

AN ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW

with

Dexter M. Bullard, Sr., M.D.

by

Jeannine Jeffs

for

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ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM
(in cooperation with the Montgomery Co. Dept. of Public Libraries)

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION ON Dexter M. Bullard, M.D.

PRESENT ADDRESS: 500 W. Montgomery Avenue PHONE:
 Rockville, Maryland 20850

BIRTHPLACE: Waukesha, Wisconsin

RESIDENCE:

Childhood: Wisconsin

Montgomery County, Maryland: 1908 to 19--

EDUCATION: Yale University, 1920, Ph.B.
 University of Pennsylvania, M.D. 1923

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCES:

Assistant Physician, Chestnut Lodge, 1925-1931
Medical Director, Chestnut Lodge, 1931-1969
Senior Consultant, Chestnut Lodge, 1969-
President, Chestnut Lodge Research Institute, 1947-1971

SEE ATTACHED BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES:

Consultant to the Juvenile Court of Montgomery County for many years.
Member of the Board of Social Services, Montgomery County, in past.
Member of the Governor's Commission to Study Relationship Between the
Montgomery County School Board and the Montgomery County Council.

PUBLIC OFFICE: None

SPECIAL HONORS & AWARDS:

Frieda Fromm-Reichmann Award 1964
Alumnus of the Year Award, Friends School, Washington, D.C. 1968

BULLARD, DEXTER M., M.D. Senior Consultant, Chestnut Lodge - 1969
Medical Director, Chestnut Lodge, Rockville, Maryland
1931-1969

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Born Waukesha, Wisconsin, August 14, 1898.

College or University: Yale University, 1920, Ph.B.

Medical School: University of Pennsylvania, 1923, M.D.

Internship: Rotating, Queens Hospital, Honolulu, T.H., 1924.

Psychiatric Training:

Boston Psychopathic Hospital, Boston, Massachusetts, two months, 1925
Washington Psychoanalytic Institute, 1933-1937
Washington School of Psychiatry, 1933-1937

Psychiatric Experience:

Henry Phipps Psychiatric Clinic, O.P. Department, once weekly for one year, 1926
Assistant Physician, Chestnut Lodge, 1925-1931.
Medical Director, Chestnut Lodge, 1931 to 1969.
Senior Consultant, Chestnut Lodge, 1969 to date.

Professional and Academic Positions:

President, William Alanson White Psychiatric Foundation, 1950.
Member Faculty, Washington School of Psychiatry.
Member Faculty, Washington Psychoanalytic Institute.
Past Vice-President, American Psychoanalytic Association, 1946.
Past President, Southern Psychiatric Association, 1956.
Past President, Central Neuropsychiatric Hospital Association, 1955.

Teaching Positions:

Clinical Professor of Psychiatry, Georgetown University Medical School, 1933-1941
Fellow, Washington School of Psychiatry, 1937 to date.
Training and Supervising Analyst, Washington Psychoanalytic Institute, 1942 to date
Professor, Psychiatry and the Law, National University, 1951-1954.
Clinical Professor of Psychiatry, George Washington University, 1962 -
Emeritus 1970.

Consultant:

National Institute of Mental Health, 1953-1971
Walter Reed Army Institute of Research, 1958-1970
Department of Juvenile Services, Montgomery County, 1970's

Membership in Psychiatric Associations:

Life Fellow, American Psychiatric Association, 1929.
Life Member, American Psychoanalytic Association, 1937.
Member, Association for Research in Nervous and Mental Diseases.
Southern Psychiatric Association.
Central Neuropsychiatric Hospital Association.
National Association of Private Psychiatric Hospitals.
Central Neuropsychiatric Association.
Certified by Committee on Certification of Mental Hospital Administrators, 1956.

(My name is Jeannine Jeffs and today I'll be talking to Dr. Dexter M. Bullard, Sr., May 1, 1975, at his home in Rockville - Rose Hill)

JEFFS: . . . We're on. You were telling me about your father.

BULLARD: He was born in Virginia in 1859 and I think when he was two his father moved to Waukesha, Wisconsin, apparently to get away from the South and the beginnings of the Civil War. So my father grew up in Wisconsin and became a General Practitioner in Waukesha, Wisconsin, a suburb of Milwaukee. He ran for the State Legislature, was elected, and became a friend of the then Governor of Wisconsin, Robert Marion LaFollette, Sr. Then through his acquaintanceship with LaFollette, he was appointed Superintendent of the Mendota State Hospital for the Insane across Lake Mendota from Madison, across from the University of Wisconsin. Although he was a political appointee himself, he didn't like the idea of the Hospital being staffed with other political appointees so he and LaFollette fell out after a couple of years. He went to Milwaukee to enter into private practice and became Professor of Neurology and Psychiatry at what is now Marquette University Medical School. Having had a taste of Hospital administration he decided he wanted a place of his own and started looking around the Eastern Seaboard for a couple of summers, found the old Woodlawn Hotel here in Rockville at a price which he could afford and purchased it from . . .

JEFFS: You've got him already at Rockville. Now let's go back a minute to talk about his medical training. He went to Rush Medical College.

BULLARD: He went to Rush for his medical training which at that time consisted of two winters of five months each after which he got his degree as M.D. He felt that he needed a little more training so he went back for a third session I think for two months he said of postgraduate work and then became a General Practitioner in Waukesha.

JEFFS: Did he ever have any specific training in psychiatry?

BULLARD: No. Not as it is known today with residencies and so forth. There were none in those days. They didn't even have residencies when I came along. But he was interested in the psychological aspects of practice and wrote a paper on the Holy Rollers which was a religious sect characterized by much shouting, gesticulating and approximating a grand wild hysterical attack. And although he used to kid me about being interested in Freud, his paper dealing with the unconscious of these people who went into religious ecstasies had a distinctly Freudian tinge and this was back somewhere before 1908.

JEFFS: Whatever happened to that paper?

BULLARD: It was never published and I found it among his effects after his death.

JEFFS: So he decided to open a private hospital of his own?

BULLARD: Yes. He wanted one he could run himself without any comments or interference or board of governors which he had when he was Superintendent at Mendota and the physical property had lain idle for seven years so it was in considerable disrepair and it took about a year and a half to get it into shape so it could be used to house patients and in July 1910 the first patient was admitted. For awhile the patients' census got up to six and then number six would go home and a new one would come in and for awhile it remained at six, then it gradually grew until it had between twenty and twenty-five patients so that that was the census when he died in '31 and I took over.

