Shock ...

[Continued from page 31]

on it and rolled it behind the head of the bed. The nurse started swabbing my temples with a smelly grease.

As she leaned over to reach the side of my head nearest the wall, her fat breast muffled my face like a cloud or a pillow. He dragged out a table on wheels with a machine on it and rolled it behind the head of the bed. The nurse started swabbing my temples with a smelly grease...

"Don't worry," the nurse grinned down at me. "Their first time everybody's scared to death."

I tried to smile, but my skin had gone stiff, like parchment.

Doctor Gordon was fitting two metal plates on either side of my head. He buckled them into place with a strap that dented my forehead, and gave me a wire to bite.

I shut my eyes.

There was a brief silence, like an indrawn breath.

Then something bent down and took hold of me like the end of the world. Whee-ee-ee-ee, it shrieked, through an air crackling with blue light, and with each flash a great jolt drubbed me till I thought my bones would split and the sap fly out of me like a split plant. I wondered what terrible thing it was that I had done.

The Rationale for Shock

Shock shops exist partly because there is a genuine controversy in the medical profession as to just when, why and how much electroconvulsive shock therapy should be given. As there has been little research done in the area, there are no "acceptable standards," so doctors have been left to do pretty much as they please. The result is patients who end up like Jane Smith.

The professional spectrum ranges from the organic therapists who take a biochemical approach to mental illness to traditional psychoanalysts who rely on verbal interviews.

Many analysts criticize organic psychiatrists who administer only

physical treatments like shock or lobotomy, charging that such doctors deal with symptoms rather than causes. By the same token, some organic psychiatrists feel analysts waste a lot of time and money by not using shock on patients who fail to respond to psychotherapy.

Interviews with psychiatrists Alexander, who teaches at Tufts, and Stephen Howard of Boston University Medical Center, provided these contrasting views.

Alexander said he considers shock therapy "the master treatment for depression" and recommends its use in suicidal depressions and acute schizophrenic psychoses. He suggests that it may also be of use in all mental and emotional disturbances found to be unresponsive to psychotherapy and drugs. He maintains that ECT is essentially a safe treatment, and any abuses are caused by doctors who don't know what they're doing.

"What do I call abuse?" he asked himself. "Shock administered by someone else." While he held firmly that shock should be used only in conjunction with

other forms of therapy, he denied that overshocking or shocking patients in questionable cases could be harmful. Because of improved apparatus, he said, skeletal damage has been reduced to a minimum, and circulatory problems that used to arise are avoided by the administration of oxygen for the duration of a shock treatment.

Alexander described several cases where patients hospitalized for years emerge from depressions after a few shock treatments. I met one of his patients about to enter hypnosis who had received 12 shock treatments at the beginning of what Alexander considered an imminent breakdown. Though the woman heard voices and was psychologically unwell, he explained, shock treatment had allowed her to continue working and avoid a year's hospitalization. The woman said she did not like shock treatments, but that when she felt unstable, a single maintenance treatment made her feel "much better."

Alexander dismissed the notion that patients find shock treatments upsetting, and denied memory loss could be

permanent. If a patient says he never wants shock treatment again, it's the fault of the doctor. "I charm my patients into loving treatments," he boasted.

A Case Against Shock

B.U.'s Stephen Howard, who favors a psychoanalytic approach, said he rarely needs to administer ECT and finds drugs more efficient, safer, and faster for his patients. He feels ECT is potentially hazardous and frequently overused. He pointed out possible physical dangers under anesthesia, and said he has seen cases where patients convulsed too much because they were not properly paralyzed. Such convulsing could lead to skeletal damage, as even Alexander admitted. Howard also warned of possible brain damage, should oxygen supply to the brain be cut off by damage to the circulatory system during convulsions.

Physical reasons aside, shock treatment could be traumatic, he said. "A patient shouldn't be subjected to trauma unless there's a damn good reason for it."

No one knows just what ECT does to the brain. While Alexander has studied the chemical effects of ECT on cats and writes that he found no damage, the cats were put to death after only nine days. According to the Mental Health Department Report, little work has been done to determine whether permanent damage could result in humans.

Despite the disagreement, shock shops administer ECT freely, sometimes using bizarre methods. A committee of twelve psychiatrists appointed by Mental Health Commissioner Milton Greenblatt recently submitted a study on the use and abuse of ECT and developed a set of recommendations. From the answers of the relatively few psychiatrists who responded to the questionnaire, they conclude that, contrary to norms accepted by most psychiatrists, some doctors recommend shock "for almost all patients, believing with only their personal experience to support their

opinions, in the relative omnipotence of ECT."

The committee wrote that ECT "can help to reestablish control in a disintegrating personality which may then be in a better position to negotiate a crisis, but care should be exercised to establish the presence of such disintegration before ECT is recommended. But according to Stephen Rosner, "The shock box boys perform shock routinely on anyone who comes into the office."

While in most private hospitals 30-40 per cent of patients may receive shock, according to an estimate by Commissioner Kaplan, shock boxes administer shock and little else. In part, this may be because doctors accurately diagnose patients who could be helped by shock treatment and send them to hospitals set up to give treatments. These same doctors are likely not to believe in psychoanalysis.

Howard described two patients who were shocked at Bonnewood, a private hospital in Brookline. The first, a 16-year-old girl, he diagnosed as having "more than usual difficulties in adjusting." The five or six treatments she received had no effect and left her confused.

