

## Notes

## Introduction

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12. I. Hacking, 'Making up People' in *Beyond the Body Proper: Reading the Anthropology of Material Life*, M. Lock and J. Farquhar (eds) Durham, NC, Duke University Press (2007): 150–63

13. B. Brickman, "'Delicate' Cutters: Gendered Self-mutilation and Attractive Flesh in Medical Discourse' *Body and Society* 10(4) (2004): 87–111; C. Millard, 'Making the Cut: the Production of "Self-harm" in Anglo-Saxon psychiatry' *History of the Human Sciences* 26(2) (2012): 126–50
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20. Henderson and Gillespie, *Text-Book of Psychiatry* 6th ed.: 238
21. *Ibid.*
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36. See N. Kreitman (ed.), *Parasuicide* London, John Wiley & Sons (1977): 1; W.H. Trethowan, 'Suicide and Attempted Suicide' *British Medical Journal* 2, 6185 (1979): 320
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## 1 Early Twentieth-Century Self-Harm: Cut Throats, General and Mental Medicine

1. Report by P.C. Albert E. Turner dated 29 June 1914 [in error]: CRIMINAL; POLICE: Removal of attempted suicides to hospital: police liability to guard patient to prevent another attempt, 1907–50 TNA: HO 45/24439
2. Letter from Inspector Fredk. Peck, to Supt. Page, Deputy Chief Constable of East Suffolk dated 17 July 1914 TNA: HO 45/24439
3. Letter from Peck to Page 17 July 1914 TNA: HO 45/24439. Ashby has committed the common law misdemeanour of 'attempted suicide', not the felony of 'attempted murder'.
4. 'East Suffolk Constabulary General Orders' dated 05 March 1902 TNA: PRO: HO 45/24439
5. Draft Reply to the Chief Constable of East Suffolk dated 05 August 14 TNA: PRO HO45/24439

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14. Letter from the Home Office to Chief Constable of East Suffolk dated 05 August 1914 TNA: PRO: HO 45/24439
15. Letter from Commissioner of Police for the Metropolis to the Secretary of the British Hospitals Association dated 26 January 1923 TNA: HO 45/24439
16. Minute on file by H.B. Simpson (draft letter to F. Caldwell) dated 26 October 1920 TNA: HO 45/24439
17. Draft Letter from Home Office to Huntingdon Constabulary dated 11 July 1907 TNA: HO 45/24439
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19. Chief Constable of Liverpool to Home Office dated 21 October 1920 TNA: HO 45/24439
20. Home Office to Chief Constable of Liverpool dated 1 November 1920 TNA: HO 45/24439
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30. Letter from Sir Edward R. Henry (Metropolitan Police Commissioner) to Home Office dated 27 July 1916 in 'Police Supervision of AS in Hospitals' Attempted suicide: police supervision of offenders in hospital, 1916–1951 TNA: MEPO 3/2436
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54. Lewis and Calder 'General Report on the Observation Wards' 6, 16 TNA MH 95/32. Pentreath's and Dax's article is quoted at length on 14
55. The exact timing of these visits is unclear; that they were regular is not disputed. See Mayou, 'General Hospital Psychiatry': 768; G. Wilkinson, *Talking About Psychiatry* London, Gaskell, (1993): 138
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67. *Ibid.* 93
68. *Ibid.* 71–2, 84–5
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73. *Ibid.* 85–6
74. *Ibid.* 90
75. Hopkins and Hall characterise the 'disturbed' or 'broken home' as 'a medley of facts and circumstances, decisive in their origin, but diffuse in their manifestations and extensive in their effects'. Hall and Hopkins, 'Parental Loss': 194