JEFFS: Well in those early days what type of care was given to the patients?

BULLARD: It was what used to be referred to as moral treatment, benevolent care, sitting down and talking with patients about anything

they wanted to talk about, being interested in what they were talking about. As far as I know, no effort to uncover the psychophysiology that brought on the illness. Patients were mostly middle-aged, depressive, occasionally a manic and occasionally what then was called dementia praecox, in our terms schizophrenia.

JEFFS: Did you tell us why he chose the East? Was there any relationship to the fact that there were some men beginning to work in psychiatry and psychoanalysis at that time? What was the attraction to the East from Wisconsin?

BULLARD: Well I suppose the greater population in the East than the Midwest had something to do with it, but also he said that he chose the Washington area because of all the cities in the country it was the least liable to be affected by an industrial depression such as he had experienced in Waukesha when the major employment of the factories shut down, the old Waukesha Steel Company. So he figured that Washington would not be affected - that if they had a depression, the government would bring 5,000 people in to fight the depression and I have a suspicion that is still going on.

JEFFS: Did your father have any contact with those early psychiatrists of note?

BULLARD: Yes, he used to know Dr. William A. White, Superintendent of St. Elizabeth's, the most illustrious superintendent they ever had. He knew Dr. Burr who was Professor of Psychiatry at Penn, where I went, Smith Eli Jelliffe of New York City and various others. I used to go to an occasional meeting with him when I was still in high school because in those days those who attended brought their families so there were always a few children for me to play around with or go to the movies so I got to know the people that he knew. That is how I became acquainted with Dr. White

and Dr. Jelliffe who published the Psychoanalytic Review, the Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases and whose textbook was used for years.

JEFFS: When we talked the last time you mentioned A. A. Brill and that you had a story about him.

BULLARD: Oh. Our Professor of Psychiatry, Dr. Burr, was violently anti-Freudian. I would call him pre-neolithic in his views. But anyhow, knowing my father he took a little interest in me and just before graduation he called me aside and said, "Now you are going down to Washington, aren't you?" "Yes, sir." "Well whatever you do, do not let Dr. White make a psychoanalyst out of you. Some of those analysts are dirty minded. That man Brill is positively filthy." And that is a verbatim quote.

JEFFS: That really wasn't so unusual to have that kind of attitude in those days, was it?

BULLARD: No, quite a number had it. Philadelphia was dominated by Burr and Francis Dercum of Jeff who was a distinguished neurologist and alienist and Philadelphia was way behind the rest of the country in accepting Freudian's psychology. Dercum was called in on attendance of President Wilson when he had his stroke.

JEFFS: Well now did your father have any opinions about Freud and his work?

BULLARD: He used to kid me a lot about it, my interest. And yet as I said from this paper of his he must have had some interest and I think he must have had some notions about him because my beginning readings in it came from his library so I think he was just kidding me.

JEFFS: Can you tell us about those early patients? Were they basically local people?

BULLARD: Washington, Baltimore, nearby Virginia, Pennsylvania and West Virginia. No farther away than that. Nowhere near the young population

that we are taking today. They were in their thirties and up. And of course some elderly patients showing the senile changes from arteriosclerosis.

JEFFS: Do you remember the local Almshouse at all?

BULLARD: Yes.

JEFFS: And some of the people who might have worked there?

BULLARD: I don't remember any who worked there. But as a member of the Epworth League, a bunch of us used to go over Sunday afternoons and sing hymns either to or at them.

JEFFS: What League was that?

BULLARD: Epworth. I think it was a group from the Methodist Church and the Christian Church here in Rockville.

JEFFS: And what were your impressions of the place? How did you feel?

BULLARD: Dizzy and depressing.

JEFFS: Easily described. Can you tell us something about your early impressions of life in Rockville? As a boy you arrived here when you were ten. Can you tell us about what it was like in those days?

BULLARD: Well, my midwestern accent was quite different from the English spoken in Maryland. And I had a flat "what" "water." And I had never heard the words sir or mam used, so when teachers expected me to say mam, I had to be reminded that that was part of the response. Also the only Negroes I had ever seen were Pullman Porters so when I got to Maryland they all looked absolutely alike to me. I couldn't tell one from another. It took a few years to discover that they were just as individualized as whites were. In school, I don't remember any particular difficulties in getting along.

JEFFS: Was this the local public school?

BULLARD: Yes. This was the Rockville Elementary School which I attended through the seventh or eighth grade, I don't remember which. Then my father sent me to the Sidwell Friends School in Washington feeling that they had a better college preparation than the then Rockville High, although quite a few Rockville High graduates went to college as did my wife.

JEFFS: Oh yes. Your wife was going to Rockville High? From Kensington?

BULLARD: Yes.

JEFFS: Oh very interesting. There was no school that was any closer.

BULLARD: I guess Kensington didn't have a high school then. Anyhow she went to Rockville where I first knew her in high school.

JEFFS: And Sidwell Friends was located all the way down in Washington?

BULLARD: 1801 Eye Street where the present medical office building is.

JEFFS: And how did you get to that location every day?

BULLARD: An hour and twenty minutes on the street car, each way, so I did a lot of my studying on the street car, when occasionally if there was no one on, we were at the end of the line, the motorman would let me run the street car and that was the highlight of my day.

JEFFS: Were there other children from Rockville going down to Sidwell Friends with you?

BULLARD: No. But Nubby Jones who was the track star at Western High used to ride the rails, the street car with me. He subsequently studied law and is now the Senior Partner in Hogan & Hartson.

JEFFS: And what was there for young people to do socially in Rockville?

BULLARD: Well we used to have dancing class with patent leather pumps and a gentle protest about going. And of course there was the Rockville Fair which was an annual event, with its half mile racetrack and small ferris wheel and something that you swung a hammer down on and drove a ball up on a steel-like thermometer, and then the rifle shooting of moving ducks, then a baseball in which some young colored boy was paid to stick his head through a piece of canvas and they threw baseballs at him. I think if they hit him, he dropped into a tub of water, or something of that sort. And then they used to have, I can't remember what they called it, it was sort of a round robin in which six or seven Negroes would get into a boxing ring and start pounding each other until only one remained and he won the prize, so they would take turns ganging up on one, getting rid of him until there were only two left, and then one of them would win. The gloves were large and nobody ever got hurt to my knowledge.

JEFFS: Where were those fairgrounds located?