The second was a 23-year-old woman diagnosed as a neurotic depressive with no evidence of a psychosis. According to the Greenblatt report, ECT is not generally indicated for either diagnosis. The Greenblatt study concluded that a maximum of about twenty treatments total should be given to any patient.

Several psychiatrists said that patients who reached them after 60 to 180 shock treatments by other doctors were left with "irrecoverable memory gaps."

Psychiatrist Aspill described several patients who had received close to a hundred shock treatments who "looked like zombies. They were basically vegetables who had to be fed and clothed."

Psychiatric reports on the same patients (Continued on page 34)



A metal plate is applied to each temple and a wire placed in the mouth. Then the current goes on.

(Michael Deane photo)

Shock Therapy...

(Continued from page 33)

prior to shock treatment indicated they had been "functioning but sick." It would take each a year to recover their memories.

Adolescent Shock

Although the Greenblatt report states that there has been no established use for ECT in children or adolescents on a routine basis, young people are given electro shock treatment in Massachusetts.

As I described earlier, I spoke with a teen-aged patient during my visit to Wiswall. According to Kaplan, Wiswall has been known to accept children.

The Boston Globe this summer described a teen-ager arrested on a marijuana charge who was ordered to undergo psychiatric treatment by the juvenile court. He was reportedly "wished off to have his head put together" by electroshock therapy at a "Wellesley Hills hospital," which was obviously Wiswall.

Shock shops sometimes perform excessive treatments without adequate follow-up and without being sure patients are fully recovered by the time they leave.

While the Greenblatt report concluded that ECT is beneficial only when used in conjunction with other forms of treatment, some doctors do not even make clear to their patients what is being done to them or why.

I met one such Wiswall patient as she was about to leave the hospital. She was about twenty-seven, a brunette with plucked eyebrows. She sat for almost an hour in a chair, holding a cup of coffee and staring straight ahead. Later, she said she had been at Wiswall for five and a half months and was glad to be leaving.

She couldn't remember why she had been admitted, but figured the treatment (in five and a half months she must have received quite a few) "must have helped or otherwise they wouldn't be letting me go home ... They tell me I was pretty mad when I first came, but I don't remember anything about it." She was anxious to leave because her four children (the oldest was 17) were staying with relatives. She did not know what she would do when she left.

When I told Alexander about the patient he replied that he'd never allow a patient to leave a hospital without adequately understanding her situation, the way this one was about to. Her doctor did not make himself available for comment.

Regulating Shock

Because there are no treatment regulations, shock shops cannot be hit for doing anything illegal. Right now, the Mental Health Department is evaluating the committee report, and has yet to

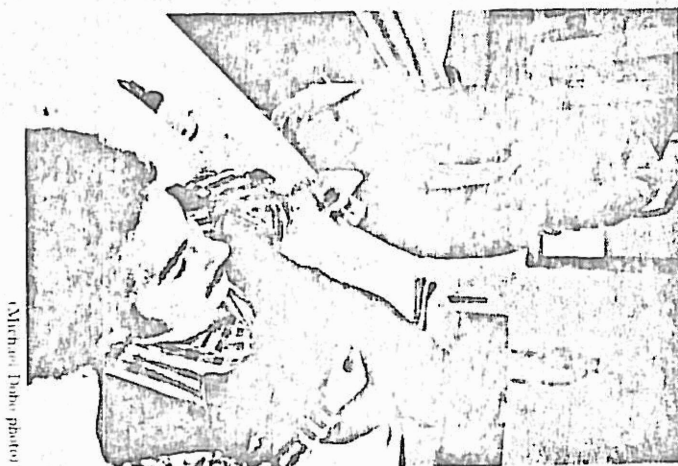
decide whether to issue guidelines or regulations, as the committee report recommends. Mental Health Commissioner Greenblatt said he plans to submit the report for publication in professional journals, and expects to reach a decision within a month.

Presently, the Mental Health Department has jurisdiction in the licensing of mental hospitals, but has control only in the areas of civil rights, staff qualifications, and building and facilities.

But even if strict regulations are drawn up, there are bound to be loopholes. Dr. Lewis McGarry, the legal expert for the Mental Health Department who would presumably draw up any regulations, said it could be dangerous to regulate treatment too strictly because presently untried or unaccepted methods might possibly prove to be of great benefit to the profession.

"If the State were regulating psychiatry a hundred years ago in Vienna," McGarry pointed out, Sigmund Freud would probably have been run out of town." He expects that the state will probably require all hospitals using shock outside accepted norms to research and document the beneficial effects of their treatments, or at least require doctors from outside the particular hospital to approve them.

Because there is so much disagreement among psychiatrists in diagnosing illnesses, it is unlikely that regulating uses of shock treatment for specific illnesses could be effective. Because one man's psychosis can be another man's neurosis, there's no guarantee that a doctor who thinks shock helps a neurotic



(Alfred D. B. photo)

depressive can't just label him a psychotic so he might qualify for treatment.

Even if there were laws against shock abuse, and even if patients realized they had been harmed and were not afraid to speak out, malpractice would be difficult to prove. Courts consider mental patients incompetent, and their testimony usually counts for very little. In the end, it will be up to psychiatrists to protect their patients.

Hopefully, both doctors and patients will begin to speak out against ECT abuse so that future Jane Smiths will not be so easily manipulated.