## 2 Communicative Self-Harm: War, NHS and Social Work

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9. Harrison, *Advancing on a Different Front*: 25, 76
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21. J. Carson and E.H. Kitching, 'Psychiatric Beds in a General Ward: A Year's Experience' *Lancet* 1, 6559 (1949): 833
22. I.R.C. Batchelor, 'Attempted Suicide' *British Medical Journal* 1, 4913 (1955): 595; see also R.A.J. Asher, 'Arrangements for the Mentally Ill' *Lancet* 268, 6955 (1956): 1266; N. Kessel and G. Grossman, 'Suicide in Alcoholics' *British Medical Journal* 2, 5268 (1961): 1672
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27. I.R.C. Batchelor and M.B. Napier, 'The Sequelae and Short-Term Prognosis of Attempted Suicide; the Results of a One-Year Follow-up of 200 Cases' *Journal of Neurology, Neurosurgery & Psychiatry* 17(4) (1954): 265–6
28. Letter from A.B. Hume to F.L.T. Graham-Harrison dated 16 June 1958 Law in relation to attempted suicide: general correspondence, 1958–1961 TNA: MH 137/383
29. Letter from P.A. Cox to J.D.J. Havard dated 16 January 1962 Law in relation to attempted suicide: proposed amendments, 1961–1962 TNA: MH 137/384. There is at least one similar arrangement in England, in Sheffield from 1951 (see Chapter 3).
30. N. Kessel, 'Self-Poisoning – Part I' *British Medical Journal* 2, 5473 (1965): 1265
31. D. Tait, 'Norman Kreitman in Conversation with David Tait' *Psychiatric Bulletin* 19 (1995): 298
32. The memo is unattributed, but almost certainly written by J.K. Slater: 'Ward 3: A Revaluation for the Ward for Incidental Delirium' (October 1962) Proposed Regional Poisoning Treatment Centre; revaluation of functions of Ward 3; poisoning among children, 1962 at Lothian Health Services Archive (LHSA), University of Edinburgh: LHB 1/59/7: 4. Graduates include G.M. Carstairs, head of Kessel's and Kreitman's research unit.
33. [Slater], 'Ward 3: A Revaluation' LHSA: LHB 1/59/7 1
34. *Ibid.* 3
35. *Ibid.* 3
36. *Ibid.* 3–4.
37. *Ibid.* 4
38. I. Hacking, *The Taming of Chance* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press (1990); 65. Hacking is talking about the claims by French alienist J.E. Esquirol to cast 'suicide as a kind of madness'.
39. N. Kessel, 'Attempted Suicide' *Medical World* 97 (1962): 314
40. E. Stengel, 'Attempted Suicide: Its Management in the General Hospital' *Lancet* 1, 7275 (1963): 234
41. E.F. Catford, *The Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh 1929–1979* Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press (1984): 159
42. V. Long, "'Often There Is a Good Deal to Be Done, but Socially Rather Than Medically": The Psychiatric Social Worker as Social Therapist, 1945–70' *Medical History* 55(2) (2011): 225
43. N.K. Hunnybun, 'Psychiatric Social Work' in *Social Case-Work in Great Britain* C. Morris (ed.) London: Faber and Faber (1950): 102
44. Toms, *Mental Hygiene and Psychiatry in Modern Britain*: 30
45. J. Stewart, "'I Thought You Would Want to Come and See His Home": Child Guidance and Psychiatric Social Work in Inter-War Britain' in *Health and the Modern Home* M. Jackson (ed.) London, Routledge (2007): 111–12; Hunnybun, 'Psychiatric Social Work' 105; E. Heimler, *Mental Illness and Social Work* Harmondsworth, Penguin (1967): 44–5
46. Hunnybun, 'Psychiatric Social Work': 103–4
47. Rees, *Shaping of Psychiatry*: 32
48. Toms, *Mental Hygiene*: 86

49. J. Bowlby, *Maternal Care and Mental Health* Geneva, World Health Organization (1951)
50. A. Storr, 'Bowlby, (Edward) John Mostyn (1907–1990)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Oxford, Oxford University Press (2004)
51. Long, 'Good Deal to Be Done': 226
52. E. Irvine, 'Psychiatric Social Work' in E. Youngusband, *Social Work in Britain, 1950–1975: A Follow-Up Study* London, Allen & Unwin (1978): 179.
53. F. Post, 'Mental Breakdown in Old Age' *British Medical Journal* 1, 4704 (1951): 436–40; F. Post and J. Wardle, 'Family Neurosis and Family Psychosis' *British Journal of Psychiatry* 108(1962): 147
54. Irvine, 'Psychiatric Social Work': 178, 192. Irvine is talking specifically about 1950s mental hospitals.
55. E. Youngusband, *Social Work in Britain, 1950–1975: A Follow-up Study* London, Allen and Unwin (1978): 165
56. Toms, *Mental Hygiene*: 90
57. M. Jones, *Social Psychiatry in Practice: The Idea of the Therapeutic Community* Harmondsworth, Penguin (1968): 16–17
58. Rees, *Shaping of Psychiatry*: 32
59. Bion, *Experiences in Groups*: 13
60. T. Main, quoted in Toms, *Mental Hygiene*: 101
61. Toms, *Mental Hygiene*: 115
62. Mackintosh, *War and Mental Health*: 59
63. For an interesting account of the turn to the 'social' in the United States, see M.E. Staub, *Madness Is Civilization: When the Diagnosis Was Social, 1948–1980* London, University of Chicago Press (2011)
64. G.W. Brown, E.M. Monck, G.M. Carstairs and J.K. Wing, 'Influence of Family Life on the Course of Schizophrenic Illness' *British Journal of Preventive and Social Medicine* 16(2) (1962): 55–68
65. N. Rose, *Governing the Soul : The Shaping of the Private Self* London, Free Association Press (1999): 171, 175
66. M. Thomson, *Psychological Subjects: Identity, Culture, and Health in Twentieth-Century Britain* Oxford, Oxford University Press (2006): 269. Thomson is describing the *aspirations* for a new, enlightened, psychologised sense of selfhood.
67. G. Eghigian, A. Killen, and C. Leuenberger, 'The Self as Project: Politics and the Human Sciences in the Twentieth Century' *Osiris* 22(1) (2007): 22
68. Rose, *Governing the Soul*: 155–81, 205–13
69. Toms, *Mental Hygiene*
70. E.L. Youngusband, *Social Work in Britain: A Supplementary Report on the Employment and Training of Social Workers* Dunfermline, Carnegie United Kingdom Trust (1951): 81
71. Ministry of Health, 'Report of the Working Party on Social Workers in the Local Authority Health and Welfare Services (Youngusband Report)' London, HMSO (1959)
72. L. Faithfull, 'Youngusband, Dame Eileen Louise (1902–1981)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Oxford, Oxford University Press (2004)
73. R.M. Titmuss, 'Community Care: Fact or Fiction?,' in *Commitment to Welfare*, R.M. Titmuss (ed.) London, George Allen and Unwin ([1961] 1968): 105
74. Rose, *Governing the Soul*: 208