BULLARD: Where Richard Montgomery High School is now and where the Fireman's Carnival is held, this side of the Dawson farm.

JEFFS: You graduated from Sidwell Friends in 1917 and went to Yale.

BULLARD: Yes.

JEFFS: And from there you went to the University of Pennsylvania for your Medical School training?

BULLARD: I took what they called the combined course. I went to the Yale Sheffield Scientific School which was engineering and pre-medical chemistry courses. I took the pre-medical, and at the end of two years of college, I went to the first year of Yale Medical School, which was the equivalent of my senior year in college at Yale. So then I transferred to Penn in the sophomore class. Fortunately the flunk-out course at Yale

came in the second year, so I missed it, and the flunk-out course at Penn came in the first year, so I missed it, and managed to get through.

JEFFS: And you chose the Queens Hospital in Honolulu to do your internship?

BULLARD: Yes.

JEFFS: Now this was a general internship?

BULLARD: Rotating internship it was called. Medicine, surgery, obstetrics and gynecology in those days. Several Penn men had interned out there and they came back to the fraternity house and reported a lovely time in Honolulu and so my roommate and I decided we wanted to go. In those days the internship at the Queens Hospital went by appointment of the Dean at Penn. So I went to see the Dean and told him we would like to go, that we would have a lovely time and that we would not disgrace the University. As rumor had it, the previous intern came close to doing so. So we got the appointment.

JEFFS: And from there you came back to the Boston Psychopathic Hospital?

BULLARD: We came back home,

JEFFS: Oh you came back home.

BULLARD: and waited six months from January to July because after a year in the Hawaiian climate I didn't want to go to Boston and freeze. So I was up there two months, and was going just in the summer. I was going to spend a couple more months at the Judge Baker Foundation which was one of the very first child guidance centers. My father had a coronary, and I came home and went to work. He recovered rapidly, and I always wondered if he threw a coronary to get me home.

JEFFS: Well all this time he had been alone? He had been holding down the hospital by himself?

BULLARD: Yes. When he took a vacation, which was infrequent and short, Dr. Gilbert Hartley used to cover the Lodge for him.

JEFFS: At that point in 1925 about how many patients was he taking care of?

BULLARD: Around twenty-two or twenty-three. And then for quite awhile it remained at that level and then slowly and gradually increased until now we have between eighty and eighty-five in-patients and twenty-five to thirty out-patients, those who had been in the hospital who had improved enough to live in the community. We never had any out-patient department in the ordinary sense of the term--patients coming just for out-patient treatment.

JEFFS: It must have been around this time in 1925-1926 that you made the decision to become a psychoanalyst rather than just a psychiatrist?

BULLARD: No. I was interested in it, and read quite a bit about it, and it seemed to me that Freudian psychology made more sense than anything else I had read in attempting to understand what was going on. But it was not until after my father's death that I came to decide what kind of place the Lodge would be. I gave myself five years to know whether it would be purely custodial, go in for organic diseases, emphasize occupational therapy--then commonly called work, or whether it would be an institution to attempt to apply Freud's theories to the treatment of the more serious mental disorders. At the end of four and a half years, I knew that we were going to become a psychotherapeutic hospital with the emphasis on attempting to understand what was going on and provide or enable the patient to get insight into what ails him.

JEFFS: So you became Medical Director in 1931, giving yourself five years was around 1935 or 1936 that you actually became a psychotherapeutic hospital.

BULLARD: Yes. Well I was sort of dabbling in trying to do therapy but

JEFFS: Did you have any models to, you know, base your new approach on? Were there any other hospitals doing this, using Freudian?

BULLARD: Yes. One of my models was William Alanson White of St. Elizabeth's who was a very progressive man. This man was encouraging his staff to investigate all sorts of different approaches to the care of patients. He had the ability to draw out and develop the interests of his staff even though they might be divergent from what he himself felt. I always contrasted him to Adolph Meyer at Phipps Clinic at Johns Hopkins who turned out replicas of himself as his resident staff came and went through training and left. I may be unjust but that is the way it looked.

JEFFS: Did you work closely with W. A. White in designing your . . .?.

BULLARD: No, I just knew him from medical meetings and he knew my father so he, I guess, was a little more interested in me. He was a very direct man. I was attempting to treat a quite disturbed paranoid man, who blew up higher than a kite under my able administrations, and I wanted a consultation and so did the man's wife. He was a professor at Columbia at the time. So she wanted Adolph Meyer as a consultant. Meyer had perhaps the most erudite reputation in the country being professor at Hopkins. Anyhow Meyer would not come to see the patient here, so I trotted over to Baltimore with my notes, laid the case before him, Meyer stroked his beard, which I was subsequently told was a sign of his displeasure, and in essence told me the patient didn't seem to be doing very well, I ought to go back and pray. Not a verbatim quote. So I went to

the patient's wife, said I was not satisfied with that consultation, that consultations were supposed to be of benefit to the doctor and my consultation with Meyer had not benefitted me, and I would like to have Dr. White in consultation. So that was arranged. White came out, listened to me, saw the patient, came down to my office and said, "Well you damn fool. You have done about everything wrong. How about doing something right? A, B, C, and D." Well this was useful, and I followed his advice, and the patient recovered, I am happy to say. But the contrast between them. Meyer was rather austere, the German Herr professor. White was as easy as an old shoe.

JEFFS: Did you consult with him on a regular basis?

BULLARD: Yes. When we needed a consultation, he was always my first choice. Once he saw a patient in consultation and the next time I saw the patient's daughter, she said that Dr. White thought very highly of me, I sort of smirked and said, "Well he doesn't know me very well." She said, "Well that is what he said."

JEFFS: You attended the Washington School of Psychiatry between 1933 and 1937.

BULLARD: No, the Washington Psychoanalytic Institute, where I got my psychoanalytic training.

JEFFS: Yes. I see.

BULLARD: And then became entitled to call myself a psychoanalyst. But I was connected with the Washington School of Psychiatry, also was on the faculty there.

JEFFS: Do you know anything about the origin of the Washington Psychoanalytic Institute? How did that get started? This must have been its early days?

BULLARD: I think it was 1936. The American Psychoanalytic was started in 1913, and there were a number of psychiatrists interested in analysis in Washington, and three of them got together and incorporated the Washington Psychoanalytic Society and the Washington Psychoanalytic Institute which was the educational training arm of the Society. I became a member of the Society in 1937 when I was graduated from the Institute. Dr. Ernest Hadley, Dr. Lucile Dooley and, of all people, Dr. Walter Freeman were the three incorporators which were required under District law. Freeman was no more of an analyst than I was a neurologist. He is the one who introduced lobotomies into this country which I have always regarded as a dirty word.