75. A. Lewis, 'Social Aspects of Psychiatry: Part I' *Edinburgh Medical Journal* 58(5) (1951): 215
76. Younghusband, *Social Work in Britain*: 165
77. E.U.H. Pentreath and E.C. Dax, 'Mental Observation Wards: A Discussion of Their Work and Its Objects' *Journal of Mental Science* 83 (1937): 354, 364
78. Despite Hopkins positing domestic stress as a precipitating factor for attempted suicide and publishing his observation ward study in the same year, he does not mention a social worker (psychiatric or otherwise). He does, however, have an interest in child guidance.
79. E.N. Butler, 'Observation Units' *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 33 (1940): 726.
80. Hunnybun, 'Psychiatric Social Work': 117.
81. I.R.C. Batchelor and M.B. Napier, 'The Sequelae and Short-Term Prognosis of Attempted Suicide; the Results of a One-Year Follow-up of 200 Cases' *Journal of Neurology, Neurosurgery & Psychiatry* 17(4) (1954): 261; I.R.C. Batchelor and M.B. Napier, 'Attempted Suicide in Old Age' *British Medical Journal* 2, 4847 (1953): 1187; I.R.C. Batchelor, 'Alcoholism and Attempted Suicide' *Journal of Mental Science* 100, 419 (1954): 461
82. Batchelor and Napier, 'Sequelae': 261
83. Stewart, 'See His Home': 115–17
84. *Ibid.* 118
85. Bridget Yapp, quoted in Stewart, 'See His Home': 118. In 1978, Irvine claims that this text is 'the only British book on the subject' and that it is 'unfortunate that no other books had appeared.' Irvine 'Psychiatric Social Work': 183
86. E.T.O. Slater and M. Woodside, *Patterns of Marriage: A Study of Marriage Relationships in the Urban Working Classes* London, Cassell (1951) 14. See Chapter 4 for more on the influence of marriage guidance and PSWs in attempted-suicide studies.
87. Stewart, 'See His Home': 118
88. Hunnybun, 'Psychiatric Social Work': 101
89. Irvine, 'Psychiatric Social Work': 178
90. Bowlby quoted in Toms, *Mental Hygiene* 114
91. Toms, *Mental Hygiene* 114
92. Batchelor and Napier, 'Sequelae': 265
93. I.R.C. Batchelor, 'Management and Prognosis of Suicidal Attempts in Old Age' *Geriatrics* 10(6) (1955): 292
94. Batchelor and Napier, 'Sequelae': 266
95. *Ibid.* 264
96. *Ibid.* 264
97. *Ibid.* 264, 266
98. I.R.C. Batchelor and M.B. Napier, 'Broken Homes and Attempted Suicide' *British Journal of Delinquency* 4 (1953): 99
99. Batchelor and Napier, 'Broken Homes': 99–100
100. Bowlby, 'Maternal Care and Mental Health': 12
101. *Ibid.* 105–6
102. *Ibid.* 101
103. *Ibid.* 104
104. *Ibid.* 103–4