JEFFS: You began to think of expanding your staff at that point, didn't you?

BULLARD: My father had run it entirely by himself, and I didn't propose to be tied down as much as he was, so I looked around for a staff, and first used to get senior medical students from Georgetown where I was teaching to take some night calls and weekends, and then a year or two later I got a young woman from Western State Hospital in Virginia at Staunton, and she was with me a year or so, and she got married and departed, and the first analytically trained psychiatrist was Dr. Marjorie Jarvis, who died just this past month. She was with us several years and then went into private practice in Rockville. Then I got several doctors from Sheppard & Pratt Hospital in Baltimore, Towson, and they stayed two or three years, or five or six, and then they went into private practice in various places.

JEFFS: In 1935 Dr. Frieda Fromm-Reichmann joined your staff. How did that come about? How did you find her?

BULLARD: She was found for me by Ernest Hadley with whom I was in training analysis at the time. Oh, around February of 1935 he asked me if I was interested in having a middle-aged, German, Jewish, woman refugee join the staff. And at that moment I was in what is euphemistically termed a state of negative transference and I said "No" loud and clear. I wanted no part of her. But along came May and I realized that Dr. Jarvis, the only member on the staff, would want a month's vacation, and I did too, and neither one of us wanted to carry the other's patients in individual therapy plus the running of the hospital so I inquired if this German doctor was still around and she was. So we corresponded, and she came down in July to be employed for two months. Well we hit it off right from the moment of meeting and the two months stretched into twenty-two years and she was with us until her death, in 1957 I think.

JEFFS: Yes 1957 is right.

BULLARD: She was a very talented woman, much in demand as a speaker at various places and carried the banner of Chestnut Lodge all over these United States. She was a great person.

JEFFS: Did she teach anywhere?

BULLARD: She taught in the Washington School of Psychiatry as a training analyst in the Washington Psychoanalytic Institute. Also taught in New York when the branch of the William Alanson White Foundation was established up there as the William A. White Institute.

JEFFS: Harry Stack Sullivan is another name that comes up because of his relationship with Chestnut Lodge.

BULLARD: Yes. I knew Dr. Sullivan when he was on the staff of St. Elizabeth's, then he went to Sheppard & Enoch Pratt Hospital.

He was seven years at St. E, seven years at Sheppard, seven years in New York City in private practice, and came to Washington before the War and then became Psychiatric Advisor to General Hershey in the Selective Service System. Sullivan had the closest mind to a genius that I have ever known. He was a brilliant speaker and a brilliant theoritician. He was strongly opinionated and most of his opinions were worth feeling strongly about, as I experienced them. He and General Hershey never got along too well together. I knew Hershey very casually. Hershey didn't like doctors and he didn't like psychiatrists in particular, but when we met the only point in common we had was our mutual acquaintance with Harry Stack Sullivan. And once in the Barbados, I think, we happened to meet, and my wife and his wife and Hershey and myself had dimer together at the hotel. So I thought it was a good idea to find out what went wrong between Sullivan and Hershey, that they didn't get along, and Sullivan finally resigned. So I asked him, "What was the trouble between you and Sullivan?" Hershey said, "No trouble. Sullivan wanted to run the Selective Service, so did I. No trouble." But Harry Stack was the instigator behind the Washington School of Psychiatry which took a little wider approach to psychiatry than the strictly psychoanalytic point of view and during his heyday, it was a training institution for a great many psychiatrists who were in the Washington area. Washington has always had a lot of psychiatrists because it had the St. Elizabeth's group, the National Institutes of Mental Health, the Naval Hospital installation and the Army Center in Walter Reed and then plus George Washington, Georgetown, Howard and, to some extent, people from Baltimore would come

over for training. And then of course the Lodge had a steady turnover of younger men in getting training.

JEFFS: Getting back to Harry Stack Sullivan, how did you get him to come and lecture to your staff between the years of 1942 and 1946? How was that arranged?

BULLARD: Well, when Sullivan went as Advisor to Selective Service System, he gave up all of his teaching and all of his private practice, so that when he and Hershey fell out, Sullivan had time on his hands, and I latched on to him to come out to the Lodge and develop into the fuller form than the original William Alanson White lectures, the "Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry," which were five lectures, very highly condensed, very full of meaning, and very capable of being expanded. So Sullivan came out twice a week, and talked to our staff in a very informal manner--we would jump around from one topic to another and there would be many interruptions to ask questions, many digressions, fortunately the lectures were preserved on Sound-Scriber discs which weren't the highest form of recording but as good as any to be had then, so from those came several posthumous books that other people edited. And after two years of expanding on the original "Concepts of Modern Psychiatry," we shifted to a, what was called the twelve-minute interview or the twelve-minute seminar, in which one of the staff members would present a problem with a patient in twelve minutes and then Sullivan and the rest of the staff would discuss it. That went on for several years and resulted in the book that is termed Clinical Studies in Psychiatry which again was posthumously published. The White lectures, the first ones, "Concepts of Modern Psychiatry," were the only thing published in book form in Sullivan's life. This was because he was constantly being dissatisfied with what he had written, rewriting it, postponing publication date and

so publication became posthumous.

JEFFS: It was fortuitous that you decided to record them. Was it your idea to record them or had he asked you to?

BULLARD: I don't remember.

JEFFS: You don't remember. Yes. Because all of that material really would have been lost.

BULLARD: Yes. Sheppard & Pratt has them. I don't think recordings, the transcriptions of recordings, of the days when he was at Sheppard after he left St. Elizabeth's which are quite interesting to those interested in Sullivan as to his style in the early days in contrast and comparison to later on when he was a vast and more experienced individual.

JEFFS: St. Elizabeth's produced a number of great men.

BULLARD: Yes.