105. I.R.C. Batchelor, 'Psychopathic States and Attempted Suicide' *British Medical Journal* 1, 4875 (1954): 1343
106. Batchelor and Napier, 'Broken Homes': 103–4
107. Batchelor, 'Alcoholism': 453
108. Batchelor, 'Psychopathic States': 1343
109. Batchelor and Napier, 'Broken Homes': 104
110. *Ibid.* 105
111. J.W. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* rev. ed. New York, Columbia University Press (1999) 115
112. Batchelor and Napier, 'Broken Homes': 107–8
113. I.R.C. Batchelor, 'Repeated Suicidal Attempts' *British Journal of Medical Psychology* 27(3) (1954): 161
114. They also argue that 'those rendered most vulnerable by their early experiences may tend to break down quickly' Batchelor and Napier, 'Broken Homes': 102, 106
115. Bowlby, 'Maternal Care and Mental Health': 13–14
116. Rose, *Governing the Soul* 170
117. See M. Vicedo, 'The Social Nature of the Mother's Tie to Her Child: John Bowlby's Theory of Attachment in Post-War America' *British Journal for the History of Science* 44(3) (2011): 420
118. Bowlby, 'Maternal Care and Mental Health': 26
119. Mayou, 'General Hospital Psychiatry': 774
120. Wilkinson, *Talking about Psychiatry*: 28
121. W.H. Trethowan, 'Suicide and Attempted Suicide' *British Medical Journal* 2, 6185 (1979): 320
122. Trethowan, 'Suicide and Attempted Suicide': 320
123. Stengel's biographical details are taken from four sources: P. Weindling, 'Alien Psychiatrists: The British Assimilation of Psychiatric Refugees' in *International Relations in Psychiatry: Britain, Germany, and the United States to World War II* V. Roelcke, P. Weindling and L. Westwood (eds) Rochester, University of Rochester Press (2010): 218–36; U.H. Peters, 'The Emigration of German Psychiatrists to Britain' in *150 Years of Psychiatry: The Aftermath* H.L. Freeman and G.E. Berrios (eds) London, Athlone (1996): 565–80; F.A. Jenner, 'Stengel, Erwin (1902–1973)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Oxford, Oxford University Press (2004); M. Shepherd, 'The Impact of Germanic Refugees on Twentieth-Century British Psychiatry' *Social History of Medicine* 22(3) (2009): 461–9
124. E. Stengel, 'On the Aetiology of the Fugue States' *Journal of Mental Science* 87 (1941): 572–99; E. Stengel, 'Further Studies on Pathological Wandering (Fugues with the Impulse to Wander)' *Journal of Mental Science* 89 (1943): 224–41
125. E. Stengel, 'Suicide' in *Recent Progress in Psychiatry* G.W.T.H. Fleming, A. Walk and P.K. McCowan (eds) London, J. & A. Churchill Ltd (1950): 691–703
126. Anonymous, 'Lost Hospitals of London' online at: <http://ezitis.myyzen.co.uk/stfrancis.html> accessed 21 August 2012
127. Wilkinson, *Talking*, 30, 231; Post, 'Mental Breakdown in Old Age'
128. E. Stengel, N.G. Cook and I.S. Kreeger, *Attempted Suicide: Its Social Significance and Effects* London, Chapman and Hall (1958): 22, emphasis in original.
129. Stengel, Cook and Kreeger, *Attempted Suicide*: 43, 84, 105

130. V. Norris, *Mental Illness in London* London, Chapman & Hall (1959): 91
131. D.F. Early, 'The Changing Use of the Observation Ward' *Public Health* 76(5) (1962): 262
132. J. Marshall, 'Mental Health Services' *British Medical Journal* 2, 4902 (1954): 1484; J.B.S. Lewis, 'Mental Health Services' *British Medical Journal* 2, 4900 (1954): 1354–5
133. Norris, *Mental Illness* 234; see also, M.D. Eilenberg and P.B. Whatmore, 'Police Admissions to a Mental Observation Ward' *Medicine, Science, and the Law* 2 (1961): 96–100
134. Wilkinson, *Talking about Psychiatry* 15; this story also appears in Mayou, 'General Hospital Psychiatry': 774
135. Stengel, Cook and Kreeger, *Attempted Suicide*: 96
136. J.J. Fleminger and B.L. Mallett, 'Psychiatric Referrals from Medical and Surgical Wards' *British Journal of Psychiatry* 108 (1962): 189
137. Stengel, Cook and Kreeger, *Attempted Suicide*: 47, 93–4
138. *Ibid.* 40
139. *Ibid.* 41
140. *Ibid.* 39
141. Stengel, 'Enquiries into Attempted Suicide (Abridged)': 616
142. There are also categories less relevant for the new 'cry for help object' such as 'Suicidal attempt followed by permanent institutionalisation' and 'suicidal attempt followed by death soon' Stengel, Cook and Kreeger, *Attempted Suicide*: 52, 55–7
143. Of the nine cases under the heading, two attempts are by women, seven by men; the gendered nature of the 'cry for help' is still inconsistent. Stengel, Cook and Kreeger, *Attempted Suicide*: 58
144. Stengel, Cook and Kreeger, *Attempted Suicide*: 82.
145. *Ibid.* 86, emphasis in original.
146. *Ibid.* 22, emphasis in original.