JEFFS: And we think of it today as such an old

BULLARD: Well White was phenomenal. Edward J. Kempf was one of his men. His psychopathology, a good thick book, contained some of the best descriptive case histories of any that I have ever read and also the current interpretations of things as believed then and a lot of it is still sound. Walter Freeman who became distinguished as a neurologist was the neurologist and pathologist at St. Elizabeth's. Nolan D. C. Lewis was his number two man for awhile. He went to New Jersey. I forget in what capacity, but he published a good deal. Ross Chapman went from St. Elizabeth's to become Superintendent at Sheppard & Pratt, past president of the American Psychiatric Association and probably a good many more. One who was very much interested in the criminally insane, Ben Karpman, who wrote a book of considerable value, was on the staff of St. E's. Roscoe Hall, who was

a superb clinician, was also there but never published anything. If he had published, he would have succeeded White as Superintendent I am sure, but it is the old story of publish or perish, and those of us who knew Hall regarded him very highly but he never wrote anything. Too damn lazy.

JEFFS: Maybe we should stop here.

(My name is Jeannine Jeffs. I will be talking with Dr. Dexter Bullard of Chestnut Lodge, Rockville, Maryland, on May 22, 1975.)

JEFFS: We saw the last time we talked together, Dr. Bullard, that your father bought Woodlawn Hotel in 1908 and renovated it and opened Chestnut Lodge in 1910. Was it just the one building that comprised the hospital at that time?

BULLARD: There were three buildings -- the main building, the barn, and a laundry building, plus a couple of chicken houses and outhouses. Back then Rockville didn't have central sewage.

JEFFS: Did the family live in the same building with the patients?

BULLARD: First floor.

JEFFS: Did that present any problems of any kind?

BULLARD: I don't think so.

JEFFS: What were the methods used for controlling the more disturbed patients at that time?

BULLARD: Sedatives chiefly.

JEFFS: When did the use of wet packs come into use?

BULLARD: No idea. They were in use, and I forgot about those, they were used too.

JEFFS: They were used as early as 1910?

BULLARD: Oh yes. I don't know when they started using them.

JEFFS: Now in 1931 when you took over was it still just mainly the main building or had expansion begun by then?

BULLARD: Only the main building.

JEFFS: Just the main building. When did you start expanding the physical plant?

BULLARD: 1935, I guess, when we moved out of what is now the Little Lodge, so-called. There are ten patients over there. That had been our residence and we bought our current residence from the Dawson family and remodeled the

house into this. It was called Rose Hill in those days. I don't remember the source of the name although I am supposed to.

JEFFS: What about Hilltop?

BULLARD: Hilltop we started in, I think, 1935 and began using it in 1937. That is an approximation anyhow.

JEFFS: So that wasn't an estate that was acquired? It has a look of an estate, you know.

BULLARD: No. Frank Karn built it. He lived there and then he moved into Rockville. He didn't want to live so far out in the country.

JEFFS: Oh my. How the city has grown and the country has receded. And what about some of the other buildings that are a part of the Sanitarium now?

BULLARD: Well the laundry building we converted into a nurses' cottage, and then reconverted it into a building for patients. I don't remember when that was. But now there is the Main Building, the former laundry building now called Upper Cottage, Little Lodge, my former residence, and Hilltop. And then we have two houses that were bought on Thomas Street that we use as sort of half-way houses for patients. No nursing personnel sleep there.

JEFFS: And you have an activities building?

BULLARD: Oh yes. The Center Building. And dietary, which was added to the Center, where all meals are served now except for those who have to be served on the units, and a recreation gymnasium building that is only about five or ten years old I guess, ten years maybe. Anne could tell you these dates a lot better than I could.

JEFFS: I'll be talking with Mrs. Bullard also. And the Research Institute building, I guess which was built when you received the grant from. . . .

BULLARD: No we had the building before the grant.

JEFFS: Oh you did. Well let's talk a little bit now about the various types of research that Chestnut Lodge sponsored and that as your facilities expanded and as you grew in size and reputation you were the recipients of various grants.

BULLARD: Well we had training grants from NIMH for training residents who came here for one to three years of residency and part of their salaries were paid by stipends from the NIMH. Then our major grant came from the Ford Foundation which was a grant of \$50,000 a year for five years, \$250,000 in all, and that was devoted to study of treatment of schizophrenic patients, and ways of improving communication and some depth in investigating what might be considered as precursors or causes of schizophrenia. A number of papers were published by people on the staff who were recipients of Ford Foundation money. I don't know if that is clear or not?

JEFFS: Then was there any expansion of the staff? Were any people brought in specifically to conduct this research or were they all your own staff members?

BULLARD: They were our own staff members. There were several Directors of Research. One was brought in, an Army man, Kenneth L. Artiss, who had been doing research at Walter Reed on schizophrenia and when our staff member who had been Director of Research, Don Burnham, left to go to NIMH, I brought Artiss in from Walter Reed. He was here for several years and continued the investigation into various aspects of schizophrenia which has been our major interest. I think it is the most widely known of mental disorders and the one about which there is enormous amount of writing and not enough hard data.

JEFFS: Was there any particular reason why Chestnut Lodge was chosen to receive this grant do you think?

BULLARD: Well because our staff had published a number of papers on different aspects of schizophrenia, had established a reputation for investi-

gation of treatment, so we were one of the recipients. The Ford Foundation announced they were going to spend \$50 million on mental health and Dr. Robert A. Cohen, who had been our Clinical Director and who had gone to NIMH to become Director of Clinical Studies there, came out to see me one day and told me we ought to apply for some of the Rockefeller money. So I took one summer -- not off, but I spend all of my spare time one summer -- writing up a proposal requesting the grant. I rewrote the first five or six pages, the introduction, I rewrote it seven times before I got it to suit me because I would write something, then I would let it lie for five or six days, then I would reread it and say to myself, "How will this sound to the people who are going to pass on this?" Well, with the help of some others on the staff, Don Burnham who was then Director of Research particularly, we finally submitted it. There were 231 applications as I remember it, there were thirty-one grants and there were only four grants to institutions not connected with the University, and we were one of the four. So I was very pleased with our getting a grant.

JEFFS: Yes. Well it certainly was a sizeable grant. A quarter of a million dollars.

BULLARD: Then they went out of the mental health field and decided they would devote their money strictly to education so that avenue was closed to us.

JEFFS: And that was roughly in the mid-'50s, wasn't it?

BULLARD: Yes.

JEFFS: Was it before that that you had also received a grant from the U. S. Public Health involving a team of a psychiatrist and a sociologist, Dr. Stanton and Morris Schwartz?

BULLARD: Schwartz. Yes. I had forgotten about that one.

JEFFS: That was in 1952 or thereabouts?

BULLARD: Yes, that was before the Ford grant.

JEFFS: Should you tell us how that research was conducted and how it operated?