### 3 Self-Harm Becomes Epidemic: Mental Health (1959) and Suicide (1961) Acts

1. E. Stengel, 'Enquiries into Attempted Suicide (Abridged)' *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 45 (1952): 620
2. R. Jack, *Women and Attempted Suicide* London, Lawrence Erlbaum (1992): xii
3. Hansard HC Deb 31 October 1958, Vol 594, col 521
4. H. Matthew, 'Poisoning in the Home by Medicaments' *British Medical Journal* 2, 5517 (1966): 788
5. C. Millard and S. Wessely, 'Parity of Esteem Between Physical and Mental Health' *British Medical Journal* 349, 7894 (2014): 6821; P. Border and Chris Millard, Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology 'Parity of Esteem in Mental Health' (2015) online at: <http://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/research/briefing-papers/POST-PN-485/parity-of-esteem-for-mental-health> accessed 30 January 2015
6. K. Robinson, 'The Public and Mental Health' in *Trends in the Mental Health Services* H.L. Freeman and W.A.J. Farndale (eds) Oxford, Pergamon (1963): 16

7. A.T. Scull, *Decarceration: Community Treatment and the Deviant: A Radical View* London, Prentice-Hall (1977)
8. H. Lester and J. Glasby, *Mental Health Policy and Practice* Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan (2006): 27
9. This starts early: R.M. Titmuss, 'Community Care: Fact or Fiction?' in *Commitment to Welfare* R.M. Titmuss (ed.) London: George Allen & Unwin, ([1961] 1968): 221–5; see also H.R. Rollin, 'Social and Legal Repercussions of the Mental Health Act, 1959' *British Medical Journal* 1, 5333 (1963): 788.
10. A. Rogers and D. Pilgrim, *Mental Health Policy in Britain* 2nd ed. London, Macmillan (2001): 55, 65. Recent examples of 'institution-community' binaries include M. Gorsky, 'The British National Health Service 1948–2008: A Review of the Historiography' *Social History of Medicine* 21(3) (2008): 449; Lester and Glasby, *Mental Health Policy and Practice*: 27
11. N. Rose, quoted in Rogers and Pilgrim, *Mental Health Policy in Britain*: 73
12. G. Eghigian, 'Deinstitutionalizing the History of Contemporary Psychiatry' *History of Psychiatry* 22(2) (2011): 203, emphasis in the original.
13. For an apt historiographical summary, see J. Welshman, 'Rhetoric and Reality: Community Care in England and Wales, 1948–74' in *Outside the Walls of the Asylum: The History of Care in the Community 1750–2000* P. Bartlett and D. Wright (eds) London: Athlone Press (1999): 205. This covers the contributions of Kathleen Jones, Andrew Scull, Peter Sedgwick and Joan Busfield.
14. C. Webster, 'Psychiatry and the Early National Health Service: The Role of the Mental Health Standing Advisory Committee' in *150 Years of British Psychiatry, 1841–1991* H. Freeman and G. E. Berrios (eds) London, Gaskell (1991): 104
15. Baron Percy of Newcastle, 'The Report of the Royal Commission of the Law Relating to Mental Illness and Mental Deficiency' London, HMSO (1957)
16. 'Mental Health Act, 1959' London: HMSO (1959): 3
17. B. Wootton, *Social Science and Social Pathology* London, George Allen & Unwin (1959): 208–9
18. D. Stafford-Clark, 'Attempted Suicide' *Lancet* 281, 7278 (1963): 448–9. Two of the other participants in this correspondence argument are Neil Kessel and Richard Asher, and the correspondence was initially sparked by an Erwin Stengel article.
19. N. Kessel, 'Self-Poisoning – Part II' *British Medical Journal* 2, 5474 (1965): 1340
20. G.D. Middleton, D.W. Ashby and F. Clark, 'An Analysis of Attempted Suicide in an Urban Industrial District' *Practitioner* 187 (1961): 776–82; M. Woodside, 'Attempted Suicides Arriving at a General Hospital' *British Medical Journal* 2, 5093 (1958): 411–4; J.J. Fleminger and B.L. Mallett, 'Psychiatric Referrals from Medical and Surgical Wards' *British Journal of Psychiatry* 108 (1962): 183–90
21. J.E. Lennard-Jones and R.A.J. Asher, 'Why Do They Do It? A Study of Pseudocide' *Lancet* 1, 7083 (1959): 1138
22. Lennard-Jones and Asher, 'Study of Pseudocide': 1138–9
23. *Ibid.* 1138
24. M. Jarvis, *Conservative Governments, Morality and Social Change in Affluent Britain, 1957–64* Manchester, Manchester University Press (2005): 6