BULLARD: Well, they studied the operation of the unit, the ward, the effect of the nursing staff and administrator and how their behavior affected patients and how patients' behavior affected their attitudes and one of the things that came out of the study was that, if there was disagreement between the clinical administrator, the man who was responsible on the unit for privileges, spending money, activities that could or could not be engaged in. I don't know where that sentence has gone. But anyhow, if there was covert disagreement between the way the therapist thought the administration should be managed and the way that the administrator thought the therapist ought to be doing, if there was covert disagreement and it was not talked about, patients became quite disturbed. They sensed a conflict in how their lives ought to be managed. When we were able to get the two together, open up the discussion, and in most cases resolve the difficulties of the differences in judgment, or if not resolve them, at least make a firm decision which was no longer hidden but out in the open, patients quieted down and improved.

JEFFS: Well did the results of this research affect your day-to-day operating techniques or methods?

BULLARD: Yes, because it highlighted what we hadn't been cognizant of, that the differences of opinion which were submerged were troublemakers. But if you had it out in the open, it was much easier to deal with and made for more openness of discussion between staff members.

JEFFS: This brings me to the subject of the training of your nursing staff or even of your aides. Did you set up a training program for those people?

BULLARD: Well yes. Well, the Director of Nursing was responsible for indoctrinating nursing staff and there were teachers of our senior nursing staff and nursing aides and also by teaching by the medical staff to the nursing staff which comprised both aides and R.N.s.

JEFFS: To go back to Stanton and Schwartz, were they staff members or did they come in?

BULLARD: Yes, Stanton was a staff member and Maury Schwartz, the sociologist, he was brought in by Stanton to conduct the study of the ward as a unit, not individual therapy, but how does the mental ward of a hospital ward, how does it operate, how does it affect patients and how do patients affect it.

JEFFS: I guess they published a book as a result of that research, didn't they?

BULLARD: Yes. It was called The Mental Hospital.

JEFFS: Are there any other research projects that we should mention?

BULLARD: The most recent one -- it had to be discontinued for lack of funds -- was a study of a reading project for kids who were behind their grade level of reading one to three or four years -- a ninth grade kid reading at a fifth grade level, that sort of thing. And by using what are called teaching machines, which tend to eliminate the personal factor of the personality of the teacher and making the results the progress of the reading ability entirely dependent on the correctness or the incorrectness of the answer, it was found that a kid's reading level could be brought up about one year. I think in about thirty sessions; it may have been less

than that but it was phenomenal. And we had a number of kids who, for the most part, were referred by public school system where the most, not the major difficulty, but the most evident difficulty was inability to understand ninth grade work because they could only read at a fifth grade level so they just didn't comprehend. We hope to get that going again. We've got some prospects of being able to fund it.

JEFFS: Who was funding it at that time?

BULLARD: Well the individual schools paid and some families paid but it was costing us more in the salaries and equipment for the people involved than the charges covered.

JEFFS: I guess it was in 1956 or thereabouts that the yearly symposium started, that that tradition started here at Chestnut Lodge. Could you tell us? When did the practice of holding a yearly symposium begin?

BULLARD: In October 1954. That is when we held the first one. It was intended originally as a rather small operation to bring back alumni and have staff and alumni present a few papers and discuss it in an atmosphere where there weren't too many people and discussion could be had in some depth. But gradually more and more people began to want to come to it. Now we have 150 to 250 people.

JEFFS: And do most of the papers get published in various journals?

BULLARD: I guess the majority do. That is up to the person who presents the paper, whether he wants to submit it.

JEFFS: Let's talk a little bit now about your work with the various professional associations in your field. You served on the Council of the American Psychoanalytic Association as early as 1946.

BULLARD: Yes. A representative from each constituent member Society of the American Psychoanalytic Association is elected to become a Council

member and for several years I represented the Washington Psychoanalytic Society.

JEFFS: Now what about the William A. White Psychiatric Foundation? How did that get started and what was your role in that?

BULLARD: That was started by Dr. Harry Stack Sullivan, Dr. Ernest T. Hadley, and Dr. Lucile Dooley. They were the principal movers in it and the Foundation was to receive and dispense money principally in the furtherance of the Washington School of Psychiatry which was the teaching arm of the Foundation. And I taught in the School for, gee I don't know how many years, ten or fifteen at least. And it was conceived to be a little broader training than that available in the Psychoanalytic Institute training program. We had people such as Ruth Benedict, Anthropologist from Columbia, on the faculty, Edward Sapere of Yale. Gosh, what is his name, Political Scientist on the Yale faculty who wrote a book Politics--Who Gets What, Where and How, Lasswell, I forget his first name, and speakers from various parts of the country and various disciplines so that it was not just a school for the training of technicians in practice. The School is still going on and the Foundation is. Then the Foundation published the Journal of Psychiatry which, called the Yellow Journal, you can see one volume there, and they published some very good things in psychiatry by various people.

JEFFS: And it still continues.

BULLARD: Yes. I think the thing is actually in the black.

JEFFS: And then you were President of the Southern Psychiatric Association. Was that a subdivision of the American Psychiatric Association.

BULLARD: No. That is a separate organization of southern psychiatrists. That concerned itself primarily with psychiatry in the South as perhaps

contrasted with psychiatry in a New England culture.

JEFFS: Oh that is interesting. Could you expand on that a little bit?

BULLARD: Well I remember one paper which was the study of the influence of Cajun, I don't know whether you would call them witch doctors or not, but practitioners of voodoo in the Cajun Louisiana hinterlands and how this particular psychiatrist attempted to use some aspects of the Cajun voodoo system into his own work with very superstitious black patients who were having difficulties. That was the principal, or the most interesting, paper that I remember listening to. But in general, I guess, the concerns with people are not too greatly different whether they live in the Midwest, the far West, New England or the South. They all have anxieties and difficulties in getting along with their parents and schoolmates, and that is practically universal.

JEFFS: Is the Southern Psychiatric Association still in existence? Still a separate body?

BULLARD: Yes and going strong.

JEFFS: And then you were also President of the Central Neuropsychiatric Hospital Association. When was that formed? When was a separate Association established to join people, you know, in effect or in administration?