25. Baron Wolfenden of Westcott, *Report of the Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution* London, HMSO (1957)
26. P. Hennessy, *Having It So Good : Britain in the Fifties* London, Allen Lane (2006): 505–6
27. Jarvis, *Conservative Governments*: 11
28. H.L.A. Hart, quoted in Hennessy, *Having It So Good*: 510
29. Macmillan to Butler, 24 June 1961 Discussions on Act to amend law relating to suicide TNA: PREM 11/3241; Jarvis, *Conservative Governments*: 95; Hennessy, *Having It So Good*: 510.
30. Draft Reply Macmillan to Butler, 'Suicide and Attempted Suicide: Proposals to Amend Law' Suicide and attempted suicide: proposals to amend law, 1958–1961 TNA: HO 291/141; Jarvis, *Conservative Governments*: 95; Hennessy, *Having It So Good*: 510. However facetious Macmillan might appear to Butler, he is not alone in failing to appreciate the link between the law on suicide and the treatment of attempted suicide. (Lord) Lewis Silkin admits that he is unaware 'from the Bill itself that it is intended to cover also attempted suicide.' HL Deb 02 March 1961 Vol 229 cols 253–4
31. Jarvis, *Conservative Governments*: 95–6
32. Hennessy, *Having It So Good*: 510
33. Jarvis, *Conservative Governments*: 98
34. Hennessy, *Having It So Good*: 510
35. HC Deb 06 February 1958 Vol 581 col 1327
36. British Medical Association Committee on Psychiatry and the Law, 'The Law Relating to Attempted Suicide' *British Medical Journal Supplement* 2210, 5406 (1947): S.103. One of the arguments advanced by a Church of England booklet (see below) is similar: 'The punishment of the offender is not likely to deter others from attempting to commit suicide, if only because they will be confident of success.' Church Information Office, *Ought Suicide to Be a Crime? A Discussion on Suicide, Attempted Suicide and the Law* Westminster, Church Information Office (1959): 10. Note the use of 'would-be suicide' in a context that implies earnest, uncomplicated intent.
37. G.L. Williams, *The Sanctity of Life and the Criminal Law: On Contraception, Sterilization, Artificial Insemination, Abortion, Suicide and Euthanasia* London, Faber & Faber (1958): 250, 253; quoting W.L. Neustatter, *Psychological Disorder and Crime* London, Christopher Johnson (1953): 68
38. Williams, *Sanctity of Life*: 255
39. *Ought Suicide?*: 12, 21–2
40. HL Deb 01 July 1959 Vol 217 col 599
41. HC Deb 06 March 1958 Vol 583 col 1342; HC Deb 13 March 1958 Vol 584 col 74W
42. HC Deb 22 May 1958 Vol 588 col 1471; HC Deb 31 October 1958 Vol 594 col 523. Again, note the association of 'would-be suicide' with genuine intent.
43. HM(61)94 'Attempted Suicide' (18 September 1961) in Circulars letters notes and memoranda (1961) TNA: MH 119/15
44. Notes of Meeting at Home Office with H.O., Ministry of Health, Magistrates' Association and BMA, dated 13 March 1959 TNA: MH 137/383
45. Anon., 'Obituary: Professor Linford Rees' *Daily Telegraph* (11 September 2004)
46. J. Fry, *Casualty Services and Their Setting: A Study in Medical Care* Nuffield Provincial Hospitals Trust (1960); Ministry of Health, 'Accident and



- Emergency Services: Report of a Sub-Committee (Platt Report)' London, HMSO (1962)
47. Although patients were 'in many instances, referred to a psychiatrist later', 'the availability of psychiatric help in assessing the case is relatively infrequent.' W.L. Rees and J.S. Stead 'Report to Council' Law in relation to attempted suicide: general correspondence, 1958–61 TNA: MH 137/383
  48. Joint Committee of the British Medical Association and the Magistrates' Association, 'The Law and Practice in Relation to Attempted Suicide in England and Wales' London, British Medical Association and Magistrates' Association (1958) 9 in Suicide and attempted suicide: proposals to amend law, 1958–1961 TNA: HO 291/141
  49. Note for File for Maclay by Benner dated 28 November 1960 TNA: MH137/383
  50. Ibid. It is invoked again, two months later: Note for Emery by Benner dated 13 February 1961 TNA: MH 137/383
  51. Note for Dr. Macdonald from T.E. Nodder dated 3 January 1961, TNA: PRO: MH137/383
  52. Note from Emery to 'Deputy Secretary [of State for Health]' dated 15 February 1961 TNA: MH 137/383
  53. E. Stengel, 'Attempted Suicide: Its Management in the General Hospital' *Lancet* 1, 7275 (1963): 233
  54. HM(61)94 'Attempted Suicide' TNA: MH 119/15
  55. Stengel, 'Attempted Suicide: Management': 233
  56. Note to Mr. Dodds, Dr. Goodman and Deputy Secretary. From Benner[?] dated 3 August 1961 TNA: MH 137/383
  57. E. Stengel 'The National Health Service and the Suicide Problem' in *Sociological Review Monograph No. 5: Sociology and Medicine: Studies within the Framework of the British National Health Service* P. Halmos (ed.) Keele: University of Keele (1962): 205
  58. Letter to 'Secretary' from Hardwick, dated 28 December 1961 TNA: MH137/384
  59. Stengel, 'Attempted Suicide: Management': 235
  60. Note from P. Benner to G.C. Tooth dated 14 August 1962 TNA: MH 137/384. Tooth is most famous for the 1961 *Lancet* paper co-authored with Eileen Brooke which claimed that the demand for inpatient beds in British mental hospitals would halve – acting as a springboard for Enoch Powell's *Hospital Plan* (1962) (see Chapter 5); G.C. Tooth and E.M. Brooke, 'Trends in the Mental Hospital Population and Their Effect on Future Planning' *Lancet* 1, 7179 (1961)
  61. Note by Benner for Mr. Emery dated 7 September 1962; Note from G.C. Tooth to P. Benner noted 15 August 1962 TNA: PRO: MH 137/384
  62. Circular letter 'Attempted Suicide' (Ref 94600/1/49b) dated 28 September 1962 TNA: MH 137/384
  63. 'Attempted Suicide' in 'Attempted Suicide – Hospital Treatment and Replies to Questionnaire' TNA: MH 150/220
  64. 'Attempted Suicide' TNA: MH 150/220
  65. 'Summary of Replies to questionnaire [Sheffield RHB] as the result of Ministry of Health letter 94600/1/49B dated 28th September 1962' enclosed with letter from Sheffield RHB to Ministry of Health dated 19 December 1962 TNA: MH