BULLARD: I don't know when it was formed. I would say late '20s early '30s. William Menninger of the Menninger Foundation was instrumental in bringing together about twenty private psychiatric hospitals with the idea of a small closely knit group that could discuss problems of hospitals in a small group where you get more frank discussion than you would in an audience of 700 people when you are reading a paper. And that is going on, I think it now has about twenty-four members and has expanded its geographical restrictions which originally were literally central between the Rockies and the Appalachian Mountains. Sheppard-Pratt is a member, Austen Riggs Center

in Massachusetts, I think McLean Hospital in Waverly, Mass., a part of the Harvard complex. But I don't know all the members. It's, I think, a very worthwhile organization because you pick up a lot of ideas of about how some other hospitals may have handled a problem that may be bothering one.

JEFFS: And did you meet once a year?

BULLARD: Yes.

JEFFS: Let's talk a little bit now about your teaching experiences. You started teaching in 1933 which was very soon after you assumed full directorship of Chestnut Lodge at Georgetown University.

BULLARD: Yes.

JEFFS: Did you encounter, this was early in the history of psychoanalysis in this country, and Freud I imagine was still just being accepted by a lot of people, did you encounter any difficulties.

BULLARD: Yes. There were some.

JEFFS: teaching at a Catholic university with its set of dogmas and so on?

BULLARD: Well occasionally with a student or two but not with the governing powers of Georgetown. But I went to teach there once a week. The first day I went to teach I went in to see Father John Gipprich, who was the Regent of the Medical School. He was the one who ran the school, and I told him I wanted to talk with him because I was afraid that perhaps some of the things that current psychiatry taught or believed might run counter to the teachings of the church. And he smiled at me and said, "My boy what is troubling you?" I was a boy then and I said, "Well there is nothing troubling me, Father, but it may trouble some of the students." I said, "For example, this business of the free will. I understand the church holds that the will is free. And we hold that under certain conditions, the obsessional neuroses, the compulsion neuroses, the individuals whose

anxieties are so great that unless they engage in a certain ritual to relieve anxiety they will fall apart. Under these circumstances, we don't think the will is free. So the person must do something to assuage his anxiety." So we discussed that for half an hour, and he reached for a volume of Thomas Aquinas. I was glad he couldn't find it on his desk because otherwise I would have had to read all of it. I think there are twelve or thirteen volumes of Thomas. But anyhow, he said, "Well, you see, intrinsically the will is free, extrinsically it is modified by just these factors you speak of." So I thought to myself, "Well I'm over that hurdle." I said, "On this business of having carnal thoughts. I understand the church doesn't approve of carnal thoughts. We think it better to have a couple of carnal thoughts than to develop a neurosis or psychosis trying to suppress or repress the carnal thought." So we discussed that awhile. "So well you see our position is this. It is all right for a carnal thought to enter the mind, but after it is there, one need not dwell upon it." Now is there any better psychiatry than that? Think as you damn please, assimilate it, and don't be thrown by it. He and I became great friends.

JEFFS: And you taught there for quite a long time.

BULLARD: Eight years.

JEFFS: Yes. Why did you choose to teach at Georgetown though, to begin your teaching career there?

BULLARD: Well I was invited by Percy Hickling, who was then Professor of Psychiatry at Georgetown, to teach and I had not been invited by George Washington at that time so I took what was offered.

JEFFS: It just happened to be the first offer.

BULLARD: Then I stopped teaching there after eight years and I was Clinical Professor of Psychiatry and then I was offered the same job at GW where I am now Clinical Professor of Psychiatry Emeritus, having reached the age of senile adolescence.

JEFFS: You also taught at National University which isn't a familiar institution to some of us.

BULLARD: Well the National University Law School was a private law school, I think owned and really operated by the Carusi family in Washington. But somebody on the Law School faculty, and I guess Sullivan or somebody on the Washington School of Psychiatry, decided that it wouldn't hurt to have lawyers learn a little psychiatry and psychiatrists hear a little about the law. So I was designated to teach them psychiatry at the Law School. I didn't teach there very many years because I think after three or four it folded up and merged with GW. Private law school was entirely dependent upon student fees. It had no University support, no endowment, so it was a precarious operation. And I taught until it folded.

JEFFS: You taught a course on psychiatry and the law. Maybe this would be a good time for us to discuss your observation of the changing attitudes of people in the legal profession toward psychiatry?

BULLARD: Well at National University I did not teach psychiatry and the law. I taught the development of personality, the kinds of people there are, how you get to be the way you are, and what a lawyer can expect if such and such personality comes into his office. I taught psychiatry to lawyers.

JEFFS: Oh I see.

BULLARD: The title of the course was really a misnomer. But there was no doubt about it that law and psychiatry were going through changes, the results of which were far beyond me to even guess at when a judge undertook

to rule a mental hospital patient, or particularly someone who is sent to a mental hospital because of trouble with the law, being entitled to treatment and if he didn't get treatment he is to be discharged. And then the next step would be, and is in some states, the law setting up standards as to what is to be regarded as good treatment and what isn't. And this is certainly not the province of the law. So God knows what is going to happen.

JEFFS: Is there any more that we should cover in your teaching years? You also taught at the Psychoanalytic Institute or you were training and supervising the analysts there.

BULLARD: Yes, I taught some courses. And one interesting teaching experience was seminars that I held for five years for the elementary school teachers of the Lone Oak School here in Rockville. It started with meeting the six teachers of the first grade to discuss with them problem children. I didn't meet with the children themselves, but on the basis of what the teachers reported I would offer anything that I felt might be useful in reducing the problem in the classroom. Before I met with the teachers, I visited each of the classrooms for an hour or thereabouts of the six first grade teachers, because I didn't remember what went on in the first grade, but I found this out -- there were some teachers who could let children run all over the room and not be bothered by the mobility of the kid, but if they made a noise, that was a problem. There were other teachers who could tolerate the kid making noises, but he had to stay put, he couldn't run around the room. So what constituted a problem child was the attitude of the teacher toward noise or moveability. So I mentioned this the first time I met with the teachers. It took me about six weeks to get their acceptance. But that was a fascinating experience because the second year I met with the second grade teachers, the same bunch of kids, and the third grade

teachers, and the same. So we followed them for five years. And that was a very interesting experience. I should have written a paper about it but I was too lazy to do it. But I enjoyed it very much, and Mrs. Bernstein, a very personable, very gifted principal of the elementary school, and I hit it off very well.

JEFFS: Now would this have been before there were any school psychologists on anybody's staff? Now I guess there are.

BULLARD: I think they had a school psychologist. But he was one for all the schools and this was an effort to see what went on in one individual elementary school.

JEFFS: Do you remember who invited you to conduct this study?