- 150/220. This form is possibly the one mentioned by Parkin and Stengel in 1965 (see Chapter 5).
66. 'Summary of Replies to Questionnaire [Sheffield RHB]' TNA: MH 150/220
  67. 'North West Metropolitan Hospital Board – Treatment of Attempted Suicide' TNA: MH 150/220
  68. Letter from North West Metropolitan Hospital Board to Ministry of Health dated 31 December 1962 TNA: MH 150/220
  69. Letter from Wessex RHB to Ministry of Health dated 2 January 1963 TNA: MH 150/220
  70. 'Attempted Suicide [Welsh Hospital Board]' enclosed with letter from Welsh Hospital Board to Ministry of Health dated 21 January 1963 TNA: MH 220/150
  71. Letter from Stengel to Dunbar dated 14 September 1962 TNA: MH 150/220. 'Diagnostic index' presumably refers to the one used for the Hospital In-Patient Enquiry (HIPE).
  72. Letter from Stengel to Dunbar dated 14 September 1962 TNA: MH 150/220
  73. W.M. Millar, G. Innes and G.A. Sharp, 'Hospital and Outpatient Clinics: The Design of a Reporting System and the Difficulties to Be Expected in the Execution' in *The Burden on the Community: The Epidemiology of Mental Illness A Symposium* (1962): 2
  74. P. Sainsbury and J. Grad, 'Evaluation of Treatment and Services' in *The Burden on the Community: The Epidemiology of Mental Illness: A Symposium* (1962) appendix I, unnumbered page
  75. Note for Tooth from Otley dated 18 December 1964 in 'Attempted Suicide – Research Proposed by Department' and Note from Brothwood to Perry dated 17 May 1965 TNA: MH 150/221
  76. I. Hacking, *Rewriting the Soul* Princeton, Princeton University Press (1995): 236

#### 4 Self-Harm as a Result of Domestic Distress

1. For example P. Sedgwick, *Psychopolitics* London, Pluto Press (1982): 104; A. Rogers and D. Pilgrim, *Mental Health Policy in Britain* 2nd ed. London, Macmillan (2001): 64–5
2. E. Powell, *Emerging Patterns for the Mental Health Services and the Public* London, National Association for Mental Health (1961)
3. J.D.N. Hill, 'Review of Policy on Psychiatric Research – Summary prepared by Dr. Denis Hill of the proposals made in his talk to Council on the 16 January 1959'; 16 January 1959: review of psychiatric research by Dr J D N Hull [*sic*], 1959 TNA: FD 9/91; see also G.M. Carstairs, *This Island Now* Harmondsworth, Penguin (1963) and H.R. Rollin, 'Carstairs, George Morrisson (1916–1991)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* London, Oxford University Press (2004)
4. N. Kessel, 'Psychiatric Morbidity in a London General Practice' *British Journal of Preventive & Social Medicine* 14 (1960): 16–22
5. N. Kessel and M. Shepherd, 'Neurosis in Hospital and General Practice' *Journal of Mental Science* 108 (1962): 159–66; N. Kessel and H.J. Walton, *Alcoholism* Harmondsworth, Penguin (1965); N. Kessel and G. Grossman, 'Suicide in Alcoholics' *British Medical Journal* 2, 5268 (1961): 1671–2

6. B. Deakin, G. Hay, D. Goldberg and B. Hore, 'William Ivor Neil Kessel' *Psychiatric Bulletin* 28 (2004): 309
7. N. Kessel, 'Self-Poisoning – Part I' *British Medical Journal* 2, 5473 (1965): 1265
8. For example, I.R.C. Batchelor and M.B. Napier, 'Broken Homes and Attempted Suicide' *British Journal of Delinquency* 4 (1953): 101
9. N. Kessel and W. McCulloch, 'Repeated Acts of Self-Poisoning and Self-Injury' *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 59(2) (1966): 89 referring to N. Kessel, W. McCulloch, J. Hendry, D. Leslie, I. Wallace and R. Webster, 'Hospital Management of Attempted Suicide in Edinburgh' *Scottish Medical Journal* 9 (1964)
10. Kessel, 'Self-Poisoning – Part I': 1265
11. N. Kessel and E.M. Lee, 'Attempted Suicide in Edinburgh' *Scottish Medical Journal* 7 (1962): 130
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117. Parkin and Stengel, 'Urban Community': 133–4
118. Kessel, McCulloch, and Simpson, 'Psychiatric Service': 987
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120. *Ibid.* emphasis in the original.
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122. GPs are involved with the Stengel et al. 1958 study, in the Dulwich General Hospital group (Group V), where '[w]ith 33 patients... a medical practitioner had been involved in the admission. With 26... no general practitioner had intervened, and with 17 patients... it was uncertain whether this was so'.

- The Sheffield study is different; practitioners are being utilised to provide the object without the necessity for a general hospital. Stengel, Cook and Kreeger, *Attempted Suicide*: 96
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  136. Kessel and McCulloch, 'Repeated Acts': 92, emphasis in the original. Stengel curiously undercuts the case for conflict over beds, arguing that '[m]any ["attempted suicides"] will be given an appointment in the psychiatric outpatient clinic...hardly more than one out of five, require to be transferred to a psychiatric department for further treatment.' Stengel, 'Attempted Suicide: Management': 235
  137. As Krohn expresses it: "'split and inverted" in the suggestive phrase of Latour and Woolgar'; R. Krohn, 'Why Are Graphs So Central in Science?' *Biology and Philosophy* 6(2) (1991): 197
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## 5 Self-Harm as Self-Cutting: Inpatients and Internal Tension

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23. Shelly A. James, 'Has Cutting Become Cool? Normalising, Social Influence and Socially Motivated Deliberate Self-Harm in Adolescent Girls' Doctor of Clinical Psychology Research Project, Massey University, Albany, New Zealand (2013)
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34. C.P. McEvedy, 'Self-Inflicted Injuries' Diploma of Psychological Medicine Dissertation, University of London (1963): 25
35. McEvedy, 'Self-inflicted Injuries': 7
36. *Ibid.* 28

37. McEvedy, 'Self-inflicted Injuries' p. 8. There is much historical work to be done on how slashed wrists become associated with suicide. Sarah Chaney informs me from her studies of self-mutilation in Victorian asylums that cut throats are judged as suicidal, but not cuts anywhere else (with the extremely occasional exception concerning veins on the inside of the elbow). McEvedy himself refers to 'popular opinion, perhaps fed by vague memories of the suicidal techniques of the ancient roman aristocracy, continues to hold the belief that an injury [to the wrists] will prove rapidly fatal'. It would be very interesting to chart when the idea of wrist-cutting became suggestive of suicide – gestural or otherwise. Unfortunately, the scope of the present chapter precludes such a study.
38. McEvedy, 'Self-inflicted Injuries': 21
39. Ibid. 12
40. Ibid. 9, 14, 23
41. Ibid. 28–9
42. Ibid. 13, 28, 8
43. Ibid. 29
44. For example, Royal College of Psychiatrists 'Helping People Who Self-Harm': 6, 21
45. C.P. McEvedy and A.W. Beard, 'Royal Free Epidemic of 1955: A Reconsideration' *British Medical Journal* 1, 5687 (1970): 7–11
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47. An article on this subject from the late 1960s argues that 'we feel that this [prison mutilation] is less a reflection of a personality pattern of turning anger inward than it is a reaction to confinement'. J.L. Claghorn and D.R. Beto 'Self-Mutilation in a Prison Mental Hospital' *Journal of Social Therapy* 13 (1967): 140
48. D.W. McKerracher, D.R.K. Street and L.J. Segal, 'A Comparison of the Behaviour Problems Presented by Male and Female Subnormal Offenders' *British Journal of Psychiatry* 112 (1966): 891–7; D.W. McKerracher, T. Loughnane and R.A. Watson 'Self-Mutilation in Female Psychopaths' *British Journal of Psychiatry* 114 (1968): 829–32
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51. Ibid.
52. The terms 'psychopath' and 'psychopathy' are broad and loosely defined both in the 1960s and today. Martyn Pickersgill has written of the 'profound uncertainties and ambivalences [that] are evident even within expert discourse' on psychopathy. M. Pickersgill, 'Psyche, Soma, and Science Studies: New Directions in the Sociology of Mental Health and Illness' *Journal of Mental Health* 19(4)(2010): 388; see also: M. Pickersgill, 'Between Soma and Society: Neuroscience and the Ontology of Psychopathy' *BioSocieties* 4 (2009): 45–60
53. McKerracher, Loughnane and Watson 'Self-mutilation': 829
54. Ibid. 830
55. Ibid. 831
56. Ibid. 830–1
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