BULLARD: Owen Knight, who was Director of Pupil Personnel of Montgomery County. I had known him for several years. I think Anne heard him talk one day about how much they were in need of some psychiatric consultations, and I think she got Owen and myself together.

JEFFS: You've also served as Consultant for the National Institute of Mental Health.

BULLARD: Yes.

JEFFS: Can you tell us how that happened?

BULLARD: NIMH has consultants who come in and consult with the members of their staff about drugs or psychotherapy, and I was a consultant to those who were doing individual psychotherapy, so I would hear about how they were treating patients, and what the problems were, and I used to meet once a week with several of them.

JEFFS: And was your position as consultant for Walter Reed pretty much the same type of arrangement?

BULLARD: No, at Walter Reed, Ken Artiss was running a ward of schizophrenic patients who had broken down in the service with the idea of not doing

individual therapy with them but working through the technicians, the enlisted men, the psychiatric technicians, equivalent of psychiatric aide or a Navy corpsman, and I used to hear or meet with Ken who ran the project and with aides and we would discuss what went on, and what worked with patients, and what didn't, and so on. And they were able to get I think between 60 and 70 per cent of their patient population back into duty when the psychiatric breakdown, the psychotic breakdown, was the clear signal -- I can't take the Army, I want out. Now this was a phenomenal experiment. I was consultant there for three or four years. Then they raised the question: Is this high recovery rate due to Ken Artiss, his personality, the way he managed the ward, or can it be taught to another psychiatrist who will take over the ward? So I continued as consultant with a new psychiatrist, and he got about the same results that Ken Artiss did, so the thing was very much a therapeutic success. And I think somebody in the Army decided they were spending too much money on it and so it was discontinued. But then they decided to see if the same thing would work with a group of Army personnel who were chronic alcoholics. These were mostly noncommissioned officers, sergeants who had been covering up for each other for years, and inexperienced officer personnel who would rely on the sergeants and never question anything they did, so that they got away with murder. And the techniques which had worked with the schizophrenic patients were absolutely useless with these. Well, a man had been a first sergeant in the Army for ten years, he was a con artist par excellence. And he was so much smarter in what he was doing than the ward personnel was it was funny. It didn't work at all with this psychopathic kind of personality in contrast with the schizophrenic.

JEFFS: Let's talk a little bit about your community involvement. In 1935 a group of you got together and formed a Community Mental Hygiene Clinic. Do you remember who was the force behind that? Was it your idea?

BULLARD: No. I think probably Lavinia Engle. There was a recent meeting honoring Lavinia Engle and myself for being pioneers in it. Originally it was started as a diagnostic service and a psychiatrist from Baltimore, I think probably Hopkins, came over once a month and saw a few patients and made recommendations as to disposition. And then we went before the Community Chest I guess it was called then and asked for \$11,000 a year to get a part-time psychiatrist and a psychologist and a social worker and start a treatment clinic not just a disposal diagnostic clinic. And then out of that has grown the present extent of the Clinic. In the old days it was funded by an annual horse show. And the proceeds of the horse show went to pay the once a week consultant from Baltimore. Then when we got into the Community Chest we continued to receive money from it.

JEFFS: It has served the community well. It has expanded into so many centers.

BULLARD: Yes. I made the original pitch to fund this and was successful and so we started out with \$11,000 a year.

JEFFS: Could you tell us about your role as consultant to the Juvenile Court?

BULLARD: That came about in a very informal way. Judge Noyes and I were friends of longstanding. I don't even remember how we got together, but we would talk a little shop occasionally when we would meet. And I got in the habit of dropping down to see how the Court operated, and he would ask me something or other. Once or twice why he would refer parents of the juvenile delinquent to meet for examination while I was down there. But primarily I used to meet with the probation officers, and they would discuss their

problems with juvenile delinquents, and if I had anything to offer I would contribute my notions of how they might help the delinquent to straighten up and fly right. It was very informal. Then it got to be larger when the Department of Juvenile Services really became a department and run from the state in Baltimore. For a while or a couple of years we had about half a dozen psychiatrists from the Lodge meeting with probation officers once a week. And I don't know what happened but that fell off and . . . well I think they have a full-time psychiatrist to the Juvenile Court now.

JEFFS: Oh really the Court has its own?

BULLARD: Yes, it has its own.

JEFFS: What about your work on the Board of Social Services? What did that involve?

BULLARD: Well I was just an ordinary Board member for several years. I remember one question -- how much should be spent in administration and how much in funds for the recipients of social service. It was always a debate because, if you had a larger staff with administrative cost keeping an eye on social service families, you could cut down on chiselers and those who ought to be working and weren't. On the other hand, if you showed that most of your money went directly to the families then you had a good record because your department had a very low administrative cost. I was always for the higher administrative cost.

JEFFS: Over the years could you give us your political impressions on the local scene, the local government in Rockville. You saw Rockville go from a very sleepy little County Seat to a thriving suburban community and a reform government came in in the 50s, didn't it? What are your impressions of Rockville's local government?

BULLARD: I always thought it was pretty good because in the early days Rockville was so small that everybody who ran for office was known personally to practically every voter. So I thought we got pretty good government.

Anne knows more about that than I do. She was interested in the CCG.

JEFFS: Oh yes. But the relationship has always been good between the government and the Lodge. You have been good neighbors all along.

BULLARD: Oh yes, very much so.

JEFFS: I think maybe in closing, Dr. Bullard, it would be good to give us your views of the future for the Lodge and maybe, you know, what is the future of psychotherapy in general, psychoanalysis and so on? Let's start with the Lodge.

BULLARD: Well I think it is quite exciting because in July my son is opening a Children's Center for the investigation and treatment of troubled children from age below ten up into adolescence, a residential treatment center. Six to eight kids to a cottage, house mother and father, school and psychiatric help available. Now this has been an interest of his for a good many years and now with the facilities available I think it is going to be quite exciting to see how problems of troubled children evolve into adult problems requiring hospitalization in some instances in the older population so that as I look at it we can have some observation on the developmental stages that children go through and their problems. We can find out whether or not some interventions don't seem to work and they become adult patients and others therapy helps and they go on their way and become untroubled useful citizens. So this is a brand new development of the Lodge, and one that my son is greatly interested in. As far as the adult section of the Lodge is concerned, I imagine we will go on doing what we have been doing trying to find out more and more about less and less. That was the mark of a specialist.

JEFFS: Thank you very much, Dr. Bullard.